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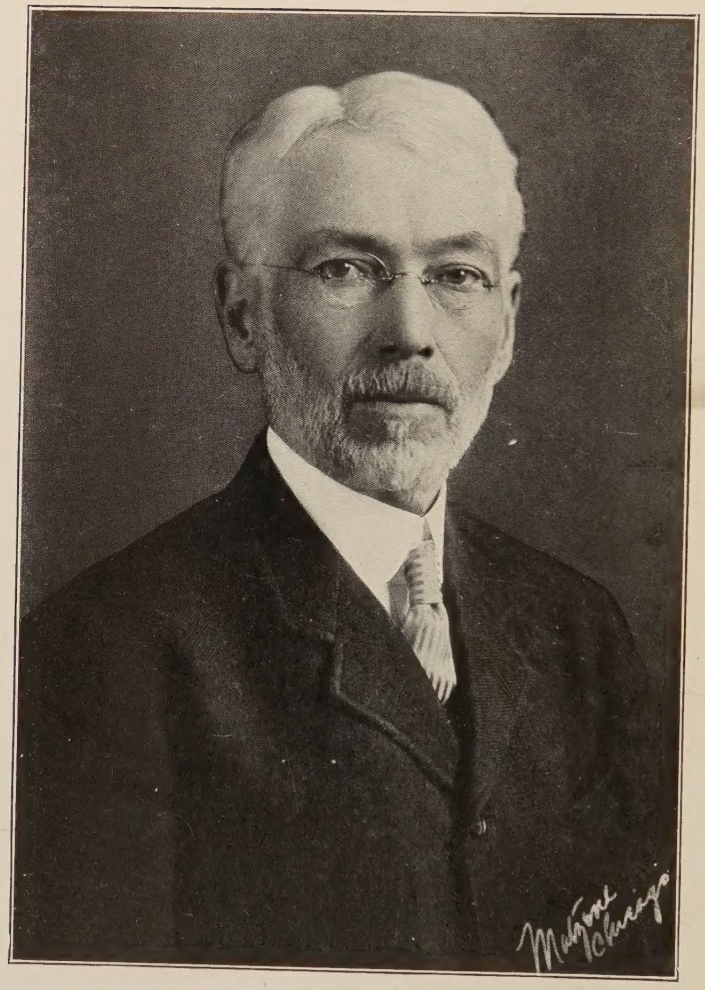

J. SEYMOUR CURREY

Manufacturing and Wholesale Industries of Chicago

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INTRODUCTION

The story of the discovery of the site upon which the City of Chicago now stands, and a description of its natural situation, will properly take its place at the beginning of the following account of the Manufacturing and Wholesale Industries of Chicago. From the time when that part of the coast of Lake Michigan, where the Chicago river flows into the open lake, was opened to the view of the civilized world, the place has been the scene of trading activities, first, of course, with the tribes then in occupation, and later with the pioneer white men who in due course of time began to settle the Western country.

Nearly two and a half centuries have elapsed since the plain upon which Chicago now stands was discovered by Joliet and Marquette while on a voyage in canoes from the Mississippi river, seeking a water route to Green Bay. Then followed a few years later the remarkable voyages of La Salle, with larger and better equipped parties, penetrating to far distant regions towards the Southwest. For a century or more after its discovery there was little or no progress made in the development of the place, notwithstanding the natural advantages it possessed, with a river of considerable size and depth to serve as a harbor, and a portage to the river valley a few miles towards the west, giving access to the great river system of the Mississippi. These advantages were readily perceived by the explorers who in common with almost all men of their class were keen to recognize the significance of the natural features of a new country.

This slow awakening was chiefly owing to the constantly recurring troubles between the whites and the aboriginal inhabitants, the interruptions caused by wars between the tribes themselves, wars between the white nations struggling for supremacy or seeking to occupy territory in competition with each other, its remoteness from the centers of trade on the Atlantic seaboard or the St. Lawrence river, and the length of the travel routes penetrating to this far distant region of the frontier.

Often in its history the importance of this site as an eligible one for a trading post, for which it was so well adapted, seemed to have been lost sight of, and the place as a trading or military post seemed at times to have become entirely extinct.

Throughout the hundred years after the discovery period Chicago was occupied intermittently by white traders and missionaries, the *avant courriers* of civilization, as a location for more or less temporary missions and military posts, or as the route of military expeditions to and from the vast interior regions. We cannot forget in such a view the splendid spirit and enterprise of the missionary priests who were always abreast of the explorers and usually in advance

of the traders. The missionaries penetrated the wilderness often-times long before the explorers had arrived to delineate upon their rude maps the main features of the regions opened to view, indeed they were often the explorers themselves, and in their descriptions of lands and tribes they prepared the way for their occupation and settlement.

THE FRONTIER TRADE

In contemplating the wonderfully rapid development of Chicago for the last hundred years we are in danger of forgetting the long history of its trading days, when the frontier trader was often the sole representative of the white man who was eventually to become the proprietor of the territory yet in its wilderness state. The trader was indeed subject to great vicissitudes of safety and welfare, he must carefully determine how far to venture into the unknown, and in establishing relations with the red man, through whom he obtained the much desired furs in exchange for his articles of trade; and he must avoid the appearance of exercising unnecessary force of which he was conscious owing to his possession of superior knowledge of firearms and of all the other resources available to the white man. Discretion in his dealings must be the keynote of his relations with the high-spirited savages, and at the same time he must keep himself and his property safe from the covetousness of the tribes who surrounded him in vastly superior numbers.

The proximity of a fort was of great advantage to these pioneer traders, for although they usually sheltered themselves in separate cabins for trading and living purposes, they were substantially protected by the military forces in occupation of the "tomahawk fortresses" or "jack-knife posts" of the neighborhood in which they had their field of operations.

"For three hundred years the Great Lakes have been the center of an immensely varied and interesting history," says Professor Edward Channing in the preface to his charming book on his chosen subject. "They were originally the home of savages; they were discovered and explored by Frenchmen; they became the scene of a century-long struggle for possession by Indians of many tribes and white men of three nations; and they have finally been occupied and developed by Americans. In every epoch they present a rich field for study." In his review of the regions surrounding these noble bodies of water,—inland seas of vast extent,—the author remarks: "Changes have come with such rapidity that the conditions of fifty years ago seem remote today. In this swift progress the heritage of the past must not be forgotten. The picturesqueness of the early life, the courage and hardihood of the explorers and settlers, and the tale of thrilling adventures and noble deeds should be treasured, as should the achievements of the builders of cities and captains and soldiers of industry of our own day."

In this introduction there may appropriately be quoted a few of the opening paragraphs of a little work by John R. Rathom, now of Providence, Rhode Island, proprietor of the Providence Journal, and a former resident of Chicago. Rathom's volume was printed in 1910.

"Nothing that anybody may write about Chicago can add to her fame, for wherever civilization has penetrated it is known. Her mammoth flights of

business, the loyalty of her citizens, her material growth and capture of one after another of the great markets of the world, are things as familiar in London or Paris, as they are on La Salle street. Along material lines continued and ever-increasing advance is assured.

"We cannot walk through the streets without treading, at every point, on ground made precious by the spilling of blood when the little village was an outpost of civilization, or by the humble beginning of some great enterprise, or by the fire-swept spots that almost at the same moment heralded a city's destruction and a city's regeneration, or by the tramp of the feet of marching troops answering the call of their country in its time of peril.

"There is not an acre of its broad area on which men have not struggled, and conquered fate and set their faces on the forward path; there is not a landmark in it that is not consecrated to the remembrance of those who knew how to endure and bear a bright and smiling front in the face of the blackest despair that ever clouded a city's life. Into its hospitable arms have poured, and will pour till the world gets better, the outcasts of every land, the down-trodden human beings who seek liberty and the right to live, the fugitives from despotism who speak forty different tongues, but have one common cause.

"By the waters of Lake Michigan have been wrought some of the wonders of the world. Other centers, marveling at Chicago's growth, called her an overgrown village, and she planted her feet on the ladder and became a city. Then they said she had reached her limit of achievement, and she answered by making the greatest strides in population and the acquisition of wealth that had ever been recorded in modern history. Then they declared that she was the head and center and culmination of coarse materialism without an atom of high aspiration, and her reply, in the building of the wonderful White City, startled and thrilled the people of every nation and silenced her detractors.

"And Chicago, in her own way, steadily and bravely mounts an eminence and shows signs, in a hundred different paths, that her people have not lost sight of these higher aims, and that they are determined to make their beloved city as graceful as she is big, and to put her on a lofty plane of civic honor and civic beauty. . . . There is another asset, too, that brings the brightest hopes for these higher achievements. It is the devoted loyalty of Chicago's citizens to her cause and future.

"At first glance it seems incompatible to think of 'loyalty' in connection with her towering buildings, her thundering elevated roads, her smashing, crashing, never-stilled whirlpool of traffic, her smoking chimneys and her feverish activity. But nevertheless there is something in her indomitable spirit, in her bigness—an indefinable, intangible magnet that binds us to her fortunes, and afterwards holds us tight to her destiny and makes us jealous guardians of her further reputation."

SURVEY OF MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

The value of the manufactured products of Chicago for the year 1914 was $1,482,814,000. The value of the manufactured products of Illinois in the same year was $2,247,323,000. Thus the value of Chicago's products amounted to about sixty-six per cent of that for the entire state.

Illinois is the most important manufacturing state west of the Alleghany Mountains, and ranks third in that respect among the states of the Union. The total value of its manufactured products is one-eleventh that of the whole country. In 1909, the total value of its manufactured products was $1,919,277,000 as compared with $2,247,323,000 in 1914 as above stated. The same comparison for Chicago alone would be $1,281,171,000 in 1909, and $1,482,814,000 in 1914, thus showing an increase for Chicago in the five year period referred to of over two hundred million dollars.

The total value of the output of Chicago's factories in 1914 exceeded that of any state of the Union with the exception of New York, Pennnsylvania, Massachusetts and Ohio, and, of course, Illinois in which Chicago is situated. The totals for the states mentioned are as follows:

New York	$3,814,661,000
Pennsylvania	2,832,350,000
Illinois	2,247,323,000
Ohio	1,782,808,000
Massachusetts	1,641,373,000

Comparing the value of Chicago's output in 1914 ($1,482,814,000) with the above totals, it can be seen at a glance the immense volume of the manufacturing industries of Chicago when placed beside the totals of the states mentioned.

Of the separate manufacturing industries of Illinois in 1914 the census reported eight with more than $50,000,000 each; ten with between $25,000,000 and $50,000,000; and seventeen with between $10,000,000 and $25,000,000.

The detailed statistics of Chicago's manufactures for 1914 have not yet been completed by the Census Bureau at this writing (May, 1917), and the following summary for the state is given as showing the comparative importance of its leading industries. Only those industries are here mentioned the value of whose output is $25,000,000 or more.

Slaughtering and Meat Packing	$489,230,000
Foundry and Machine Shop Products	141,329,000
Printing and Publishing	112,833,000
Men's Clothing	89,144,000
Agricultural Implements	65,338,000
Iron and Steel (Rolling Mills)	64,995,000
Car Construction (not in railroad shops)	61,316,000
Distilled Liquors	51,596,000
Flour and Milling	49,493,000
Electrical Supplies	45,667,000
Bread and Bakery Products	45,250,000
Lumber and Timber Products	42,064,000
Car Construction (Railroad Shops)	41,496,000
Malt Liquors	39,436,000
Furniture	33,000,000
Gas, Illuminating and Heating	28,171,000
Tobacco Manufactures	26,037,000
Iron and Steel (Blast Furnaces)	25,862,000

NOTES ON THE CENSUS REPORTS

Manufacturing establishments have been assigned in the census reports to the several classes of industries according to their products of chief value. The products reported for a given industry may thus, on the one hand, include minor products very different from those covered by the class designation, and, on the other hand, may not include the total product covered by this designation, because some part of this product may be made in establishments in which it is not the product of chief value.

Statistics of manufactures are compiled primarily for the purpose of showing the absolute and relative magnitude of the different branches of industry covered, and their growth and decline. The census reports do not cover establishments which were idle during the entire year, or whose products were valued at less than $500, or the manufacturing done in educational, eleemosynary, and penal institutions.

As a rule the term "establishment" represents a single plant or factory, but in some cases it represents two or more plants which were operated under a common ownership or for which one set of books of account was kept. If, however, the plants constituting an establishment as thus defined were not all located within the same city or state, separate reports were secured in order that the figures for each plant might be included in the statistics for the city or state in which it was located. In some instances separate reports were secured for different industries carried on in the same establishment.

In comparing figures for value of products with the corresponding figures for previous periods, account should be taken of the general increase in the prices of commodities during recent years. To the extent to which this factor has been influential the figures fail to afford an exact measure of the increase in the volume of business.

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DISCOVERY OF THE SITE OF CHICAGO

Louis Joliet, a French military officer, was the discoverer of the region in which the city of Chicago is situated. He was accompanied by Father Marquette, a Jesuit missionary priest. In two birch bark canoes, manned by five Frenchmen, making a party altogether of seven men, the expedition of which Joliet was in command started from Green Bay, the first stage of their journey being made up the Fox river of Wisconsin to a point where by means of a short portage the party could continue their voyage down the Wisconsin river. This portage had

been reached by former explorers but little further progress than this had been made by white men. The Mississippi river was as yet unknown to the French except by vague reports brought by wandering Indians. These reports were conflicting and it could not be learned definitely whether the "Great River" mentioned by them was a sea or a lake or a river.

These reports having reached France the French minister Colbert wrote to Talon, the Intendant at Quebec in 1672, that efforts should be made "to reach the sea," meaning to discover this great body of water and solve the mystery of its dimensions, and if a river to learn its course and outlet. At that time Canada was governed by Count Frontenac with whom was associated an Intendant who exercised the functions of a prime minister. The French minister's letter to the Intendant contained appropriate instructions for the dispatch of an expedition for the purpose mentioned. As reported in the "Jesuit Relations," Count Frontenac appointed for the undertaking Sieur Joliet, who was considered a competent and reliable leader, to be accompanied by Father Marquette. As it turned out these were extremely fortunate appointments and resulted in the discovery of the Upper Mississippi, and incidentally, in the course of the same voyage in the summer of 1673, the discovery of the site of Chicago.

It does not appear to have been suspected by any of the early French explorers that the Great River of which the Indians told them was one and the same with that discovered by De Soto more than a century before. De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi was made in 1541, at a point near the present city of Memphis, but and connection of this event with the "Great River" of Indian report is not mentioned in the French records of the time.

START OF JOLIET'S EXPEDITION

On the 17th of May, 1673, the expedition took its departure from St. Ignace at the Straits of Mackinac, and coasting along the northern shore of Lake Michigan they soon reached Green Bay where at its lower end was a small missionary station called St. Francis Xavier. Thus while Lake Michigan was known to the French of that time, it was only along its northern portion. The great body of the lake extending three hundred miles to the south was entirely unknown to them and was only brought to the knowledge of the white man in the course of this renowned journey. Having left Green Bay in the ascent of the Fox river they passed up that difficult stream, through Lake Winnebago, and reaching the upper course of the river they found the portage over which the party carried their canoes and cargoes, and found themselves afloat on the Wisconsin river which the Indians assured them would bring them to the Great River of their dreams.

On the way up to the portage the travelers had procured guides from a tribe of Mascoutin Indians, whose village they had visited, and whom they found friendly and well disposed. They accompanied them as far as the portage, but could not be induced to proceed farther. From this point the travelers made their way alone. As the Indians turned back they "could not sufficiently express their astonishment at the sight of seven Frenchmen, alone and in two canoes, daring to undertake so extraordinary and so hazardous an expedition." A voyage of seven days on the Wisconsin river brought the party to its mouth where it flows into the stately Mississippi, and on the 17th day of June, 1673, just one month

from the day they left St. Ignace, they steered their canoes forth upon the broad bosom of the Great River now at last revealed to their wondering gaze.

Both of the explorers kept journals and drew maps of their journey, but all of Joliet's records were lost before he reached Quebec where he went the following year to make a report of his discoveries. Marquette's journal and map were preserved, however, and are the source of our knowledge concerning these events. Thus it happens that Marquette's name is more frequently and prominently mentioned in all the accounts than that of Joliet.

ON THE MISSISSIPPI

Joliet's party followed the course of the river in its southern flow for a month until they reached the mouth of the Arkansas river. Here they decided on making the return journey. They had gone a hundred miles beyond the point where De Soto had crossed it in the previous century, had sailed eleven hundred miles in the thirty days since they had been on the river, an average of about thirty-seven miles a day, and had covered nine degrees of latitude. After numerous inquiries of the Indians whom they met they judged that they were within two or three days' journey of the sea, though they were really still six or seven hundred miles distant from that point. They decided, however, that beyond a doubt the Mississippi discharged its waters into the Gulf of Mexico, and not to the east in Virginia or to the west in California, as so many had conjectured.

The reason given for their return from this point, according to Marquette's journal, was that if they continued farther they would expose themselves to attacks from warlike tribes and would run the risk of losing the results of their voyage, and possibly fall into the hands of the Spaniards who might detain them as captives. Accordingly they began their return journey, but in the midsummer heat their progress was one of great difficulty, for they were now obliged to propel their canoes against the stream. However, they won their slow way northward, passing the mouth of the Ohio and that of the Missouri, until at length they reached the mouth of the Illinois. On their way down the explorers had decided that they would attempt to pursue the general direction of their return journey by way of this river, for the Indians had given them sufficient information regarding its upper course to lead them to believe they could find an easier way to Lake Michigan of which they had sufficient knowledge to justify them in making the attempt.

RETURN OF THE EXPEDITION NORTHWARD

The travelers entered the Illinios river on their way towards the northeast, and were greatly charmed by the scenery presented to their view. They followed its course up stream, noting the contrast of its placid waters with those of the turbulent river over which they had so long been sailing. They beheld its shady forests and its rich plains grazed by bison and deer, passing in the course of their voyage through the wide portion of the river now known as Peoria Lake. Continuing on they came at length to that remarkable cliff on the south bank of its upper waters, since called "Starved Rock," near where they encountered

a friendly tribe of Illinois Indians who gave them welcome information regarding the great lake which now they designated on their maps as "Lac des Illinois." They were thus "the first white men to see the territory now known as the State of Illinois."

Having been joined by a party of Indians as guides to the portage over which they were told they must pass on their route to the great lake, the travelers reached the point where the Desplaines unites with the Kankakee, forming the head of the Illinios river. The voyagers could not fail to notice the ranges of bluffs flanking the bottom lands through which the stream meanders in its flow. This broad channel once carried a mighty flood of water from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi at a time when the glaciers were subsiding, and the lake level was some thirty feet higher than in historic times. None of the countries they had seen compared with those they beheld while voyaging up the Illinois "as regards its fertility of soil, its prairies and woods," and they found it "more beautiful than France." La Salle at a later time described the country along the banks of this river as "so beautiful and so fertile, so free from forests, and so well supplied with prairies, brooks and rivers, so abounding in fish, game and venison, that one can find there in plenty, and with little trouble, all that is needed for the support of flourishing colonies."

APPROACHING THE GREAT DIVIDE

Having now arrived at the confluence of the Desplaines and the Kankakee some forty-five miles from Lake Michigan, they took counsel with their Indian friends as to the shortest route to the lake, though either river was available for the purpose. They chose the former river and proceeded over its shallow waters until they came in sight of that remarkable natural feature afterwards called Mount Joliet, now in these days almost entirely vanished from view owing to the steady work of gravel diggers continued over several generations. Although not mentioned by Marquette in his journal, it was described by St. Cosme when he passed this point a few years later. He notes a tradition among the Indians regarding it, "that at the time of a great deluge one of their ancestors escaped in his canoe and that this little mountain is the canoe which he turned over there."

Joliet's party soon reached the summit of the divide which separates the two great river systems of the west. Here they arrived at the portage over which they must pass to continue their voyage on the waters flowing towards the east. The Desplaines river which they were about leaving has its source nearly a hundred miles to the north of the portage and is a tributary of the Mississippi, eventually reaching the Gulf of Mexico, while the waters of the river they were approaching reaches the sea at the mouth of the St. Lawrence river. Here their Indian friends left them while the party made their way down the five miles which yet intervened before they would arrive at the lake towards which they were moving.

ON THE CHICAGO RIVER

The portage having been passed the party found themselves afloat on the South Branch of the Chicago river as we know it in this later time. Groves of

trees lined its banks and over their heads circled flocks of gulls, indicating the proximity of the great lake still ahead of them. Beyond the trees stretched a level plain which we now know was that portion of the "Grand Prairie of Illinois," extending hundreds of miles to the south, and which reached the shore of the lake for a distance of three or four miles along the shore which they were nearing. They were not long in coming into view of that splendid body of water to which they had already given the name of "Lac des Illinois."

No date is given by Marquette in his journal of the arrival of the party at this point, but it was probably early in September of the year 1673 that the present site of the City of Chicago was first visited by white men. It is quite possible that *coureurs de bois* ("wood rangers") may have visited the region while among the Indian tribes at some previous time, but no record was ever made of such visits before the time that Joliet and Marquette arrived upon the scene and made known the discovery to the world. The mouth of the river is shown on all the early maps as at a point a quarter of a mile south of its present outlet, its direct channel being obstructed by a long sand spit that ran out from the north shore of the river which has long since been dredged away.

ENTRANCE UPON LAKE MICHIGAN

The stimulating breath of the lake breezes which met them as they issued forth upon the blue waters of the "Lake of the Illinois" must have thrilled the explorers with feelings of joy and triumph, after having escaped so many dangers and now so reasonably certain of a successful termination of their voyage. Joliet was a man of keen vision, and although he never again saw this region, his description of it was written out by Father Dablon from his dictation and is printed in the "Jesuit Relations" both in the original French and in an English translation. His own records were lost before he reached Montreal and this is the only account we have written from his point of view. Speaking in general of the country his party traversed before reaching the mouth of the Chicago river he said: "At first, when we were told of these treeless lands, I imagined that it was a country ravaged by fire, where the soil was so poor that it could produce nothing. But we have certainly observed the contrary; and no better soil can be found, either for corn, for vines, or for any other fruit whatever." Of the Chicago river Joliet goes on to say: "The place at which we entered the lake is a harbor, very convenient for receiving vessels and sheltering them from the wind. The river is wide and deep, abounding in catfish and sturgeon. Game is abundant there; oxen, cows (probably referring to the bison then so numerous on the adjoining prairies), stags, does, and turkeys are found there in greater numbers than elsewhere. For a distance of eighty leagues I did not pass a quarter of an hour without seeing some of them.

"There are prairies," he continues, "three, six, ten, and twenty leagues in length, and three in width, surrounded by forests of the same extent; beyond these, the prairies begin again, so that there is as much of one sort of land as of the other. . . . A settler would not there spend ten years in cutting down and burning the trees; on the very day of his arrival he could put his plow into the ground, and if he had no oxen from France, he could use those of this country, or even the animals possessed by the western savages, on which they

ride as we do on horses. After sowing grain of all kinds, he might devote himself especially to planting the vine, and grafting fruit trees; to dressing ox hides wherewith to make shoes; and with the wool of these oxen he could make cloth much finer in quality than most of that which we bring from France. Thus he would easily find in the country his food and clothing, and nothing would be wanting except salt; but as he could make provision for it, it would not be very difficult to remedy that inconvenience."

VIEWS OF THE EXPLORERS REGARDING THE NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF CHICAGO

But although Father Dablon, in his letter printed in the "Jesuit Relations," reporting what Joliet had said, considered that this was the extent of the information possessed by Joliet regarding the economic values of the region he had discovered, yet it appears that Joliet had made known his views to others in much greater fullness, and when La Salle came this way a few years later these views were referred to and quoted as if they were common knowledge among the French. Thus La Salle takes up a statement which he says had been made by Joliet, namely, that the River Checagou empties only a part of its waters into the lake, and that a "little channel" leads through the low divide carrying another portion of its waters into the "Illinois river" (referring to the Desplaines). Joliet had suggested that this might be the route of a canal connecting the waters of the lake with those of the Desplaines, thus making possible continuous navigation to the Gulf of Mexico, which it was now well understood could be reached by the Mississippi and its tributaries.

LA SALLE DOUBTS THE FEASIBILITY OF JOLIET'S PLAN

In a letter written to Count Frontenac a few years after Joliet's visit, La Salle expressed his doubts of the practicability of a canal such as Joliet had proposed, believing that the "utility of it would be inconsiderable, because I doubt . . . whether a vessel could resist the great freshets caused by the currents in the Checagou in the spring, which are much heavier than those in the Rhone. Moreover," he continued, "it would only be serviceable for a short time, and at most for fifteen or twenty days each year, after which there would be no more waters. What confirms me in the opinion that the Checagou could not clear the mouth of the channel is, that when the lake is full of ice, the most navigable mouths are blocked at this period; and when the ice is melted, there is no more water in the Checagou to prevent the mouth from filling up with sand. Nor should I have made any mention of this communication if Joliet had not proposed it without regard to its difficulties. Moreover, I maintain that even should such a communication between Louisiana and New France be desired, it is too difficult by way of the lakes because of the diversity of the winds to which its situation exposes it." La Salle closes his letter with these words: "This is what I have to say concerning this passage by which Joliet pretended an easy communication could be had with Louisiana." It will be noted that the name "Checagou" (thus spelled) as applied to the river and portage occurs quite frequently in the letters of La Salle even at this early time.

COMPLETION OF JOLIET'S VOYAGE

It would be highly desirable to know exactly the date when the site of the present city of Chicago was first visited by white men. Perhaps the lost journal of Joliet contained this important information, and no doubt the explorers had an understanding between them that their narratives would each supplement the other. We cannot fail to note the harmony which existed between the two leaders on this expedition, in such striking contrast with the bickerings and disagreements observed in the accounts of other expeditions of a like nature. An example of this is to be found in the career of La Salle, who was, says Parkman, "without question one of the most remarkable explorers whose names live in history." And yet he was given to universal distrust of his associates, stern and overbearing in his treatment of his men, and excepting his faithful lieutenant Tonty possessed scarcely a friend in the world. There is no severer test of the friendly relations between officers of an exploring expedition than a long absence in regions beyond the bounds of civilization.

At the time of their arrival upon the site of Chicago Joliet was only twenty-eight years of age while Marquette was thirty-six. These men were friends before they started on this expedition, and both were single-minded in their purpose to accomplish its objects. Having passed out of the river they turned the prows of their canoes northward along the western shore of the lake, not doubting but that they were now afloat on the same great body of water which they had passed over in its northern portion in the beginning of their journey, though more than three hundred miles intervened between their present position and their starting point. The emerald hues of the prairies they had left behind them were now replaced by the wooded shores of the lake still in their pristine loveliness. The mottled foliage of the early autumn gladdened their view while the shores rose in bold bluffs, broken here and there by ravines running back far beyond the range of vision. Throughout this memorable journey the voyagers gaze on scenes, familiar now to millions of people, then unknown to civilized man. They see the gradual increase in the height of the bluffs as they proceed on their northward way. No comments are made by Marquette in his journal on this part of their journey, and it was most likely made without special incident. He closes his narrative by writing that "at the end of September we reached the Bay des Puants (Green Bay), from which we started at the beginning of June.

RESULTS OF THE VOYAGE

The modern city of Green Bay stands on a site not far from the old Mission of St. Francis Xavier, and here the explorers arrived after having traveled nearly twenty-five hundred miles, had discovered the upper portion of the Mississippi and the Chicago river, had been the first white men to behold the lands of the present states of Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky and of Illinois. They had sailed eleven hundred miles in birch bark canoes on the Mississippi, had traversed the Illinois river from its mouth to the Chicago portage, and three hundred miles on Lake Michigan to their starting point, all of which they had accomplished in about one hundred and twenty days, an

average of about twenty-one miles a day, and had escaped without serious loss or accident, after having penetrated far into the unknown lands of the vast interior. Here the party remained during the fall and winter, and in the following year Joliet set out for the St. Lawrence to make his report to the governor-general of Canada. He never returned to the west. He was rewarded, however, for his splendid services with a grant of some islands in the lower St. Lawrence, including the extensive Island of Anticosti, and died in 1700. Father Marquette was destined never to return to the French colonial capital. His health had become impaired by reason of the hardships endured during the remarkable journey of which we have given an account above. The next year Marquette proceeded again to the Illinois country but as it was late in the season before he started he was detained at the Chicago portage awaiting the return of spring. He succeeded in reaching the village of Illinois Indians situated on the Illinois River where he was received by his Indian friends with great enthusiasm, who during the first visit had become warmly attached to him.

MARQUETTE'S RETURN TO THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

During the winter of his stay Marquette occupied a cabin on the banks of the South Branch of the Chicago river which Marquette calls in his journal "the river of the Portage." In recent years this spot was marked by a large wooden cross standing at the foot of the present Robey street, but which was destroyed by miscreants some time afterwards. While dwelling in this cabin a flood in the river obliged him to seek quarters at a place now known as Summit. A monument constructed of boulders by the Chicago and Alton railroad company now marks the spot, on which there is an inscription reading, "Father Marquette landed here in 1675." But the good priest's health continued to grow worse, and at last he realized that his life was fast ebbing away, and it was necessary if possible to reach some of the older missions where he could either recover his health or hand over his responsibilities to others. Soon after Easter he set out with many tokens of regard from these good people, and as a mark of honor a party of them escorted him for more than thirty leagues on his way, and assisted him with his baggage.

Some writers have supposed that he took the route by way of the Desplaines-Chicago portage, but it is more probable, says Edward G. Mason who wrote an account of his movements, that he ascended the Kankakee, guided by his Indian friends, and reached Lake Michigan by way of the St. Joseph river. His destination was St. Ignace and his chosen route lay along the eastern shore, which as yet was unknown except through reports from the Indians. Now alone with two companions he pushed forward but with rapidly diminishing strength, until, on the 19th of May the devoted priest felt that his hour had come, and being near a small river he asked to be placed ashore. Here a bark shed was built by his companions, and the dying man placed within its rude walls. "With perfect cheerfulness and composure," relates Parkman, "he gave directions for his burial, asked their forgiveness for the trouble he had caused them, administered to them the sacrament of penitence, and thanked God that he was permitted to die in the wilderness, a missionary of the Faith and a member of the Jesuit brotherhood."

DEATH OF MARQUETTE

Soon after Father Marquette expired and was buried by his companions at that place in accordance with the directions he had given, while they made their way to St. Ignace with their sad tidings. Two years later a party of Ottawa Indians, who were informed of the death and burial place of the priest were passing that way, found the grave, opened it, washed and dried the bones, and placed them in a box of birch bark; and bore them, while chanting funeral songs, to St. Ignace, where they were buried beneath the floor of the chapel of the mission. A statue now stands in a public place near the water front at the town of St. Ignace, erected there in recent years.

Thus ends the story of Marquette, who is, one may say, the patron saint of the people of Chicago. He participated with Joliet in discovering the Chicago river, and looked out upon its vast expanse of plain and forest. He came again and spent a winter in a rude cabin on the river bank, and from here passed on to his chosen field of work on the Illinois river where his last missionary labors were performed. Memorials of him have been placed all over the west where he spent the last two years of his brief but memorable career. The story has been often told but never loses its interest. Let it be told in every Chicago home, says President James, and "every good cause in this city will feel the beneficent results of its influence" in awakening a pride in our earliest annals, "and quickening the spirit of service in all our people." A statue of Marquette was placed by the state of Wisconsin in the capitol at Washington where it stands among the heroes of our history in the beautiful Hall of Fame. In Chicago his name is cherished and perpetuated in the name of a great park, an avenue, a school, an office building, and in numerous other connections.

LA SALLE, THE EMPIRE BUILDER

No greater figure appears upon the vast scenes of western discovery than that of Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, whose ambition it was to plant colonies and establish the royal authority of King Louis XIV over the extensive regions of New France, now opened to the view of the civilized world by the discoveries of Joliet and others. He had already made a journey far into the wilderness towards the Ohio river, and had afterwards become established in a small seigniory which he had named Fort Frontenac, situated on the north shore of Lake Ontario near where the waters of that lake pursue their course to the sea down the St. Lawrence.

Having learned of the remarkable voyage of Joliet to the Mississippi he formed the purpose of entering upon the further exploration of that mighty river. With this in view he visited France in 1678, and obtained from the king a permit "to labor at the discovery of the western parts of New France, and for the execution of this enterprise to build forts at such places as you may think necessary, and enjoy possession thereof under the same clauses and conditions as of Fort Frontenac."

La Salle was born at Rouen, France, in 1643, and had received a good education there, showing himself especially proficient in mathematics and the exact sciences. At the age of twenty-three he came to Canada where he became fasci-

nated with the accounts brought by missionaries and traders from the Upper Lakes, and though called by his enemies (for owing to his peculiar disposition he always had plenty of them) "a visionary and dreamer," he determined to ascertain if a western passage could not be found by way of the Mississippi to the South Sea and beyond that to the coasts of India and China. It was a common belief among many that the great river flowed into the Gulf of California, or as it was called the Vermilion Sea, in spite of the reports of Joliet and Marquette, his companion, that its mouth was probably in the Gulf of Mexico. It was in pursuance of his great project that he had visited France as above mentioned and had obtained the king's consent and authority.

As the historian Parkman says of him La Salle "breathed the self-relying energies of modern practical enterprise." After his return from France he began to put his plans into effect. The expenses of his expedition had to be advanced by himself as it was believed that the value of the furs he would collect in his intercourse with the tribes would be more than sufficient to reimburse him for his outlay. He had had considerable experience in trading with the Indians while he was at Fort Frontenac and had accumulated what might be termed a moderate fortune in the course of his trading operations. In addition to what he was himself able to command he found certain other parties in Montreal who believed in the profitable nature of his enterprise, who made advances to him in order to equip the proposed expedition in an adequate manner.

LA SALLE PREPARES FOR HIS FIRST EXPEDITION TO THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

On his return from France with the king's authority he enlisted in his service "a small army," and among them was one man who was himself equal to an army. Henri de Tonty, born in Italy, but long a soldier of France, became La Salle's most devoted friend and trusted lieutenant, and, according to Edward G. Mason, "deserves to have a place in the annals of the West second only to that of his great commander." Tonty's father was once governor of an Italian city, and was concerned with his son in a revolt at Naples against the Spanish rule. "They took refuge from political troubles," says Mason, "in France, where the elder Tonty became eminent as a financier and originated the Tontine form of life insurance which perpetuates his name." The son served in the French army and in an action during the Sicilian wars he met with the misfortune of losing his right hand which was shot away by a grenade. After that he wore an artificial hand of iron which he covered with a glove. When exercising authority among recalcitrant members of his party or in disputes with savages he often administered blows with this hand which inspired deep respect and fear, and he was called "the man with the iron hand." Mrs. Catherwood, in her book "The Story of Tonty," in speaking of La Salle, says: "The finest fact in the Norman explorer's career is the devotion he commanded in Henri de Tonty."

Another remarkable character whose name is associated with that of La Salle was Louis Hennepin, a Recollet friar of an adventurous disposition. Hennepin had been sent to Fort Frontenac as a missionary, and here he became on intimate terms with La Salle, "with whom," he says, "he used to read histories of travels after which they discussed together their plans of discovery." He wrote an

account of La Salle's discoveries claiming that a considerable share of them were his own. He was indeed a conspicuous actor in the expeditions of La Salle as we shall presently relate but he was by no means accurate, even fabricating incidents that seemed to magnify his own importance. He had a passion for travel and a burning desire to visit strange lands; and he found plenty of adventure as a member of La Salle's expeditions, of which he became the historian. Parkman writes of him, "Hennepin had seen and dared much, for among his many failings fear had no part; and where his vanity or his spite was not involved he often told the truth. His books have their value, with all their enormous fabrications."

DEPARTURE OF FIRST EXPEDITION

The time was now arrived for the grand expedition to take its departure, and accordingly La Salle assembled his forces at Fort Frontenac for the start. It was late in the fall of 1678 that the first party left the fort, its destination being the mouth of the Niagara river. La Salle's purpose was to cross the Niagara portage and by way of Lake Erie to pursue his journey to the upper lakes. The plan was that after the departure of the first section of the expedition it was to be followed later by the second section. There were thirty men composing La Salle's force, half of them in the advance boat the second boat to follow with the remainder. The two vessels carrying this force were laden with valuable merchandise with which to establish trade relations with the Indians, including a stock of tools, cordage and iron for the construction of forts and boats. The boats in which they were embarked were too large to be carried over the portage, and new ones must be built on the upper waters.

Father Hennepin accompanied the first vessel, and after about a month La Salle himself with Tonty followed in the second. Meantime the advance party entered the Niagara river and after proceeding as far as it was safe to do so, pressed forward on foot for a few miles, to obtain an idea of the character of the land over which the portage must be made. They soon came within sound of the great cataract beyond, and a little further on the whole panorama of Niagara Falls burst upon their view. The credit for this discovery is given by all historians to Father Hennepin who records the event and drew a picture of the falls which appears in his work, "A New Discovery." He was indeed the first European to behold that mighty cataract. The date of the discovery of Niagara Falls was December 6, 1678.

It seems strange that the Falls of Niagara had not been previously visited by white men, and that their discovery was not made until more than nine years after Lake Erie had been entered from its western end by Joliet who had been prevented at that time from approaching the Niagara portage on account of the hostility of "those pests of the wilderness," the Iroquois. The discovery of the falls, it may be noted here, took place more than five years after that of the Chicago river by the same intrepid explorer, Joliet, which it will be remembered was in August or September, 1673. But this is readily accounted for by the fact that the Iroquois Indians held possession of all the region around the falls, and that they were almost continuously at war with the French, thus preventing them from penetrating the country in that direction.

But fortunately La Salle happened to be starting on his long contemplated western journey at a time when there was a lull in Iroquois hostility, and he seized the favorable moment to pass over the portage and avail himself of this more convenient route to the West. The usual route of the French in traveling from the St. Lawrence to Mackinac and points beyond was by way of the Ottawa river, thence by portage into French river, thus passing into Lake Huron through Georgian Bay.

CROSSING THE NIAGARA PORTAGE

It was now of course too late in the season to undertake the Lake Erie stage of the contemplated journey, and indeed it was no part of La Salle's plan to make the attempt. He therefore employed his time in securing the consent of the Indians to his carrying arms and ammunition across the Niagara portage, building a vessel above the cataract, and establishing a fortified warehouse near the mouth of the river on Lake Ontario. The consent of the Indians for these proceedings was obtained only after much persuasion and with great reluctance on their part. "I told them my plan," he says, "and gave the best pretexts I could, and I succeeded in my attempt."

After deciding upon a suitable place to begin the construction of his vessel on Lake Erie his plans were nearly defeated by the loss of one of his vessels which he had left below. He was able to save the anchors and cables intended for the new vessel, but he was obliged to return to Fort Frontenac, to procure supplies to replace those which he had lost. As Hennepin observes, this loss "would have made anybody but him give up the enterprise." La Salle was now unable to go on with the projected warehouse at the mouth of the river and devoted his whole attention to the building of his vessel above the cataract.

While absent at Fort Frontenac La Salle's party which he had left behind at the portage began the heavy task of transporting the cargo of his remaining boat below the falls up the steep heights over which they must climb in order to reach the calm waters above. The distance was about twelve miles, and the goods were at length brought to their destination on the 22d of January, in the year 1679. The snow was deep and the heavily laden party of thirty men toiled over the rough forest pathway with their burdens while Hennepin plodded along through the drifts "with his portable altar lashed fast to his back." Two leagues above the falls a spot was chosen where the ship-builders began their work. Forges and tools were assembled and the Indians of the vicinity looked on in wonder as "the vast ribs of the wooden monster" were erected into position for the eventual launching.

Meantime the men were half starved for want of the provisions lost in the wreck, and they suffered from exposure as the only shelter they had was in the rough wigwams built for them by the Indians. The Indians by this time began to show many signs of hostility and refused to supply the men with corn which they depended upon in part for subsistence. "In this extremity," says Parkman, "the two Mohegans did excellent service, bringing deer and other game, which relieved the most pressing wants of the party." The journey made by La Salle to Fort Frontenac was over a distance of 250 miles along the shore and over the ice of Lake Ontario, with two men and a dog dragging a sled.

On his arrival at Fort Frontenac La Salle found a discouraging prospect, his creditors who had made advances to equip his expedition had become suspicious and had withdrawn their support. They had even seized on his property at Fort Frontenac including a quantity of furs which were about to be sent to Quebec for sale.

FIRST WINTER AT NIAGARA PORTAGE

However, La Salle managed to return to the Niagara portage with some necessary supplies, in the hope that he could complete his projected voyage up the lakes and return before the season was over with furs enough to pay his debts. He had been so long absent from his party that the spring and half the summer had passed before he joined them again. He found on his arrival that his faithful lieutenant, Tonty, had succeeded in launching the vessel which had been built on the stocks, and it was now afloat and at anchor on the waters of Lake Erie. The vessel was christened the "Griffin," it was of about 45 tons burden, and was armed with seven cannon. There were two masts and a jib rigged with sails, and there were accommodations for thirty-two persons aboard of her. A part of her cargo consisted of the materials for another vessel to be built on the Illinois river, down which La Salle intended eventually to reach the Gulf of Mexico.

VOYAGE OF THE "GRIFFIN"

On the 7th of August, 1679, the "Griffin" at last departed from its anchorage at the head of the Niagara river on her westward voyage through Lake Erie. On board were La Salle, Father Hennepin, and the pilot Luc (captains of vessels were called "pilots" at that time), and a party of about thirty followers. The men at their departure sang a "Te Deum" and fired a salute from their cannons. For three days the vessel held its course before a favorable wind over the virgin waters of the lake where sail had never been seen before. On the fourth day it was steered northward into the Strait of Detroit where on either hand lay verdant prairies, dotted with groves and bordered with lofty forests. There were to be seen herds of deer, flocks of swan and wild turkeys. The bulwarks of the vessel were hung with game which the men had killed on the shore, and even a number of bears were added to the spoils of the hunters, these animals being much commended by Hennepin "for their want of ferocity and the excellence of their flesh."

Crossing Lake St. Clair the vessel and its happy crew emerged into Lake Huron, which was spread out before them like a sea. They entered upon its broad bosom and for a time bore on prosperously, but soon a furious tempest arose and the "Griffin" tossed wildly among the short and perilous waves of the raging lake. "La Salle called on his followers to commend themselves to heaven," writes Parkman, so serious appeared to be their situation. The "godless pilot," however, did not join in these prayerful petitions but rather uttered loud complaints against the commander who had brought him into this danger after having won honor on the great ocean, only "to drown at last ignominiously in fresh water." La Salle then bethought him of St. Anthony of Padua, the worker of miracles, in whose honor he promised to build a chapel if he would exercise his power to deliver him from this peril. The saint heard

his prayer and the tempest speedily moderated; and the "Griffin" presently hove in sight of the island of Mackinac where it found shelter from the angry lake.

LA SALLE'S ADVANCE PARTY

In the previous autumn La Salle had sent forward a party by the old northern route with orders to gather furs ready to be dispatched to the Niagara portage as soon as he should arrive at the upper lakes. La Salle expected to find this party awaiting him at Mackinac, but on reaching that point he found that some of his men had squandered the goods which had been intrusted to them for trading purposes, or had used them in trading on their own account. He had hoped to return with a cargo of furs with which to liquidate his indebtedness. Tonty, who had gone in advance of the "Griffin" in a canoe, had already come upon some of the delinquents and had placed them under arrest awaiting the chief's arrival. In this disappointment La Salle resolved to push on westward into Lake Michigan, and in one of the islands of Green Bay he found that several of his men of the advance party, who had remained faithful, had collected a large store of furs amounting to some six tons. These he placed aboard of the "Griffin," after discharging her cargo of tools, merchandise and arms intended for the Illinois country, into four canoes, and dispatched the vessel to the Niagara portage on the 18th of September. The vessel's pilot was given orders to return at once to the head of Lake Michigan as soon as she had delivered her cargo of furs, in order to bring further supplies to the party whom they were to find at the mouth of the St. Joseph river.

But no sooner had the "Griffin" got fairly started on her voyage than she was overtaken by a violent storm and she was lost with all on board, and nothing was ever heard of her afterwards. Of this, however, La Salle had no knowledge and he continued to hope for the vessel's reappearance for many months thereafter. Thus ended La Salle's hopes of satisfying his creditors, and he was obliged to pursue his further plans with crippled resources and under the heavy burden of fear of impending calamity constantly tugging at his heart. La Salle was a man of unconquerable resolution and hesitated not in the face of enormous difficulties to challenge the fates, and press on to the ultimate end of his great designs. In spite of misfortunes that would have appalled almost any other man he finally won the greatest triumph of any explorer since Columbus, he navigated the Mississippi river to its mouth, he took possession of the vast territory of Louisiana in the name of the French king, and returned a conqueror to France to give an account of his wonderful deeds. As we follow his footsteps through the vast unknown regions of the western wilderness we are impressed with the conviction that here was one of the most intrepid spirits of the time. The historian Parkman says of him: "America owes him an enduring memory, for in his masculine figure she sees the pioneer who guided her to the possession of her richest heritage."

RESUMES JOURNEY IN CANOES

La Salle after parting with the "Griffin" pursued his voyage with the remainder of his party, consisting of fourteen men in their four heavily laden

canoes, down the west coast of Lake Michigan though much hindered by storms, passing the mouth of the Chicago river, and eventually reaching the mouth of the St. Joseph river. Here he landed and waited for Tonty to join him with twenty men who had been instructed to proceed down the eastern shore of the lake from Mackinac. While on its way towards the south La Salle's party found an abundant supply of game, and with the aid of the faithful Mohegan hunter who was a member of the party, there was no lack of bear's meat and venison. But on their arrival at the St. Joseph they found no sign of Tonty and his party, and, as it was the beginning of November, it was feared that the river, which they must ascend to find the portage into the Kankakee, would soon be frozen over and prevent their further progress. The men showed much impatience over the delay in waiting for Tonty and clamored to be led forward. To divert their thoughts La Salle set them to work at building a fort of timber at the mouth of the river. After waiting some three weeks Tonty at length appeared, and on the third of December the entire party, now thirty-three men in all, began the ascent of the St. Joseph river, "whose weedy edges were already glassed with thin flakes of ice." All hope for the appearance of the "Griffin" before the winter had further advanced was now abandoned.

The task now was to find the portage into the Kankakee and thence by its waters to descend to the Illinois on whose banks, at some point yet to chosen, was the destined site for their winter quarters. When the party approached the site of the present city of South Bend, some thirty miles up the river, they experienced much difficulty in finding the trail which would lead them over the four or five miles across the portage, but at length, with the assistance of the Mohegan hunter, the portage was found and the canoes and their loads were quickly transported over the intervening land. Parkman graphically describes this portion of their journey. He says: "They soon reached a spot where the oozy, saturated soil quaked beneath their tread. All around were clumps of alder-bushes, tufts of rank grass, and pools of glistening water. In the midst, a dark and lazy current, which a tall man might bestride, crept twisting like a snake among the weeds and rushes. Here were the sources of the Kankakee, one of the heads of the Illinois.

CROSSING THE ST. JOSEPH-KANKAKEE PORTAGE

"They set their canoes on this thread of water, embarked their baggage and themselves, and pushed down the sluggish streamlet, looking, at a little distance, like men who sailed the land. Fed by an unceasing tribute of the spongy soil, it quickly widened to a river; and they floated on their way through a voiceless, lifeless solitude of dreary oak barrens, or boundless marshes overgrown with reeds. At night they built their fires on ground made firm by frost, and bivouacked among the rushes. A few days brought them to a more favored region. On the right hand and on the left stretched the boundless prairie, dotted with leafless groves and bordered by gray wintry forests, scorched by the fires kindled in the dried grass by Indian hunters, and strewn with the carcasses and the bleached skulls of innumerable buffalo."

The party at length emerged into the Illinois river and soon after passed the site of the future city of Ottawa. A few miles below on the south side of

the river towered the lofty cliff, crested with trees that overhung the current, now known as Starved Rock, but which La Salle named the "Rock of St. Louis." They reached the spot where at the present time stands the town of Utica. Here they found a populous village of Illinois Indians just as Joliet and Marquette had done six years before, and here they landed and held religious services, on New Year's day of the year 1680. Father Hennepin improved the occasion to make an address to the men and their leader, which, as he tells us, was "most touching." In his address he very appropriately exhorted them to patience, faith and constancy.

LA SALLE REACHES PEORIA LAKE

Four days later La Salle and his party reached the long expansion of the river now known as Peoria lake where he found a village of Peoria Indians. He now began to look for a suitable site for his projected fort and shops at which he might begin the construction of a vessel in which to descend to the Mississippi, down whose current he intended to pursue his jonrney to the Gulf of Mexico. This route had only as yet been partially explored, but La Salle knew from the reports brought by Joliet and Marquette that such a route must be a feasible one. On his arrival at the village he met with considerable difficulty in placating the savages who were disposed to object to his plans for building a fort at that place. However, he succeeded in overcoming their opposition, just as he had that of the Iroquois Indians at the Niagara river in the previous year, and began the building of a fort which he named Fort Crevecoeur.

In scenes like these and through such adventures as are here described the unbroken spirit of La Salle rose in mastery of every obstacle that presented itself, and his iron determination subdued every element that stood in the way of his purpose. But so strong a character as La Salle undoubtedly possessed it was not without certain serious limitations. With the exception of his lieutenant, Tonty, he scarcely owned a friend among the companions of his voyages. His followers hated him almost without exception, and there were those among them who attempted to take his life on more than one occasion. "All his fine qualities were counterbalanced," says Parkman, "by a haughtiness of manner which often made him insupportable, and by a harshness towards those under his command which drew upon him an implacable hatred." Such was the man who opened great highways of trade and himself set the example of following natural arteries of traffic into the far distant regions of the Great West. More than that, he laid vast plans of dominion for his sovereign, the French king, and wisely chose commanding sites for strongholds among the numberless hordes of the savages who roamed the wilderness, thus becoming the greatest Empire Builder of his time.

BUILDS FORT CREVECOEUR

La Salle had brought with him in his eight canoes certain necessary tools which were used in constructing the fort, but as his plans included the building of a vessel with masts and sails with which to navigate the Mississippi, he was without anchors, sails and cordage which he had hoped the "Griffin" would

have brought him on Lake Michigan. However, the hull of the new vessel was half finished before the end of the winter, and now La Salle determined on the bold step of returning himself with a small party to the St. Joseph in the hope that he would find the missing vessel safely at that point, and could then bring on the much needed supplies.

Meantime six of his men had deserted him during the winter and had sought refuge among the more distant tribes. "In these early French enterprises in the West," says Parkman, "it was to the last degree difficult to hold men to their duty. Once fairly in the wilderness, completely freed from the sharp restraints of authority in which they had passed their lives, a spirit of lawlessness broke out among them with a violence proportioned to the pressure which had hitherto controlled it. Discipline had no resources and no guarantee." Such men were attracted by the life of unbridled license which they beheld among the savages, and they would often vanish from sight in the wilderness and remain absent in voluntary exile for the remainder of their days. In manners and habits such renegades became assimilated to the tribes among whom they dwelt. One observer who knew the character of the French-Canadians said of them that "it was much easier for a Frenchman to learn to live like an Indian than for an Indian to learn to live like a Frenchman."

RETURNS TO CANADA

Leaving Fort Crevecoeur in charge of Tonty, on the first of March, La Salle set out in company with four Frenchmen and an Indian, with canoes and sledges (for the ground was partly covered with snow), sometimes breaking the ice in the river to make a passage for their canoes, sometimes dragging them on the sledges, and thus they reached the St. Joseph in twenty-four days of arduous traveling. Finding no signs of the ill-fated "Griffin," La Salle and his small party pushed on through the woods of Michigan towards the east. At length they reached Lake Erie, and after crossing the Detroit river succeeded in reaching the Niagara portage. Here he found several of the men belonging to his party at that place. Replacing his worn out companions with three fresh men he resumed his journey, and on the 6th of May he arrived at Fort Frontenac. "During sixty-five days," says Parkman, "he had toiled almost incessantly, traveling, by the course he took, about a thousand miles through a country beset with every form of peril and obstruction." Thus was concluded the first journey of La Salle into the Illinois country, which, it is seen, he had reached by way of the St. Joseph-Kankakee portage, both going and returning, and had avoided the Chicago-Desplaines portage altogether. He made the acquaintance of Chicago at a later time, as will appear in the further progress of this narrative. His object had been in large part frustrated through the disaster to the "Griffin," but he had succeeded in establishing a fort on the Illinois, he had made a start in building a ship to navigate the Mississippi, and it was his hope and desire to complete these preparations for his further advance during the following season.

It was now the beginning of the summer of 1680 and La Salle began to take account of his resources for the further prosecution of his great enterprise. No man ever had a more discouraging prospect presented to his view. In his

absence misfortunes of almost every kind had overtaken him and his affairs were involved in seemingly utter ruin. "Man and Nature seemed in arms against him; his agents had plundered him, his creditors had seized his property, and several of his canoes, richly laden, had been lost in the rapids of the St. Lawrence." But with dauntless courage he began at once the work of repair. Proceeding to Montreal he succeeded, in spite of his crippled resources and damaged credit, in securing the supplies he required, and the needful succors for the forlorn band he had left behind him on the Illinois.

And now not a moment must be lost in making a start for the West. He had returned to Fort Frontenac from Montreal, and was on the point of embarking for the Niagara portage on the first stage of the journey, when he was met by a couple of *voyageurs,* just arrived from the Illinois country, bearing a letter from Tonty to his chief who wrote, that soon after La Salle's departure nearly all the men had deserted, after destroying Fort Crevecoeur with all its precious store of arms and goods. "And now La Salle's work must be begun afresh," says the historian Parkman. "He had staked all, and all had seemingly been lost. In stern, relentless effort, he had touched the limits of human endurance, and the harvest of his toil was disappointment, disaster, and impending ruin. The shattered fabric of his enterprise was prostrate in the dust. His friends were despondent, his foes were blatant and exultant.

"Did he bend before the storm? No human eye could pierce the depths of his reserved and haughty nature, but the surface was calm and no sign betrayed a shaken resolve or an altered purpose. Where weaker men would have abandoned all in despairing apathy, he turned anew to his work with the same vigor and the same apparent confidence as if borne on the full tide of success. His best hope was in Tonty. Could that brave and true hearted officer, and the three or four faithful men who had remained with him, make good their foothold on the Illinois, and save from destruction the vessel on the stocks, and the forge and tools so laboriously carried thither, then a basis was left on which the ruined enterprise might be built up once more. There was no time to lose. Tonty must be succored soon or succor would come too late. La Salle had already provided the necessary material, and a few days sufficed to complete his preparations. On the 10th of August he embarked again for the Illinois, and with him went his lieutenant, La Forest."

The party was composed of twenty-five men in all, including a surgeon, ship carpenters, joiners, masons, soldiers, *voyageurs,* and laborers, with everything needful for the outfit of the vessel. This was the beginning of La Salle's second journey to the Illinois country, but not yet could his ultimate purpose be achieved. He was destined to find that his accumulated misfortunes were even greater than he knew, and that still another return to the East would be necessary before the final accomplishment of his enterprise would be attained.

LA SALLE'S SECOND JOURNEY TO THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

It required almost three months of continuous traveling for La Salle to reach again the St. Joseph river at the head of Lake Michigan with his heavy load of supplies and his force of men. In order to reach Tonty with as little delay as possible he left the principal part of his force at St. Joseph and pushed on over the portage with a few men, and by way of the Kankakee soon reached

the Illinois river, and hastened onward towards his destination. On arriving in sight of the Rock of St. Louis (in later times known as Starved Rock) he was disappointed in not finding any signs of its occupation by Tonty, for he had carefully instructed that officer to retire to this rock in case of any disaster occurring at Fort Crevecoeur, and there fortify himself and remain until help should arrive. This, indeed, he had done, but just at that time an Iroquois invasion had taken place and the entire country in that vicinity had been desolated, and all the native inhabitants had been driven away. There being no food left in that part of the country Tonty was obliged to retire up the river, and in doing so he ascended the Desplaines river and passed over the Chicago portage. He then made his way to Mackinac and he had already arrived there at the time that La Salle was seeking him on the Illinois river. But La Salle had no knowledge of his movements and continued on down to Peoria lake in his search.

LOSES TRACE OF TONTY

When La Salle reached the site of Fort Crevecoeur he found the charred ruins of the fort, but, fortunately, the vessel in its half finished condition was uninjured. Still uncertain as to which direction Tonty might have taken La Salle decided to follow the river down to its mouth in the hope of finding some indication of his movements. He arrived at the mouth of the Illinois river on the 7th of December and beheld the broad current of the Mississippi before him, the "object of his day-dreams, the destined avenue of his ambition and his hopes." But though this was La Salle's first view of the great river with which his name will forever be associated as its explorer, he had no time for anything more than a brief survey. Then he turned the prow of his canoe to the north and hurried forward on the return journey. Tonty had not yet been found and every moment was precious.

On the 11th he had again reached the Rock of St. Louis near which he had left three of his men while passing down. These men were concealed on an island in the river, and they rejoined La Salle on the way up stream. At this time the great comet of 1680 was visible in all its splendor, and night after night the men watched it as it reached its culmination, and during the following month as it slowly faded away. La Salle felt sure by this time that Tonty had passed north by way of the Desplaines, and at its junction with the Kankakee he headed up the former in the hope of overtaking him. But the river was closed by ice and finding a suitable place for the purpose he left two of his men with their canoes and passed on northward on foot with his five remaining men. At a point probably near the site of the present city of Joliet he bore off to the eastward, passed over the Calumet region through deep snows, and at length reached the mouth of the St. Joseph river. Here he arrived at the end of January, 1681, but found no tidings from Tonty, who as we have seen had gone north three months before by way of the Chicago portage and along the west shore of the lake.

LA SALLE AGAIN AT THE ST. JOSEPH

At his fort on the St. Joseph La Salle found the men and supplies he had left there in the previous fall. Here he was told by a wandering Indian that

Tonty was no more, that he had been burned at the stake by Illinois Indians. This falsehood, deliberately contrived by his enemies, was the last and bitterest drop added to La Salle's cup of sorrow. However, his first duty was to return to the men whom he had left on the Desplaines; and accordingly he set forth on the first of March with all his men, including those who had been left at the St. Joseph, and soon afterwards encountered some Indians who had lately been at Green Bay and who informed him that Tonty was safe and well. This good news animated La Salle and his party with fresh ambition, and soon after he found his men on the Desplaines. His reunited force returned to the St. Joseph, from whence La Salle sent a party to Mackinac to communicate with Tonty, and request him to come to that point, where they could meet. The message reached Tonty, who had believed his chief was dead. La Salle, however, did not wait for Tonty, but he himself departed for Mackinac soon after, where he arrived on the 4th of June. The two heroes, who had parted more than fourteen months before and had believed each other to be dead, now "greeted one another as if they had returned from the spirit land."

Now having the advantage of long personal interviews with Tonty La Salle decided that it was necessary to return to Fort Frontenac to procure a fresh outfit for the following year. Accordingly La Salle in company with Tonty, set out for Lake Ontario in canoes, which they paddled safely and without special incident over the thousand miles intervening between Mackinac and Fort Frontenac.

END OF SECOND JOURNEY

Thus terminated the second journey of La Salle to the Illinois country. But notwithstanding the disasters that had overtaken his enterprises thus far La Salle felt a sure confidence in their eventual success, and he began to lay his plans for another attack in the following spring. He now knew the various routes to the Illinois country and the advantages possessed by each of them, he also knew upon which tribes he could depend for food supplies, he had won the confidence of many of the Indians whom he had met which would be of great advantage in cultivating trade relations with them. This, indeed, was always prominently in the mind of the great explorer, for he well knew that the financial results of his enterprises must be successful in order to meet the vast expenses incurred in carrying them on. La Salle had a keen realization of this necessary condition and pursued his plans with care and forethought in this regard.

LA SALLE'S THIRD JOURNEY TO THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

Having arrived at Fort Frontenac, La Salle found himself beset with embarrassments. Not only was he burdened with debt resulting from the losses in his two former efforts, but the costs of his buildings at Fort Frontenac and their maintenance had not yet been fully met and his property was deeply mortgaged. However, through the influence of Count Frontenac, the governor, he found means to appease his creditors, and even to obtain advances for fresh supplies. And now, at the beginning of his third journey, La Salle hastened forward his preparations with renewed hope and determination. This time,

he resolved, he would retain his followers in a united body and avoid the difficulties of scattered forces with the consequent lack of control over their movements, though as the event proved he was not very successful in carrying out his intentions.

At the beginning of autumn La Salle with his party was at Toronto, from where he advanced northward, and crossed the long and difficult portage into Lake Simcoe. It was October before he reached Lake Huron. It is thus seen that he had chosen this route in preference to the Niagara portage and Lake Erie. He undoubtedly would have taken the Niagara route had it not been for the loss of his vessel, the "Griffin," upon which he had placed such great hopes. He had with him a force of thirty Frenchmen and more than a hundred Indians, with a vast fleet of canoes laden with supplies.

The season was far advanced when La Salle at length reached Fort Miami (the name he had given to his fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph river), and drew up his fleet of canoes on the beach of the lake at that point. On the 21st of December Tonty and the priest, Father Membre, set out from Fort Miami with a party of fifty-four persons, made up of Frenchmen and Indians, and in six canoes crept along the south shore of the lake to the Chicago river. La Salle and the rest of his force followed a few days later. La Salle's force, indeed, had been diminished by desertions and other causes, so that on their arrival at the Chicago river the party mustered but half the number of those who had composed the force when they left Lake Ontario.

LA SALLE'S FIRST APPEARANCE IN CHICAGO

This was the first appearance of La Salle at Chicago, although this was his third visit to the Illinois country. He had previously chosen the St. Joseph-Kankakee route to the interior, believing, as the result of his inquiries among the Indians, that this was a better route. The first view of the site of Chicago had been obtained by Joliet and Marquette when, in 1673, they had passed over the portage between the Desplaines and the Chicago rivers, on their renowned voyage of discovery from the Mississippi to Lake Michigan. La Salle had been fully informed of the movements of the former explorers, but he had always heretofore preferred the St. Joseph route.

La Salle and his entire force now crossed over the portage between the Chicago and the Desplaines rivers, and filed in a long procession down the frozen course of the latter stream, till at length they reached the Illinois river. La Salle had now abandoned his original plan of building a vessel for the navigation of the Mississippi, having resolved to trust to his canoes alone. He passed by the ruined site of Fort Crevecoeur and the vessel perched on its stocks and proceeded onward towards the mouth of the Illinois. On the 6th of February, 1682, he issued forth with his little fleet upon the majestic bosom of the Mississippi.

DESCENDS THE GREAT RIVER AND REACHES THE GULF

The great river was full of floating ice and after a week's delay at this point he once more resumed his course following the current of the mighty

stream. At every stage of their adventurous progress "the mystery of this vast new world was more and more unveiled." They entered the realms of spring, and the warm atmosphere of the southern climate which they now encountered rendered their further progress a joy and continual delight. The party touched at several Indian villages on the way where they were received in a friendly spirit, and in return the voyagers bestowed gifts upon the chiefs. On the 6th of April the fleet arrived at the delta of the great river, and here the party divided, one part following the east channel while another chose the middle passage, and still another the western passage.

La Salle followed the latter passage and as he drifted down the current he noticed that the water gradually changed to brine, and the breeze grew fresh with the salt breath of the sea. "Then the broad bosom of the great Gulf opened on his sight, tossing its restless billows, liimtless, voiceless, lonely as when born of Chaos, without a sail, without a sign of life." On the marshy borders of the sea La Salle landed, and the reunited parties assembled on a spot of dry ground, a short distance above the river's mouth, where they erected a column bearing the arms of France, and took possession of the country in the name of Louis XIV, and named it Louisiana.

"On that day," says Parkman, "the realm of France received on parchment a stupendous accession. The fertile plains of Texas, the vast basin of the Mississippi, from its frozen springs to the sultry borders of the Gulf, from the woody ridges of the Alleghanies to the bare peaks of the Rocky Mountains,—a region of savannahs and forests, sun-cracked deserts, and grassy prairies, watered by a thousand rivers, ranged by a thousand warlike tribes,—passed beneath the sceptre of the Sultan of Versailles, and all by virtue of a feeble human voice inaudible at half a mile."

THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI DISCOVERED

La Salle had at last accomplished the chief purpose which he had cherished through all these troubled years. He began at once to retrace his course, and after many hardships he and his party arrived safely at Mackinac in September, by way of Fort Miami. He did not proceed farther eastward at this time but later in the season returned to the Illinois country, where he met with a variety of adventures before finally arriving at Quebec in the following year and making a report of his discoveries. The commercial importance of the Great West immediately became apparent to the civilized world after La Salle's daring journeys into the interior and his exploration of the great channel connecting its vast regions with the sea. The impetus thus given to western trade, not only over the route of the Great Lakes but by way of the Ohio and the Missouri as well, established on a broad foundation a long period of prosperity for the French in the New World.

La Salle, however, had sent forward the news of his discovery to Canada, but felt that it was necessary to make secure his foothold in the Illinois country for which he had already made so many sacrifices, before proceeding to Quebec to make a report in person. He wrote to a friend in France at this time: "Though my discovery is made and I have descended the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, I cannot send you this year either an account

of my journey or a map." He further said in his letter that his presence was "absolutely necessary" in the Illinois country, and that notwithstanding he had many enemies he wished to justify himself with his friends by continuing his efforts to establish communication between the regions of the Great West and Europe by way of the sea.

"This was what he proposed to himself from the first," says Parkman, "that is, to abandon the difficult access through Canada, beset with enemies, and open a way to his western domain through the Gulf and the Mississippi. This was the aim of all his toilsome explorations. Could he have accomplished his first intention of building a vessel on the Illinois and descending in her to the Gulf, he would have been able to defray in good measure the costs of the enterprise by means of the furs and buffalo hides collected on the way and carried in her to France.

"With a fleet of canoes this was impossible, and there was nothing to offset the enormous outlay which he and his associates had made. He meant, as we have seen, to found on the banks of the Illinois a colony of French and Indians to answer the double purpose of a bulwark against the Iroquois and a place of storage for the furs of all the western tribes; and he hoped in the following year to secure an outlet for this colony and for all the trade of the valley of the Mississippi, by occupying the mouth of that river with a fort and another colony." Thus we may comprehend the dreams of empire and the vast schemes of trade entertained in the mind of La Salle.

FORT ST. LOUIS ESTABLISHED

In pursuance of his great plans La Salle ordered Tonty to collect as many men as possible and begin the projected colony on the Illinois. Soon afterwards he followed Tonty and rejoined him near the great Indian town, and began to fortify the summit of what nearly a century later came to be called "Starved Rock," and which he had named Fort St. Louis. This remarkable cliff rises steep on three sides as a castle wall to a height of a hundred and twenty-five feet above the river, on its southern bank. The historian quoted above graphically describes this cliff, which he refers to as "the chief natural curiosity of the region," and which we may here inform the reader is now included within the limits of a state park.

"In front," he says, "it overhangs the water that washes its base; its western brow looks down on the tops of the forest trees below; and on the east lies a wide gorge or ravine, choked with the mingled foliage of oaks, walnuts, and elms; while in its rocky depths a little brook creeps down to mingle with the river. From the trunk of the stunted cedar that leans forward from the brink, you may drop a plummet into the river below, where catfish and the turtles may plainly be seen gliding over the wrinkled sands of the clear and shallow current. The cliff is accessible only from behind, where a man may climb up, not without difficulty, by a steep and narrow passage. The top is about an acre in extent. Here, in the month of December, La Salle and Tonty began to entrench themselves. They cut away the forest that crowned the rock, built storehouses and dwellings of its remains, dragged timber up the rugged pathway, and encircled the summit with a palisade."

La Salle could now look down from his lofty perch on a concourse of wild human life. The Indian village increased in the number of its inhabitants whose respect and confidence it was his purpose to secure and in which he thoroughly succeeded. He says in one of his reports that there were among them as many as four thousand warriors, belonging to a number of tribes, all of whom maintained friendly relations with the French. La Salle supplied them with arms and ammunition and a variety of French goods in exchange for their funds. The goods must be brought by way of Canada, but it was La Salle's purpose to provide a surer avenue by way of the Mississippi and the sea. Many of the traders in Canada began to realize this was his purpose and used their influence to prevent him from carrying out his designs. Canada was full of his enemies, but as long as Count Frontenac was in power, he was sure of support.

A CHANGE IN GOVERNORS

But the term of Frontenac as governor of Canada was drawing to a close, and while La Salle was still buried in the western wilderness, with but twenty Frenchmen in his party, Frontenac was recalled to France, and La Barre reigned in his stead. La Barre proved to be no friend to La Salle, but the latter did not become aware of his disposition towards him until a later time. La Barre wrote the French minister that he doubted the truth of La Salle's discoveries, and that he believed he was setting up a kingdom for himself in the western regions. The enemies of La Salle through the letters of the governor thus succeeded in gaining the ear of the king, who in his replies encouraged the governor in his persecutions. La Barre cut off La Salle from all supplies, detained the men whom he sent for succors, and at length even seized upon his property at Fort Frontenac, placing an officer in charge of the fort and all of its belongings.

"La Salle meanwhile not realizing the storm which was brewing at Quebec," says Mason, "but uneasy because of the non-arrival of his men, determined to appeal directly to La Barre. He wrote from Fort St. Louis on April 2, 1683, setting forth his reverses and his resolve, notwithstanding, to meet his obligations. He recounted his great discovery; the building of the fort, and the assembling of the Indians; set forth his future plans, and besought the governor not to delay parties going from the post to the settlements." He said the supplies were absolutely necessary for the defense of the fort which was likely to be attacked by hostile Iroquois, then threatening an invasion. Without waiting for a reply La Salle went to the St. Joseph region to persuade the Miamis and their subsidiary tribes, then at their villages, to retire to Fort St. Louis, as a measure of defense and mutual protection.

AN IROQUOIS INVASION

But now while at Fort Miami, La Salle learned of the actual approach of the dreaded Iroquois through that region, and he realized that he must hasten back to Fort St. Louis, although he had intended to follow his messengers to Montreal, to gain a personal interview with the governor. The Miamis, much

alarmed by the news of the approach of the Iroquois, followed the southern coast of Lake Michigan to the Chicago river, and arriving there swarmed over the portage to the number of upwards of four thousand souls, on their way to the Illinois where they hoped to find safety in the neighborhood of Fort St. Louis.

La Salle accompanied the Indians in this movement. "There was a busy scene at the Chicago portage," says Mason, "when the Miamis arrived, and by degrees passed on down the Des Plaines." La Salle himself halted at this spot and for a time inhabited a log house enclosed by a stockade which had been erected by two of his men the previous winter. "This was the first known structure of anything like a permanent character upon the site of Chicago, and the first habitation of white men there since Marquette's encampment in the winter of 1674." The Chicago portage was regarded as an outlying post of Fort St. Louis, established for the procuring of beaver and other furs.

LA SALLE'S LETTER FROM CHICAGO

Now having been obliged to forego his trip to Montreal, La Salle sent two of his men from Chicago with a load of furs with another letter to the governor. This letter was written at Chicago, dated "Du portage de Checagou, 4 Juin, 1683," which was probably, says Mason, "the first document wholly written at that place." In this letter La Salle "plainly tells La Barre that the detaining of all the men who had gone to Montreal had caused a lack of everything needful, and that these two now came to procure means for the actual defense of the fort against formidable enemies." He showed further that he had only twenty Frenchmen at the fort with but a hundred pounds of powder and bullets in proportion, and that unless he could procure more he could not withstand an attack. He closed with an earnest appeal to La Barre "to save the post as the key to a country capable of becoming a powerful colony which will always honor him as its preserver in its infancy." To neither of these letters from La Salle did La Barre appear to have made any reply whatever. "So far was La Barre from realizing his own shameful conduct, that he gloated over the failure of La Salle's men to return to him, and rejoiced that he was deprived of the means necessary to maintain his post."

LA SALLE'S DESCRIPTION OF THE CHICAGO PORTAGE

On the occasion of La Salle's visit to the Chicago portage in the summer of 1683, he wrote quite a full description of the topography of this important region. A portion of what follows has been already quoted in an earlier part of this chapter, but its translation from the French is by a different hand, and at the risk of the repetition involved this much longer extract from the letter is given. The letter is printed in the original in the "Margry Papers," and the translation is by Edward G. Mason. It is as follows:

"The portage de Checagou is an isthmus of land at forty-one degrees and fifty minutes north latitude to the west of the lake of the Illinois, which is reached by a channel formed by the meeting of many rivulets or rainfalls of the prairie. It is navigable about two leagues to the border of the prairie a

quarter of a league westward. There is there a little lake divided into two by a beaver dam about a league and a half in length, whence there flows a little stream which, after meandering half a league among the rushes, falls into the river Checagou, and by it into the river Illinois. This lake, when filled by the great rains of summer or the floods of spring, flows into the channel leading to the lake of the Illinois, the surface of which is seven feet lower than the prairie in which the former lake lies.

"The river Checagou does the same in the spring when its channel is full; it discharges by this little lake a part of its waters into the lake of the Illinois. And at this time, which would be the summer, Joliet says that a little canal a quarter of a league long from this lake to the basin which leads to the lake of the Illinois, would enable barks to enter the Checagou and descend to the sea. That perhaps might happen in the spring, but not in summer, because there is then no water in the river as far as Fort St. Louis, where the navigation of the Illinois commences in summer time and thence is good as far as the sea. It is true, there is besides a difficulty that this ditch would not be able to remedy, which is that the lake of the Illinois always forms a bank of sand at the entrance of the channel leading from it. And I greatly doubt, whatever any one says, whether this could be swept away or scattered by the force of the current of the Checagou, if made to flow there, since much stronger ones in the same lake have not been able to do it.

"Furthermore, the utility of it would be small, since I doubt whether, when all was completed, a vessel would be able to ascend against the great flood which the currents cause in the Checagou in the spring, much more violent than those of the Rhone. Then it would be for only a little time, and at most for only fifteen to twenty days a year, after which there would be no more water. What confirms me besides in the opinion that the Checagou would not be able to keep the mouth of the channel clear, is that the lake is full of ice which blocks the navigable openings at the time in question, and when the ice is melted, there is not water enough in the Checagou to prevent the sand from stopping up the channel. Indeed I would not have mentioned this matter, if Joliet had not proposed it, without having sufficiently guarded himself against the difficulties."

In his "Chapters from Illinois History," E. G. Mason comments on this passage from La Salle's letter, as follows:

"The channel first spoken of is the present Chicago river, the little lake is Mud Lake, since drained away and the then Checagou is now the Des Plaines, whose spring floods rushing through the Chicago river to Lake Michigan are but a thing of yesterday, while the sand bar at the junction of river and lake is not yet forgotten. In every particular the description coincides so exactly with the existing or former characteristics of the place that it alone determines the location of the Chicago portage within the limits of the present city of the name, beyond the shadow of a doubt."

THE GOVERNOR OF CANADA RELIEVES LA SALLE OF COMMAND

While La Salle's first letter was on the way to Quebec the governor had dispatched Durantaye with a force of men in four or five canoes to the Illi-

nois country, with orders for La Salle to turn over the command of Fort St. Louis to that officer, and to report to the governor at the capital. Meantime La Salle, during his brief sojourn at the Chicago portage, learned from Tonty that the friendly Indians had met the approaching hostiles and had defeated one of their bands, capturing one whom they offered to Tonty to be put to death. At first Tonty declined taking such extreme measures, telling his Indians that "it was not the custom of the French to kill their prisoners of war." But on further consideration Tonty feared that such an act of clemency would be understood as showing a friendly disposition towards the Iroquois, and therefore the poor captive "was burned in the ordinary manner."

In carrying out his orders to relieve La Salle from his command at Fort St. Louis, Durantaye and his lieutenant De Baugy departed from Quebec April 23, passed over twenty-eight portages into Georgian Bay, crept along its northern shore to Sault St. Marie, and from thence to Mackinac which point they reached on the 2d of July, two months and nine days after leaving Quebec. They continued their journey as far as Green Bay where they separated, Durantaye returning to Mackinac and De Baugy proceeding thence to the Illinois country, doubtless taking the route by way of the Chicago portage.

Knowing nothing of De Baugy's approach La Salle once more returned to Fort St. Louis where he exercised his authority as usual under the king's commission, and had succeeded in bringing about peaceful conditions in the neighborhood of the fort. He encouraged his followers to make clearings and plant crops, and allotted lands to them as he was authorized to do. But the continued lack of supplies, the failure of his parties to return, convinced him at length that the governor was hostile to him, and he resolved to proceed to Quebec and thence to France, and appeal in person to the king. Leaving Tonty in command La Salle left his rocky citadel in the latter part of August, accompanied by some of his Frenchmen and two Indians. While passing up the Illinois river he met, near the mouth of the Kankakee, the party under command of De Baugy who announced himself as the bearer of orders from the Governor of New France. These orders were, as we have seen, that La Salle should turn over his command to the bearer, and report to the governor at Quebec. This more than confirmed La Salle's gravest apprehensions, but he treated the relieving officer with great courtesy, giving him at the same time letters to Tonty recommending him to act in harmony with De Baugy.

ONCE MORE AT THE CHICAGO PORTAGE

On the first of September, La Salle, having arrived at the Chicago portage on his way down the lakes, wrote a letter to his people at Fort St. Louis from that point, counseling obedience to the authorities, industrious application to their duties, and declaring his intention to return to them in the spring by way of the sea. This was his "farewell to the region in which he had toiled and suffered, hoped and sorrowed, in the cause of civilization in the West, of which he was the pioneer." He never returned to these

scenes, and his troubled career was ended three and a half years later when he was assassinated by one of his followers.

Continuing on his way La Salle arrived at Quebec November 13, 1683, after a journey of two and a half months' duration. On his arrival La Salle found that the governor was becoming somewhat alarmed at the possible consequences of the harsh treatment he had given to the long absent explorer, and was now convinced that he had gone too far in his summary seizure of Fort Frontenac, and promised restitution. At the same time he advanced him 4,000 livres for his present uses.

LA SALLE ARRIVES IN FRANCE

La Salle now took ship for France where he landed January 17, 1684. The winter and spring passed and no word was received by the governor regarding La Salle's appeal to the king. La Barre began to take courage and repented him of making the loan to La Salle. He thereupon took the bold step of seizing a quantity of beaver skins belonging to La Salle at Fort St. Louis to secure payment of the advance he had made. La Barre evidently believed that there could be no redress for his arbitrary action, but he soon had reason to change his opinion. La Salle's new scheme for the control of the Mississippi by a fort and a colony near its mouth, communicating directly with the Illinois country, had received the approval of the king, who listened with ready sympathy to the story of his wrongs. "The minister Seignelay," continues Mason in his history of La Salle's various expeditions, "wrote La Barre April 10, 1684, that the king wished him, if the accounts received of his acts at Fort Frontenac were true, to attend to the reparation of the wrong done La Salle, and to restore all the property belonging to him to Sieur de La Forest, who was returning to Canada by his majesty's order.

"The king himself wrote the governor to the same effect, and on the same day issued a new commission to La Salle as commandant of the whole region from Fort St. Louis on the river of the Illinois unto New Biscay (the northern province of Mexico). And again, on July 31, 1684, the king addressed the governor reiterating his former commands, and warning him to do nothing adverse to the interests of La Salle, whom he had taken under his particular protection." This change in the fortunes of La Salle came as a most unpleasant surprise to the governor, and when La Forest, who had gone to France with La Salle, returned to Quebec in the following September, he was warmly greeted by Tonty lately arrived from the Illinois country. La Forest brought to Tonty a commission as captain in the army which La Salle had obtained for him, beside the appointment as governor of Fort St. Louis.

"La Forest also brought a positive order from the king, dated April 15, 1684, for the return to La Salle's officers of Forts St. Louis and Frontenac, and departed in the autumn to assume command of the latter. He had taken measures with Tonty to procure an outfit costing 20,000 livres for the replenishing of Fort St. Louis, so long deprived of necessary supplies. As soon as this was ready Tonty embarked with it for the Illinois country, expecting to be there the same season, but the ice forming early in the St. Lawrence barred

his path, and he was obliged to halt at Montreal where, after a visit to Quebec, he passed the winter."

TONTY GOES TO FORT ST. LOUIS

In the spring of 1685, Tonty set out for the Illinois country and late in June reached Fort St. Louis where he presented his order from the governor to De Baugy, directing him "by command of the king" to restore the fort to Tonty as La Salle's representative, with all of La Salle's property, and to return to Mackinac. This order was complied with and Tonty once more exercised authority over the stronghold on the Illinois. Soon after the departure of De Baugy, Tonty went himself to Mackinac to learn if possible definite news in regard to La Salle's attempt to reach the Mississippi by way of the Gulf of Mexico, which he knew that it was his intention to make, and if he could be certain that such a voyage was in progress he intended to go down the river to meet him.

While at Mackinac Tonty learned that La Barre had been removed as governor of New France and that he was succeeded by the Marquis of Denonville. He also learned enough regarding the proposed expedition of La Salle which determined him to hasten forward to the Illinois country, in order to meet his chief if he should be approaching Fort St. Louis from the gulf. In the latter part of November Tonty was once more at the Chicago portage where he occupied a fort that had lately been built by the Jesuits quite independently of the governor's authority. After a brief stay at the Chicago portage Tonty proceeded to his own Fort St. Louis where he arrived the middle of January of the following year. Here we will leave him while we follow the fortunes of La Salle in his final attempt to reach the Illinois country by way of the Gulf of Mexico.

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT WEST IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

LA SALLE AT THE FRENCH COURT—FLEET PROVIDED FOR HIS EXPLORATIONS—FLEET ARRIVES IN THE GULF OF MEXICO—LA SALLE FAILS TO FIND THE MISSISSIPPI—DEATH OF LA SALLE—WANDERINGS OF HIS PARTY—TONTY SEARCHES FOR LA SALLE—TONTY'S LATER CAREER—ABANDONMENT OF FORT ST. LOUIS—HISTORIANS OF THE PERIOD—IROQUOIS NATIONS—ILLINOIS INDIANS—DERIVATON OF THE NAME "CHICAGO"—MISSION OF THE GUARDIAN ANGEL—TERMINATION OF THE FRENCH DOMINATION—GEORGE ROGERS CLARK IN ILLINOIS—CAPTURE OF KASKASKIA AND VINCENNES—BATTLE OF SOUTH CHICAGO—THE SPANISH INVASION OF ILLINOIS—AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE—CESSION OF WESTERN LANDS—ORDINANCE OF 1787—TREATY OF GREENVILLE—EARLY SETTLERS—DE SAIBLE—OUILMETTE—AMERICAN INDIANS—POTTAWATOMIES AND IROQUOIS—INDIAN CUSTOMS AND TRAITS—INDIAN CHARACTER—MAPS OF THE PERIOD—ASPECT OF THE REGION.

LA SALLE AT THE FRENCH COURT

The Mississippi river was now open to the knowledge of civilized men from the mouth of the Wisconsin river to the Gulf of Mexico, a distance of about a thousand miles "as the crow flies." Throughout its entire course it was under the control of the French King, and the territory along its banks formed a part of the vast French possessions in the New World. It is not surprising that Louis XIV and his ministers were deeply impressed with the magnitude of those discoveries as they listened to La Salle's recital and studied the maps of the extensive regions comprised within the range of his explorations. The cursory view obtained of the Great river itself had given to the explorer after all but a faint idea of the imperial extent of the territory lying contiguous to its banks, and the descriptions coming from the lips of the enthusiastic La Salle were no doubt a revelation to the Grand Monarque and his ministers.

These indeed must have been the happiest hours in the life of the great explorer and empire builder, as he stood in the presence of the power and grandeur of the French court. And not the least of his sensations must have been the feeling of exultation which he experienced when he remembered the enemies who had done their utmost to discredit and ruin the discoveries and enterprises of which he was the chief agent. And when the orders were issued by the king himself, that La Salle had been "taken under his particular protection," and that the governor of Canada must make restitution, his triumph was complete.

The future movements of La Salle have little to do with our history, and the development of the great commercial route through the Mississippi val-

ley must be traced in the activities of others who succeeded him. Only enough may be added here to round out the account of La Salle's life and work in the great fields of his discoveries. La Salle's plans were now to obtain ships and proceed to the mouth of the Mississippi by sea, and thus open a water route to his proposed settlements in the Illinois country. Having secured four vessels from the king with which to reach the Mississippi by way of the Gulf of Mexico, he embarked with a large force with the intention of establishing a colony at the mouth of the river as well as in the Illinois country.

FRENCH SQUADRON SETS SAIL

The four ships, two of which were men of war, set sail from Rochelle, France, July 24, 1684. A hundred soldiers were enrolled, and besides there were thirty volunteers, including gentlemen of condition, five priests, as well as "a number of girls lured by the prospect of almost certain matrimony." La Salle's plans not only included colonization and missionary work among the savages, he also intended to make an attack on the Spaniards in Mexico. Joutel, a fellow townsman of La Salle's, a veteran officer of the French army, was a volunteer in the expedition and became its historian. He is characterized by Parkman as "an honest and intelligent man." Matters went badly, for the reason, mainly, that La Salle did not certainly know where the mouth of the Mississippi was, as his previous observations had been taken for latitude but not for longitude. The fleet passed about four hundred miles beyond the mouth of the river, and at last the ships becoming scattered, La Salle landed with his party of colonists and soldiers to search for the "fatal river," as Joutel calls it in his history. Two of the ships were wrecked and the others returned to France.

The place of La Salle's landing was on the coast of Texas near Matagorda Bay, and here he built a fort early in 1685, and planned to explore the country in a search for the lost river. He was not able to find it after repeated excursions, and meantime his party passed through terrible experiences of suffering and privation. Finally he determined to take a small party and travel north in an attempt to reach the Illinois country overland. In the party he left behind were all the women who had thus far survived the hardships to the number of seven, besides several children among the families of the colonists. On this fatal march overland La Salle was shot from ambush by one of his followers. Thus at the age of forty-three died Robert de La Salle, "without question," says Parkman, "one of the most remarkable explorers whose names live in history." This tragic event occurred March 19, 1687. He had thus been over two years wandering in the unknown lands of Texas in a vain search for the Great river, down whose current he had sailed in a fleet of canoes to the sea, but which he could not now, with all his skill as an explorer, recover the sight of.

TONTY'S SEARCH FOR LA SALLE

Tonty, meantime, in pursuance of his intention to meet La Salle, whom he expected to come to the Illinois by way of the Mississippi, left his sta-

tion at Fort St. Louis and went down to meet him. He reached the mouth of the river and examined the shores of the Gulf a long distance in both directions without finding the least trace of him or his ships. Returning, he stopped at the mouth of the Arkansas, where he left a small party to look out for La Salle if he should be seen ascending the Mississippi, while he himself went back to the Illinois. So faithful was the watch kept by this party that they remained a year on this forlorn lookout station. At last the wretched survivors, reduced to six persons, now in charge of Joutel, appeared in the forest on the opposite shore of the Arkansas where Tonty's followers had established themselves, and beheld the wooden cross and cabin which had been erected there.

Their wants were quickly relieved and soon after the united party began the ascent of the Mississippi. On the 14th of September, 1687, they reached the cliff on the Illinois crowned with the palisades of Fort St. Louis, and were welcomed by Tonty himself though sadly disappointed at not finding La Salle with them. It was not until October of the following year that Joutel and his party reached France. Joutel made it his first business to see that the party of colonists left behind on the shores of the Gulf were rescued, but his efforts met with failure. It had been his hope that the King would send a ship to the relief of the wretched band, but Louis XIV hardened his heart and left them to their fate.

SEQUEL TO LA SALLE'S ILL-STARRED EXPEDITION

In 1689 the Spanish viceroy of Mexico, having heard of the presence of the French on the shores of the Gulf, sent a force to search for the colonists. On arriving at the spot where La Salle had erected his fort the Spanish found it deserted. The palisades were broken down; arms, implements and articles of every description scattered about in confusion. "Here, too, trampled in mud and soaked with rain, they saw more than two hundred books, many of which still retained the traces of costly bindings." Not a living soul except some sullen looking savages was to be seen. At last they heard that there were some survivors among the tribes of the vicinity and they succeeded in finding some six or seven of them living. Of these only one was a woman, all the other women and girls who had come out with the party of colonists having perished. The Spanish procured their release and carried them back to Mexico, whence they eventually reached Europe.

Thus ended the wild and mournful story of La Salle's attempt to colonize the lower Mississippi. Of all his "toil and sacrifice no fruit remained but a great geographical discovery, and a grand type of incarnate energy and will. Where La Salle had ploughed, others were to sow the seed; and on the path which the undespairing Norman had hewn out, the Canadian D'Iberville was to win for France a vast though a transient dominion."

TONTY'S LATER CAREER

In 1690 Tonty returned to Fort St. Louis from an expedition of investigation down the Mississippi, in which he sought information about the survi-

vors of La Salle's last trip to the mouth of the river. There, on the plain at the foot of Fort St. Louis, he had gathered an immense encampment of twenty thousand Indians, which included tribes hitherto hostile to each other. The purpose of this was for mutual protection against the Iroquois, and against the encroachments of the English in extending their fur trade into the western territory. For ten years Tonty ruled these Indians with masterly tact, and so delayed the coming of the Iroquois and the conquest of the English. He alone realized the importance of this territory to the French crown, which, however, was strangely indifferent to his efforts in enlisting its interest for further establishment and conquest. In 1702 a royal decree ordered the fort to be abandoned and Tonty, disappointed by the French but loyal to them, left the beautiful rock overlooking miles of Illinois country which was so dear to him, and went to join some French colonists who had come with d'Iberville to settle in Louisiana. There he was living in 1704, when the settlement was almost completely destroyed by a plague of yellow fever. While attending to the sick and burying the dead, Tonty himself became a victim. The loyalty of Tonty to La Salle, his tact and ability and his zeal equal to that of La Salle, whose enterprise this was, make him a romantic figure, as charming as he was courageous.

THE WORK OF THE HISTORIANS OF THE PERIOD OF DISCOVERY

Since the appearance in 1869 of Francis Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West," this work has held the first place as authority for the period covered by its title. Some years afterward M. Pierre Margry, director of the Archives of the Marine and Colonies at Paris, printed a collection of documents especially relating to La Salle, which he had for many years been gathering. Parkman had been aware of the existence of these documents in the French archives, but had found them inaccessible when he was writing his history. On their appearance he immediately set about a thorough revision of his work with the help of this new material, at the same time changing the title to conform to the increased prominence which the great explorer had acquired in the narrative. This revised history was issued in 1878, under the title of "La Salle, and the Discovery of the Great West."

"The most distinctive quality of Parkman's narratives," says Professor Bourne, "is picturesqueness. The action is set in a scene artistically reproduced from the author's careful observation. Knowing his human agents from personal study of the type, as well as of their literary memorials, sensitive to all the varied aspects of nature, and familiar with each locality, he visualizes the whole action with extraordinary vividness. It passes his eyes like a panorama. The natural scene plays no such part in the work of any other historical writer, and the search for such exquisite pictures of wild nature in America as abound in his pages would not be an easy one, even in our voluminous literature of outdoor life and nature study."

The value of Parkman's work to one writing on the early history of the West can well be imagined, and the present writer freely acknowledges his obligations to that brilliant historian in this work. Since Parkman wrote, however, another historian has appeared whose work claims our profound respect

and admiration. Edward Gay Mason, well known as a resident of Chicago, and president of the Chicago Historical Society at the time of his death, made the period now occupying our attention the subject of a most painstaking chapter, entitled "The Land of the Illinois." He had intended, in his lifetime, to write a complete history of Illinois, and, had it been possible for him to have carried out his intention, this chapter would have formed a part of the history. "The Land of the Illinois was written in 1896, and, with some other papers, was published in 1901 under the title of "Chapters From Illinois History." Mason carefully studied the Margry papers in the original French and made extensive use of the valuable material contained in them. A wide range of authorities, both English and French, was also consulted by him in the preparation of his treatise, making his work one of the most useful and entertaining productions of recent years. While there are many whose works have been consulted by the writer of this history, none has inspired greater confidence in its accuracy and reliability than the work of Mason.

THE FIVE NATIONS OF THE IROQUOIS

The Iroquois Indians, so often spoken of in all the histories of the West in early times, had their habitation in the central part of New York state. This confederacy or league of Indian tribes was the work of genius, and it possessed one of the highest forms of government, next to the Aztecs, found on this continent by the discoverers. Under the name of the Five Nations it existed until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century, when a tribe from the South was received into the league, after which it became known as the Six Nations.

"In its conception, in its details, and in its execution," says Dellenbaugh, "it was one of the most extraordinary primitive governments" of which we have any record. "From a comparatively weak people, it placed the Iroquois, though they were far inferior in numbers to surrounding tribes, in a commanding position, and enabled them to extend their sway over a vast territory. They made no attempt to hold the region that was subject to their devastation, but probably, had not the European appeared on the scene, they would have gradually expanded until their villages covered many times the area which they specifically claimed when our people first came. An increase of population which would have overtaxed the game supply would have pushed the development of their agriculture and forced the confederacy to move along higher and broader lines. One great drawback to Indian progress, internecine wars, was entirely obliterated by the masterly organization of the Iroquois league, while at the same time they gained by their union a strength for offense and defense that, together with their fertile and well-watered domain, rendered their organization impregnable. . . . It only remained for these Indians to discover the secrets of smelting and forging, and they were apparently on the brink of these discoveries, to step into a foremost place of development and progress."

To this quotation from Dellenbaugh's "North Americans of Yesterday," may be added the following from Mrs. Van Rensselaer's recently issued "History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century:"

"As the early French missionaries at once perceived, they [the Iroquois] were the most ferocious, ambitious and intelligent of the aborigines; and their

station gave them full chance to profit by their energies. Commanding important routes from east to west and from north to south. . . . they sent their war parties so widely and so successfully afield that they ruled or intimidated the other tribes from Maine to the Mississippi, and southward to the Savannah and the Tennessee. Yet even in the days of their greatest strength and power, during the first half of the seventeenth century, when they had procured firearms from the white men, they numbered not more than four thousand warriors, twenty thousand souls in all. Twice as many of their descendants, it has been computed, now survive in and near the State of New York."

THE TRIBE OF ILLINOIS INDIANS

The Illinois Indians, from whom our state takes its name, were a numerous tribe, and were first met with by Father Allouez on Lake Superior about 1665, where they had been attracted for the purpose of trading and to take part in a council to which the French had invited several tribes. As we have seen, Joliet and Marquette again met them while descending the Mississippi on their voyage of discovery in 1673, and their relations with the French were uniformly of a friendly character. They were domiciled mainly along the Illinois river, and "they seem to have had entire control of all the northeastern portion of Illinois as far back as any record can be found." Mr. Frank R. Grover, in an address before the Evanston Historical Society in 1901, said: "The Chicago portage seems to have been a frequent and popular rendezvous [of the Illinois Indians], and they were so identified with this locality that Lake Michigan was generally known to the early explorers as the 'Lake of the Illinois.'" "The Illinois," says the same authority, "were a kindly people; hospitable, affable and humane. . . . They lived by hunting and tilling the soil, raising great crops of Indian corn and storing away a surplus for future use; they were great travelers by land, but, unlike most northern Indian tribes, used canoes but little. They had permanent dwellings as well as portable lodges; they roamed many months of the year among the prairies and forests of their great country, to return again and join in the feasts and merry-making, when their whole population gathered in the villages."

In September, 1680, soon after La Salle and Tonty reached the Illinois Country, the Iroquois attacked the Illinois, and, says Caton, "with a great slaughter they defeated this hitherto invincible people, laid waste their great city, and scattered them in broken bands over their wide domain." The sequel of their tragic fate is related by Grover, as follows: "During the succeeding century the Illinois, broken in spirit, their courage gone, decimated by drink and disease and scattered by their enemies, struggled with waning fortunes, ending their existence in the historic tragedy of Starved Rock, about the year 1770, from which but eleven of their number escaped. An Indian boy, a Pottawatomie, saw the last remnant of this once proud and powerful nation, their brave warriors, their women and little children, huddled together upon the half acre of ground that crowns the summit of Starved Rock; saw the fierce and warlike Pottawatomies and Ottawas swarm for days around them; and accomplish by torture of siege and starvation what they could not do by force of arms. When the little stock of food was gone and despair drove the Illinois

to make the last brave dash for liberty in the darkness of the stormy night, he heard the yells and clash of the fighting warriors and the dying shrieks of the helpless women and children. Years afterward, when this Indian lad, Meachelle, had grown to be the principal chief of the Pottawattomies, he related these incidents to Judge Caton, who embodied them in his well-known historical sketch, 'The Last of the Illinois.' "

Besides the tribes above mentioned, other tribes from time to time occupied parts of Illinois, among them the Miamis, Winnebagoes, Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes, and Kickapoos. Still other bands of less prominence are met with in the histories of the aboriginal inhabitants of this region, a full account of which can be found in the late Judge Hiram W. Beckwith's historical sketch published in the Fergus Series. Mr. Frank R. Grover, of Evanston, has also written fully on this subject in a valuable pamphlet entitled "Our Indian Predecessors." In the opening paragraph of this treatise the author says: "Since the discovery of this continent the North American Indian has ever been the subject of constant study, discussion and contention. His origin, his traditions, his character, his manners and customs, his superstitions, his eloquence, the wars in which he was engaged, his tribal relations, his certain destiny, the wrongs he has done and those he has suffered, have for four centuries been favorite themes for the historian, the poet, the philanthropist, the ethnologist. And yet, with all the countless books that have been written upon the subject, there is still room for inquiry, for speculation, for historical research."

DERIVATION OF THE NAME "CHICAGO"

The name Chicago appears in many forms of spelling in old records and maps. It was a name borne by the river as we know it, by the portage between the Chicago and Desplaines rivers, and by Indians of the Illinois tribe at different periods. The first mention of the name seems to have been in Marquette's journal of his second voyage, under the date of Nov. 1, 1674, where he speaks of an Illinois Indian whom he met on the Sturgeon Bay portage by the name of *Chachagouessiou,* a man "greatly esteemed among his nation." Mason considers it probable that the name mentioned by Marquette is identical with the name Chicago. The name is applied by Hennepin, in his "New Discovery," to the fort built by La Salle near where Peoria now stands. He entitles Chapter XXXIV in his book, "An account of the building of a new fort on the river of the Illinois, named by the savages Checagou, and by us Fort Crevecoeur." It does not appear, however, that the name was used in this connection at any time afterwards, as we find no mention of it except in Hennepin's account.

In some of the various forms of spelling the name Chicago was applied to both the river and the locality by the savages when the French first came. Indeed the name was very loosely applied by the early chroniclers and map makers, sometimes to the Desplaines, sometimes to the Illinois, and even to the Mississippi. La Salle was clearly aware that the name Checagou, as he spelled it, belonged to the river and portage. This is shown in his letter quoted in the previous chapter, in which he uses the name repeatedly. The meaning of the name in the language of the Indians was *wild onion,* a plant found in great

quantities near the banks of the river. In the early harvest time one may see the prairies about the Chicago and Desplaines rivers covered with the blossoming plants of the wild onion having a pale pink hue. There are those who think the word in the Algonquin language—that used by our Illinois Indians—was the name of the small quadruped scientifically known as *Mephitis Americana*, or in less elegant parlance, the common skunk. The Indian word for the latter, however, was identical with that for the wild onion, a circumstance possibly explained by the assault of each upon the olfactories. In the early records where the name is met with in formal descriptions, such as deeds from the Indians, reports of officials, and treaties, it is often with an explanatory addition, as, for example: Cadillac, the commandant at Mackinac in 1695, in making a report to the governor of Canada on the territory under his control, refers to Chicago, which signifies, he says, "river of the onion."

NAME FOUND IN OLD DEEDS AND TREATIES

A deed given by various tribes to one William Murray, of an extensive tract of Illinois lands, describes the boundaries in part as follows: "then up the Illinois river, by the several courses thereof, to Chicagou, or Garlick creek." Col. A. S. Starrow, of the United States Army, made a report in 1817, in which he refers to "the river Chicago," or in English, "Wild Onion river." La Salle, writing in 1683, said in reference to the portage called Chicagou, "the land there produces naturally a quantity of roots good to eat, as wild onions." As to whether the word Chicago, in the original Indian form, possesses one or the other of the two meanings spoken of, should be decided according to the understanding of those whose words we have quoted above. "It is noticed," says Haines, "that all who contend that the word Chicago, as applied to the river and city of that name," has either of the meanings mentioned, "derive their convictions on the subject from the mere coincidence of sounds." It hardly seems necessary to look for a more satisfactory derivation of the name than that indicated above.

Another derivation that has been claimed for the word Chicago still remains to be noticed. Mrs. Kinzie, in "Wau-Bun," says that the Indians "all agree that the place received its name from an old chief, who was drowned in the stream in former times," which, she says, "must have occurred in a very remote period." There is no sufficient evidence, however, that such was the case. The late Henry H. Hurlbut, writing to the Chicago Tribune in 1879 (published in the issue of August 15), comments on this passage from "Wau-Bun," as follows: "This is a pretty story enough; yet Indian gossip, called tradition, is rather a feeble staff to lean upon, particularly where it reaches back centuries." There is also the name, among other Indians of less prominence, of Chicagou, the Illinois chief, who, in company with some other Indians, visited Paris in 1725, and was distinguished by a presentation to the India Company. He was named in all probability long after the Chicago river and portage were known, and, if it was not merely a coincidence, the name given to the chief was more likely derived from the river and locality near which his tribe had their habitations, than vice versa; and hence it cannot be maintained consistently that the name had any such origin as that from the Indian chief.

VARIETY OF SPELLINGS

"Chicago is the oldest Indian town in the west of which the original name is retained," says a writer in the Magazine of American History. The great variety of forms in which the name was spelled before it settled into the present usage is shown by the late Dr. Stennett in a "few samples," as he humorcalls them, in his valuable book entitled, "Origin of Place Names on the Northwestern Railway," President John Quincy Adams once said that during his administration no two government officers, writing from Chicago, ever spelled the name the same way. But the form in which the name is most frequently met with, before the year 1780, is with the ending *ou*, or with the character generally used by the old French chroniclers and map-makers as an abbreviation for those two letters. This character is somewhat puzzling to those who only occasionally encounter it, and is in the form of a figure 8 open at the top. For example, on Marquette's map a tribe of Indians, which the composer has located somewhat to the south of Lake Michigan, is indicated by the name Cha8anon (that is, Shawanoes), and to the west of the Mississippi a tribe bearing the name of Pe8area (Peorias); which to one unacquainted with the significance of the character renders it unpronouncable. It is explained in a note by J. G. Shea, on St. Cosme's "Voyage Down the Mississippi," as follows: "The names in this memoir have suffered greatly in transcription, and the copyist seems to have been especially bothered by the 8, which he replaces by a double v, or w, and sometimes by r and k. As a vowel it corresponds to the English double o (French *ou*), as a consonant to W." This character often stood at the end of the name Chicago, being used in place of the final letter as we write it.

MISSION OF THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

In 1696, Father François Pinet, a Jesuit missionary, founded a mission which he called the "Mission of the Guardian Angel" at or near the Chicago portage, in order to work among the Miami bands located there. But this mission was broken up in the following year through the governor's hostility to Jesuit activity. It was, however, resumed a year later, and continued until 1699, when it was finally abandoned.

Father Pinet's "Chicago Mission," as it was often called, is frequently referred to by St. Cosme in his letter given by Shea in his "Early Mississippi Voyages." Mr. Frank R. Grover, who has made a careful study of the history of this mission, locates it in the neighborhood of the present village of Gross Point, one mile west of Wilmette, on the borders of a small body of water. This small lake has since become a marsh known at the present time as the "Skokie." The marsh is the headwaters of the North Branch of the Chicago river. Here St. Cosme's party in eight heavily loaded canoes, with the ever-faithful Tonty as protector and guide, visited Father Pinet and his associate, Father Bineteau, late in the season of 1698, at their house "built on the banks of the small lake, having the lake on one side and a fine large prairie on the other." This interesting fact was made the subject of a lecture by Mr. Grover before a joint meeting of the Chicago Historical Society and the Evanston

Historical Society, on November 27, 1906, and is published in the proceedings of the former society.

DECLINE OF THE CHICAGO PORTAGE

After the abandonment of Pinet's "Mission of the Guardian Angel" in 1699, there seems to have been no further activity on the part of the French for some years in the vicinity of the Chicago portage. The French, having lowered their flag on Fort St. Louis (Starved Rock) in 1702, retired to the settlements on the Mississippi where they had become established at Cahokia and Kaskaskia. Communication having been opened between the Illinois country and the lower Mississippi, the long and dangerous route from the St. Lawrence by way of the Chicago portage fell into disuse. However, in 1718, one Logan was sent by the governor of Pennsylvania to "spy out" the route of French trade in the western country, and he reported that there was a fort at the mouth of th Chicago river called Fort Miamis, occupied by a French force. This report seems to have been the basis of a "representation" made by the English Lords of Trade to the King in 1721, in which it is again mentioned by the name of Fort Miamis. About this time "the fort was probably entirely abandoned," says Andreas.

Indian troubles still further contributed to the decline of the Chicago portage as an avenue of approach from the St. Lawrence to the Illinois Country. Frequent wars among the tribes made the neighborhood dangerous, though the French, at length, assisted by Indian allies, endeavored to maintain order in the region. The siege of Maramech, near the present town of Plano, where three hundred Indians of the Fox Tribe were killed in 1730, was expected to accomplish this result, for the French commander after the battle reported that this hostile Indian nation had been "humiliated to such an extent that they will no more trouble the earth." (The spot is marked by a massive boulder with an inscription placed there by the late Mr. John F. Steward, the author of an interesting and valuable book, entitled "Lost Maramech.") The Indians, however, became troublesome again, and the Chicago portage was practically a forsaken spot for several decades thereafter.

It may here be remarked in passing that the long series of the wars of the Foxes extending over nearly sixty years, of which this massacre was an episode, aided materially in bringing about the final downfall of the French power. The Fox wars proved to be the "entering wedge of ruin for the French dominion in America," says Hebberd in his work, "French Dominion in Wisconsin." In a paper published in the "Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1907," Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, a well informed writer, says: "The obstinate resistance of this one barbarous tribe in the forests of Wisconsin changed French policy in the Western Country, weakened French dominion over her savage allies, and set in motion forces that gave the rivers and prairies of the Great West to the English speaking race."

SETTLEMENTS ON THE MISSISSIPPI

For a century or more after La Salle's last visit to the Chicago portage the center of interest in the western country was at the settlements on the

Mississippi. The French established themselves near its mouth, and trade routes sought its channel, as the natural route for Illinois commerce was down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Later in the eighteenth century emigration began to flow towards these settlements from Virginia and Kentucky by way of the Ohio. The Indians of the Illinois country were kept in a turmoil by reason of the evil activities of the Iroquois, those scourges of the wilderness.

As there were several portages available as routes of travel for the trade that was carried on directly between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, one or the other would be chosen with regard to their safety from molestation by the savages, as well as favorable conditions of navigation. The route by way of the Chicago portage was the shortest, but, in stages of low water, the Desplaines was a difficult stream for loaded canoes, as its flood was shallow and there were many rapids in its course. Thus the St. Joseph and Kankakee route, though considerably longer, was often preferred because of the greater facility of navigating those rivers.

CHANGE OF SOVEREIGNTY

The Seven Years' War, also called by historians the French War, and the French and Indian War, between the English and French having terminated by the fall of Quebec, a treaty of peace was concluded in 1763, which "left France without a foothold on the American main." By the terms of the treaty Great Britain "acknowledged a limit to the western extension of her seaboard colonies, by accepting the Mississippi river as the boundary of her western possessions." This boundary, however, was disregarded by the colonies "with their impracticable sea-to-sea charters." Franklin wrote in reference to these charters, "that the 'from sea-to-sea' colonies, having boundaries three thousand to four thousand miles in length to one or two hundred in breadth, must in time be reduced to domains more convenient for the common purposes of government."

Justin Winsor, in his "Westward Movement," comments as follows: "When the King's proclamation followed, and the colonies found themselves confined to the sea-ward slope of the Appalachians, their western extensions made crown territory to be given over to the uses of the Indians, and all attempts to occupy it forbidden,—there were signs of discontent," which added to the irritation of the colonists over the Stamp Act, created a feeling of resentment among them which was one of the contributing causes of the Revolutionary War.

During the British occupation a land transaction of great interest to the dwellers in the present city of Chicago took place. The King's proclamation, above referred to, had forbidden all attempts to occupy western lands which were reserved for the uses of the Indians; but, notwithstanding this prohibition, one William Murray, a resident of Kaskaskia, bought a tract of land from the Indians, which included the site of the present city of Chicago. There was a council with the chiefs of several tribes of Illinois Indians at Kaskaskia, and in July, 1773, a deed was signed by the chiefs present, by which there were conveyed "two tracts of land east of the Mississippi, one of which was north of the Illinois river and extended beyond the present site of Chicago." The consideration for this immense territory was "the sum of five shillings

to them in hand paid," and certain goods and merchandise. Murray transferred this property, quite in the spirit of modern financial methods, to a regularly organized company called the "Illinois Land Company." This purchase was made in the presence of the British officers stationed at Kaskaskia, but without their sanction. The deed here spoken of was that in which the phrase, "or Garlick Creek," in connection with the word Chicagou was used.

The war of the Revolution coming on soon after, no official confirmation of the title to the lands thus acquired could be procured. In 1791, however, the claims of the company were submitted to Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, coupled with a proposal to convey all the lands to the United States on condition that one-fourth of them should be reconveyed to the company. After prolonged consideration the company's petition was finally dismissed.

Virginia took the lead in the War of Independence, and it was by means of forces raised and paid for by her that the Northwest was won for the Americans. An act for establishing "the County of Illinois" passed the Virginia legislature December 9, 1778. The new county was to include "the inhabitants of Virginia, north of the Ohio river," but its location was not more definitely prescribed. Governor Patrick Henry sent instructions to George Rogers Clark, then in the Illinois country, to assume command of the troops there and of those later to be sent out. The success of the expeditions of Clark "rendered it easier for the American commissioners, who negotiated the treaty of 1782, to include the ample domain within the American Union."

EXPEDITION OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

A brief account of the operations of Col. George Rogers Clark is appropriate here. Before the Revolutionary War the Colony of Virginia, as we have seen, claimed jurisdiction over the western territory on both banks of the Ohio River. After the war had been in progress some years the Virginia legislature passed the act establishing the "County of Illinois." That renowned patriot, Patrick Henry, was governor of Virginia at this time, and knowing that the British were in possession of Vincennes and Kaskaskia, the two most important towns of that region, he began to form his plans to invade the country and get possession of these places.

The country south of the Ohio had been for some years in process of settlement, and, prominent among the actors in the numerous conflicts between Indians and whites were Daniel Boone and George Rogers Clark. Clark was a young man about twenty-five years of age, six feet in height, stout of frame, possessed of "red hair, and a black, penetrating, sparkling eye." He was courageous and hesitated not at any adventure of a dangerous character in the performance of duty.

Clark realized that so long as British influence was in the ascendant in the country north of the Ohio, the hostility of the savages would keep the feeble settlements in the Kentucky region in a state of turmoil. He started overland for Virginia in August, 1777, to consult with Governor Patrick Henry, and lay before him a plan of capturing the British posts north of the Ohio. He found the governor in sympathy with his plans at once, and authority was given to him by the Virginia legislature whereby he could raise a company for

service against the British. He was made a lieutenant-colonel and provided with a sum of money for the expenses of the proposed campaign.

CLARK'S DIMINUTIVE ARMY

It was May of the following year before he was able to collect a force of one hundred and fifty borderers, from the clearings and hunters' camps of the Alleghany foothills. At the head of this rough lot of backwoodsmen Clark floated down the Ohio, and in June, 1778, was joined by a few volunteers from Kentucky, while passing the "Falls of the Ohio," at the present city of Louisville.

At Fort Massac Colonel Clark landed his force with the intention of striking across the country in the direction of Kaskaskia, a distance of something over two hundred miles in a northwesterly direction. The Indians occasionally met with in that part of the country were mostly in the British interest, and Clark feared that his advance would be reported to the British commandant at Kaskaskia before his own arrival, as he intended to capture the place by surprise. With great caution he pushed through the extensive plains along his route, "much afraid," he says, "of being discovered in these meadows, as we might be seen in many places for several miles."

KASKASKIA TAKEN BY SURPRISE

On the evening of the fourth of July the little army of less than two hundred men reached the east bank of the Kaskaskia, where on the opposite side, some three miles above, could be seen the town. Near it was the fort armed with several pieces of cannon, while from the flagstaff floated the British colors; but not a soldier could be seen anywhere about the fort, thus showing that the garrison had no suspicion that an invading force was anywhere in the vicinity.

Remaining under cover until the evening, the Americans advanced along the bank of the river, and presently came to a farm house about a mile from the village. They made the family prisoners and learned from them that Philippe de Rocheblave, a Frenchman in the English service, was in command of the fort, with a force of four or five hundred men, more than double the force of the Americans. The British force consisted of the local militia, mostly formerly French subjects, who greatly feared the "Big Knives," as they called the frontiersmen from Virginia and Kentucky.

Colonel Clark was not only resolute but quick in his decisions, and finding a good supply of boats in which to cross the river, he lost not a moment of time in transferring his little army safely and silently to the opposite bank. Here he divided his force into two parties, one to surround the town which was at a little distance from the fort; the other to accompany their leader and a French guide from the farm house under the brow of the river's bank along the edge of the water to the western gate of the fort.

NOT A SHOT FIRED

In the narrative of this thrilling adventure, it has often been said that Colonel Clark and his men could hear the sounds of French fiddles and shouts

of laughter, while a dance was in progress within the fort; and that even the sentinels had deserted their posts to join the festivities. But the investigations of less imaginative historians have shown that there is no foundation for these tales. What they did do was thrilling enough, for while Clark and his party of about a dozen men were creeping along the river bank behind the fort, they were discovered by the keen-scented dogs, and a great barking was set up. But strange to say this did not disturb the little garrison.

Finding the gate open they entered the fort and pushed on in the direction of Rocheblave's house, which was pointed out by the French guide. Making the unsuspecting governor prisoner, they gave "a loud huzza, answered by the other party," which had now divided into small squads. Yelling like mad, the now united Virginians easily overcame the garrison of Creoles, and "in fifteen minutes," says Clark, they were masters of the place without firing a gun.

This brilliant exploit was of far-reaching importance in the settlement of the question of possession, when the treaty of peace was concluded, four years later, between Great Britain and the United States. The Americans retained possession of the post of Kaskaskia, notwithstanding persevering efforts were made by the British to recapture the place.

MARCH ON VINCENNES

Early in the following year, Colonel Clark set out from Kaskaskia, with a force of his "Big Knives," to reach and capture Vincennes on the Wabash. In order to surprise the place he struck directly across the present state of Illinois during the wintry season, while the country was covered over with wet snow, and in places flooded from the rivers which had overflowed their banks. They reached the "drowned lands" of the Wabash, and beheld before them a wide stretch of submerged country extending many miles. Nothing daunted, the men constructed a large canoe to ferry themselves across the deep places, while in shallower places they waded up to their armpits.

They were now approaching Vincennes, and the men were almost worn out with fatigue and exposure. In the midst of falling rain, they came to the banks of a stream usually small enough to cross without trouble, but now a raging flood. They had been twelve days on the journey, and on the morning of their approach, after a night without food or fire, they could hear across the waste of waters the sound of the morning gun at Vincennes. Reaching the Wabash, they set about the task of building canoes to make the crossing. Clark, in writing to a friend, said that if he should give the details of their sufferings in crossing those waters, it would be "too incredible for any person to believe except those that are well acquainted with me, as you are, or had experienced something similar to it."

BOLD ATTACK ON THE FORT

At length Clark and his intrepid company learned from a Creole hunter, whom they had made prisoner, that there was not the remotest suspicion of his approach. At the fort Clark resolved upon a daring course. He wrote

a letter to the inhabitants of the place that he was about to attack the fort, and that everyone must keep within their houses and they would be well treated. The town being separated by a short distance from the fort, it was possible for the people to hold a hasty meeting to hear the message contained in Clark's letter. They gave no alarm, however, and soon the attacking party was at the walls of the fort pouring in a fusillade of rifle shots to which the garrison responded very ineffectively.

All that night, which was brilliantly lighted by the moon, the firing went on. In the morning Clark paused long enough to refresh his men with a breakfast prepared from the supplies they had obtained since their arrival, and took the opportunity of sending to the commandant a summons to surrender. After some hesitation the British commander agreed to the terms offered by Clark, and the post with all its stores passed into the possession of the Americans.

EVENTS NOTABLE IN HISTORY

"The capture of Vincennes," says Thwaites, "was one of the most notable and heroic achievements in American history. Clark had conducted a forced march of about two hundred and thirty miles through almost unheard of difficulties. With a small party of ragged and half-famished militiamen, nearly half of whom were Creoles, he had captured, in the heart of a strange and hostile country, without the aid of his artillery, a heavy stockade mounted by cannons and swivels and manned by a trained garrison. It was a bold scheme, of his own planning, and skilfully carried out. At his back were some of the best fighting men on the border, but with him rests the principal credit."

We are proud of the military achievements of Colonel George Rogers Clark; and proud, too, that one of the principal streets in Chicago is named in his honor. A statue was erected to his memory in Quincy, Illinois, in May, 1909, and a statue ought to be erected in Chicago, thus suitably commemorating one of the heroes of our beloved commonwealth.

THE BATTLE OF SOUTH CHICAGO

It seems strange enough that any events connected with the Revolutionary War could have taken place within the present limits of the city of Chicago; and yet an action involving the loss of four lives, and a number of prisoners taken, is a part of the history of this city as well as an episode of that war.

The "battle of South Chicago," as it is referred to in one of the volumes of the Wisconsin Historical Society, took place on December 5, 1780. The account of the raid—for it was hardly more than that—which ended in the "battle" may be found in Boggess' "Settlement of Illinois," and in Volume XVIII of the Wisconsin Historical Collections.

In the autumn of 1780 a party of seventeen men from Cahokia started on an expedition against the fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph river, then in the possession of the British. The invading force was in command of Jean Baptiste Hamelin, with Thomas Brady as his lieutenant. Although this party

was in the interest of the Americans, the expedition was not authorized by the then commander of the American forces in Illinois, Colonel George Rogers Clark, who was absent at the time in another part of the country. The commander, Hamelin, was "a half Indian," while Brady was an American, the only American of the party, the others composing the force having been recruited in Cahokia, presumably French residents of that place.

The attack on Fort St. Joseph was so timed as to take place when the Indians of the vicinity were away on their hunting trips. The fort was garrisoned by a force of twenty-one British regulars, but the attacking party surprised them and quickly obtained possession of the post. "Fort St. Joseph," says Mason, "had been so uniformly taken and plundered whenever anyone set out to do it that capture had become its normal state and seemingly the object of its existence." It well fulfilled the description applied to some forts on the Atlantic seacoast, given by an American officer, "as places to get out of as soon as the enemy opens fire."

Laden with plunder the victorious party started on its return journey, intending to pass down the valley of the Illinois by way of the Chicago portage. But the British officer in command, Lieutenant Dagneau de Quindre, had escaped capture when the fort was taken; and gathering a force of Indians in the British interest, followed the retreating party in the hope of recovering the property and punishing the invaders. The British "pursued them as far as *Petit Fort,* a day's journey beyond the *Riviere du Chemin,*" as related by Major De Peyster, in a letter written from Detroit a few weeks after the event. There the Americans were overtaken and summoned to surrender. This place is described by the editor of the "Wisconsin Historical Collections" as "not far from South Chicago." The "*Riviere du Chemin,*" says Boggess, in the "Settlement of Illinois," "is a small stream in Indiana, emptying into the southeastern part of Lake Michigan." This "small stream" is now known as Trail creek, at the mouth of which Michigan City is situated. Reynolds, in his "Pioneer History of Illinois," says, that the retreating party "was overtaken at the Calumet, a few miles southeast of Chicago." This was written, of course, long before Chicago had extended its limits to include the Calumet region.

The summons to surrender being refused the attack was made, and in the fight that followed four of Hamelin's party were killed, including himself, three escaped "in the thick woods," and the rest were made prisoners. All the property was recovered. Among the prisoners was the American Brady, who, however, made his escape afterwards and returned to Illinois by way of his native state, Pennsylvania. He lived in Cahokia for many years and was sheriff of St. Clair County in 1790; where he had the reputation of being "an honest, correct citizen."

The prisoners were sent to Detroit, where they were looked upon as entitled to scant consideration, very much as "guerrilas" were regarded in the war of the rebellion. "I look upon these gentry," wrote Major De Peyster, the commandant at Detroit, "as robbers and not prisoners of war, having no commission that I can learn of other than a verbal order from M. Trottier." (François Trottier was the justice of the court at Cahokia, and the leading man in authority during the absence of Colonel Clark.) As all prisoners, how-

ever, were duly exchanged at the close of the war, these no doubt finally reached their homes safely.

It would be interesting to know the precise location of this so called "battle," and if it can be definitely ascertained it should be suitably marked with a monument, as this event is the only one in our history that is directly connected with the War of Independence. An act passed by the Illinois legislature in 1907 authorizes municipal bodies to erect monuments and mark historical sites, and it would be a fitting and proper exercise of the authority thus conferred to fix and mark the spot on which the "Battle of South Chicago" was fought.

THE MARCH OF THE SPANISH ACROSS ILLINOIS

The failure of the ill-starred raid of Hamelin and Brady against Fort St. Joseph did not, however, terminate the troubles of the British at that post. At that time the Spanish were in possession of St. Louis, and were nominally the allies of the Americans against the British. Early in 1781, Don Eugenio Pierro (or, as some accounts have it, Pourré) left St. Louis with a force of sixty men and a contingent of Indians, marched some two hundred leagues across the Illinois country, and fell upon St. Joseph, which he captured, making the garrison prisoners. The Spaniards were back in St. Louis within three months from the time of starting on the expedition. This exploit greatly alarmed the Americans, who feared that the Spanish government would base a claim for territory in Illinois on the treaty of peace which it was generally anticipated would soon be negotiated. Just as it was expected, the Spanish made the claim that the country around the Illinois river was conquered for the Spanish King, although Pierro's return march had been harassed by Indians, and he did not even dare leave a garrison at the captured post.

It soon came to be known that the whole movement had been inspired by the Spanish court, and Franklin, then in Paris, wrote regarding it as follows: "I see by the newspapers that the Spaniards, having taken a little post called St. Joseph, pretend to have made a conquest of the Illinois country," and he denounced their pretensions in strong terms. As we know, Spain accomplished nothing by this action in the final treaty, and was obliged to be contented with the territory of which she was already in possession.

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The War of the Revolution was formally concluded by the Treaty of Paris, signed September 3, 1783. By this treaty the independence of the United States was recognized by Great Britain, and the country between the Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi river was included in the American possessions. But "the return of peace," says Fiske, "did not bring contentment to the Americans." It was not until the adoption of the Federal constitution, September 17, 1787, that sufficient power was placed in the hands of Congress to discharge the ordinary functions of government. It had been by reason of the general government's weakness that the British refused to withdraw their troops from the northern and western posts along the frontiers.

At that time the mouth of the Mississippi river and the country on its western bank, including the large tract on the eastern bank of which New Orleans is the chief city, belonging to Spain. "Kentucky and Tennessee were rapidly becoming settled by people from Virginia and North Carolina," says Fiske, "and these settlers wished to trade with New Orleans. The Spanish government was unfriendly and wished to prevent such traffic. The people of New England felt little interest in the southwestern country or the Mississippi river, but were very anxious to make a commercial treaty with Spain. The government of Spain refused to make such a treaty except on condition that American vessels should not be allowed to descend the Mississippi river below the mouth of the Yazoo." No settlement of the matter resulted until the entire territory of Louisiana was purchased by the United States government in 1803.

The conquest of the Illinois country by George Rogers Clark while the Revolutionary War was in progress, had strengthened Virginia's claim to the Northwest Territory, but New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut also had claims upon it dating from colonial days. In fact a number of the other "original thirteen" had claims to lands lying beyond their western borders, and the contentions which arose over these various claims raged for years in the old Continental Congress. Finally it was proposed by the New York state delegates that the title to all territory lying beyond the limits of the original thirteen colonies should be ceded to the United States for the benefit of all the states. This was done in a series of legislative acts in the succeeding years. The Connecticut Act of Cession retained the ownership of a large tract in the northern part of Ohio but it was finally ceded some years afterwards. This tract was known as the "Western Reserve."

WESTERN LANDS CEDED BY VIRGINIA TO GENERAL GOVERNMENT

In 1784 Virginia ceded her western lands to the general government and thus transferred the question of land titles which had become an insoluble problem to her statesmen. This step was as much a tribute to her shrewdness as to her generosity, for while she held jurisdiction over the Illinois country the difficulties of its government increased, and at last she actually failed to maintain any authority whatever. "The country had been in a state of unconcealed anarchy for more than two years previous to 1784, all semblance of authority having ceased," says Boggess.

Then followed the organization of the Northwest Territory under the famous "Ordinance of 1787." This ordinance was passed by Congress on July 13th, two months before the Constitution of the United States was adopted. The Ordinance of 1787 has been called the "American Magna Charta," because it engrafted upon the organic law of all the states thereafter admitted to the Union the principles of human freedom and equal rights. The Ordinance, which has served as a model for all subsequent American territorial government, provided for freedom of religion, civil rights of the individual, inviolability of contracts, prevention of primogeniture, humane treatment of the Indians, prohibition of slavery in all future times northwest of the Ohio, the encouragement of schools and learning, and also that the said territory, and

the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of the American Union.

Under this Ordinance the Northwest Territory was formed, which comprised the territory afterwards divided up into the states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin. "It is not surprising," says Boggess, "that the population of the Illinois country decreased from 1765 to 1790. During these years British and Americans had attempted to impose upon the French settlers a form of government for which they had neither desire nor aptitude. The attempt to immediately transform a subject people was a signal failure."

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

The following paragraph from the Commercial Club's "Plan of Chicago," issued in 1909, is a forceful and appropriate summary of the effects of the famous Ordinance of 1787.

"Chicago is the metropolis of the Middle West, a term applied to the area known a century ago as the Territory Northwest of the Ohio River. No section of the country, except New England, has so distinct a history. Conquered by Virginia troops at the very time when the Colonies were wresting their independence from Great Britain, and held for the United States by the sagacity of Franklin and the pertinacity of John Jay when the treaty of 1783 was negotiated, the Old Northwest was the first territorial acquisition of the new republic. Then, while the British still held the posts and only Indians and fur-traders roamed its forests, the Congress of the Confederation gave to the Northwest Territory, in the Ordinance of 1787, a charter which contained two provisions that during the years of development exercised a unifying force, comparable only to that brought about by the extension of Christianity and the civil law during the Middle Ages,—the prohibition of slavery, and the encouragement of free popular education. The continuous struggle to preserve human freedom against all the forces determined to extend slavery to the fertile fields of the new West, and the establishment of schools and colleges supported from a public treasury, brought about common aims and aspirations."

THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE

The leading events of the territorial development of the Northwest having thus been traced in the foregoing paragraphs, we may now proceed to the narrative of the military operations which led up to the Treaty of Greenville, by which the Indians ceded to the United States the celebrated "piece of land six miles square" at the mouth of the Chicago river.

The American government made a serious attempt to establish good order and civil institutions in the new and extensive regions which had come under its control after the termination of the British regime. The first efforts of the general government, of which Washington was then at the head, were weak and hesitating. But the aggressions of the Indians finally drove the government to make a resolute attack upon them and bring them to submission. General Arthur St. Clair, then governor of the Northwest Territory, was sent with an army of about three thousand men to subdue the savages, which met with

a disastrous defeat in November, 1791. The scene of this battle with the Indians was at a point a few miles east from where the present city of Ft. Wayne now stands.

The government organized another expedition in 1794, consisting of about the same number of troops as that of St. Clair's army. General Anthony Wayne was placed in command. He succeeded in totally defeating the Indians at the battle of Fallen Timbers, and followed his victory by laying waste their villages and fields. "The Indians were utterly downcast over their defeat," says Roosevelt, in his "Winning of the West." "The destruction of their crops, homes and stores of provisions was complete, and they were put to sore shifts to live through the winter." General Wayne went into winter quarters at Greenville, a town in the present state of Ohio, and there the chiefs of the hostile tribes sought him out and made proposals for a treaty of peace. They were inclined, however, to prolong the negotiations, until Wayne bluntly told them "that hitherto the Indians had felt only the weight of his little finger, but that he would surely destroy all the tribes in the near future, if they did not make peace."

THE "SIX MILE SQUARE" TRACT

It was not, however, until the following summer was far advanced that the Treaty of Greenville was at length concluded. The date of that important instrument was August 3, 1795. By its terms various tracts were ceded to the United States "as an evidence," to use the language of the treaty, "of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and its desire to provide for their accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties."

There were sixteen pieces of land thus ceded, most of them described as "pieces six miles square," though in the others not so described different dimensions were given. The fourteenth was described as, "One piece of land six miles square at the mouth of the Chikago River, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood." The boundaries of the tracts referred to were not given, as they were left to be determined by surveys thereafter to be made. This was the first occasion that Chicago was recognized in any official document of the general government.

The surveys which would have been necessary to determine the boundaries referred to were never made. Before the government surveyors had reached this site, other treaties with the Indians had supervened, and thus obviated the necessity for establishing such boundaries. For this reason such maps as show the tract ceded by the Treaty of Greenville are arbitrarily placed by the map makers so as to include the mouth of the Chicago river, but they have no further claim for accuracy of position. None of the maps of the Chicago Title and Trust Company shows the boundary lines of the "piece six miles square," though the lines established in subsequent treaties are clearly traced, and have become well recognized base lines in the description of property.

There has been some speculation among writers as to what fort was referred in the Treaty of Greenville, which "formerly stood" at the mouth of the Chicago river. But no doubt forts and stockades had existed at one period

or another since the time when some of La Salle's men erected a "little stockade" in the winter of 1682-3, and where La Salle himself stayed for a time in the following summer. Shea says that, in 1685, Durantaye erected a fort at Chicago, "where it became a kind of depot"; and one James Logan, of Pennsylvania, sent by the governor of that colony to ascertain the routes of French trade, reported, in 1718, that a fort "not regularly garrisoned" was situated at the mouth of the Chicago river.

It would not have been strange if a tradition of these old forts which had been abandoned and gone to decay was current among the French traders at the time the treaty was made, notwithstanding the doubt expressed in a quotation made by Andreas that, "at the time of the treaty of Greenville, the oldest Indian then living had no recollection of a fort ever having been at that place." The recollections of Indians are, however, notoriously unreliable, and the framers of the treaty probably relied more upon the recollections and traditions of the whites than upon those of the Indians when they used the words, "where a fort formerly stood."

The statement made above that forts and stockades had existed at one period or another during the French regime has been doubted by Professor M. M. Quaife in his volume recently published, entitled, "Chicago and the Old Northwest," although historians have generally believed that at least there was one such fort. Professor Quaife says that "it is extremely doubtful whether the French ever had a regular fort at Chicago, and it can be shown conclusively that if so it existed for but a short period only." He thus denies the probability of even one fort being in existence at any time during the long period which elapsed from La Salle's visit in 1683 to the end of the French domination.

Professor Quaife's conclusions are hardly consistent with the statements of some of the older writers, as we have seen. For example, Judge Henry W. Blodgett, one of the pioneers of Illinois, says in his "Autobiography," that "in the early days of the French traders and explorers in this country every trading place had a picketed stockade about it, so that the occupants were protected in the event of any outbreak among the Indians, and this was rather necessary, as all the traders in those days sold the Indians whiskey, and when whiskey got the uppermost of an Indian's head his grievances toward the white men took generally a quarrelsome form, and a stockade to retreat into was almost a necessity in a place where Indian trading was carried on. Nearly every trading settlement, therefore, was called Fort Something, and the fort was what gave it character." It would seem, therefore, entirely probable that forts answering Blodgett's description had been built by the French military authorities at the mouth of the Chicago river, during the period of their ascendancy in that region.

THE FIRST SETTLERS

It is rather hazardous for one who has a due regard for his reputation as a writer on historical subjects to name anything or anybody as "the first"; and it is especially unsafe to name anyone as the "first settler." No matter who may be thus distinguished, it is usually found that there was some "orig-

inal,'' whose claims to the title are set forth with sufficiently strong proofs, and, accordingly, he is moved up to the head of the class. This continues until some delver into the ''musty records of the past'' rises up and announces that he has found another who is entitled to the honor; and finally one feels that no certainty can be felt that anyone can be called ''first settler,'' ''first arrival'' or ''first'' anything.

In a letter to the author from the late Mr. R. G. Thwaites, secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, he says: ''I doubt if . . . any known person can safely be called the 'earliest settler' of Chicago. The habitants and traders went back and forth like Arabs. Chicago was long a noted point for Indian gatherings and trade. No doubt there was a succession of temporary visitors, risiding any time from a few months to several years at this site during the entire French regime, but especially in the eighteenth century, concerning which period the records are unfortunately scanty.''

A few of the first settlers who came to the place even then known as Chicago, in the eighteenth century, will be mentioned here.

In the work entitled ''Pioneer History of Illinois,'' by John Reynolds, one of the early governors of Illinois, he speaks of one ''Staint Ange, or Pelate, as he was sometimes called, as having settled at Chicago'' about 1765. But he only makes this mention incidental to an account he gives of one of the pioneer women who passed the greater part of her life in Cahokia, then one of the principal towns of the state. But nowhere else do we find any further reference to the man St. Ange. There was, indeed, a French officer by the name of St. Ange de Bellerive, the last French commander in the Illinois Country, but he was an entirely different individual.

JEAN BAPTISTE POINT DE SAIBLE

In giving the early history of Chicago, the Indians say, with great simplicity, ''the first white man who settled here was a negro.'' This is a passage from Mrs. Kinzie's ''Wau-Bun,'' referring to Jean Baptiste Point de Saible, whom the author just mentioned calls ''Point-au-Sable.'' De Saible, or Point-au-Sable, was at Chicago some time in 1779, or previous thereto. He was a native of San Domingo, and before settling on the banks of the Chicago river, he had lived among the Peorias. ''He built a cabin on the north bank of the Chicago river, where it turned to the south, and at the head of the point of sand which extended thence between the river and the lake. Here he lived until 1796—seventeen years,'' when he returned to his former place of residence among the Peorias. There is a further mention of him in the ''Recollections of Augustin Grignon,'' published in the Collections of the Wisconsin State Historical Society in 1857. Grignon says: ''At a very early period there was a negro lived there [at Chicago] named Baptist Point de Saible; my brother, Perrish Grignon, visited Chicago about 1794, and told me that Point de Saible was a large man; that he had a commission for some office, but for what particular object, or from what government, I cannot now recollect. He was a trader, pretty wealthy, and drank freely. I know not what became of him.''

De Saible came under the observation of the watchful Colonel Arent Schuy-

ler de Peyster, who was the British commander at Mackinac from 1774 to 1779; and in a volume of "Miscellanies" written by him, under date of July 4, 1779, he makes mention of "Baptist De Saible, a handsome negro, well educated, and settled at Eschecagou, but much in the French interest."

DE SAIBLE MADE PRISONER

In a report made by Lieutenant Thomas Bennett, of the "King's Regiment," on September 1, 1779, addressed to his superior officer, Colonel De Peyster, he writes: "I had the negro, Baptiste Point au Sable, brought prisoner from the river du Chemin [to Dertoit]. Corporal Tascon, who commanded the party, very prudently prevented the Indians from burning his home, or doing him any injury. He secured his packs, etc., which he takes with him to Michilimackinac. The negro, since his imprisonment, has in every respect behaved in a manner becoming to a man in his situation, and has many friends who give him a good character."

In a note by Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, appended to the printed copy of this letter, in the Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, he says: "It would appear from this and preceding documents that Baptiste Point du Sable was driven from Chicago by Langlade, probably in the spring of 1779; that he removed his effects to Riviere du Chemin [near Michigan City, Indiana] . . . and that he was there taken into custody by Lieutenant Bennett, and transported to Mackinac."

De Saible's only neighbors during his residence at Chicago to which he afterwards returned were the Indians of the Pottawatomie tribe. Between the two races, the negro and the Indian, there is usually a strong affection, and Jean Baptiste the more readily imposed on his Indian friends by making them believe that he had been a "great chief" among the whites. "Perhaps," says the author of "Wau-Bun," "he was disgusted at not being elected to a similar dignity by the Pottawatomies, for he quitted this vicinity, and finally terminated his days at Peoria, under the roof of his friend, Glamorgan, another St. Domingo negro."

In 1796 De Saible, when about to return to Peoria, sold his cabin to Joseph Le Mai, a French trader. Le Mai made some improvements and occupied it as a residence and trading post until 1804, when he sold it to John Kinzie, who arrived that year.

Some time before 1800 there was a man by the name of Guarie, who had a trading house up on the North Branch, located on the west side of the river, near the present Fulton Street. This part of the river was called "River Guarie," according to a statement made by Gurdon S. Hubbard in 1880, printed in Blanchard's "Discovery of the Northwest." He says: "This house was enclosed by pickets. He [Guarie] located there prior to 1778. This tradition I received from Messrs. Antoine Deschamps and Antoine Besom, who, from about 1778, had passed from Lake Michigan to the Illinois river yearly; they were old men when I first knew them in 1818. This tradition was corroborated by other old voyageurs. The evidences of this trading house were pointed out to me by Mr. Deschamps; the corn-hills adjoining were distinctly traceable, though grown over with grass."

ANTOINE OUILMETTE

Antoine Ouilmette, a Frenchman who married a squaw of the Pottawatomie tribe, came to Chicago in 1790, as he states in a letter dictated by him and addressed to John H. Kinzie, in 1839. The letter is signed with a mark, as he was apparently not able to write himself. A portion of the letter runs as follows: "I came into Chicago in the year 1790, in July, witness old Mr. Veaux, who knows I was there." He also cites other witnesses of his early residence.

This Mr. Veaux was Andrew Jaeques Vieau, Sr. (the family name being variously spelled), whose interview with the editor of the Wisconsin Historical Collections is contained in those records. Of his surname he said, "The family name was originally De Veau; but as that meant calf or veal, other children would annoy my ancestors in their youth, by bleating in their presence; so the name was changed to Vieau in self-defense."

In an exhaustive account of Ouilmette, published in 1908, by the Evanston Historical Society, Mr. Frank R. Grover, the author, states that he was born near Montreal in 1760, and when he came to Chicago was an employe of the American Fur Company. He was not an Indian chief, as many have supposed, but "was a type of the early French voyageurs, who lived and died among their Indian friends, loving more the hardships and excitements of the western frontier than the easier life of eastern civilization." Archange, his Indian wife, though mentioned as a "Pottawatomie woman" in the treaty of Prairie du Chien, concluded with the Indians of several tribes in 1829, is spoken of by Mrs. Kinzie in "Wau-Bun" as a half breed. She and her sister were in later years of great assistance in saving the life of Mrs. Helm at the time of the Chicago massacre in 1812, as will appear in a later part of this work.

The frequent reference made in this history to the historical collections of the Wisconsin State Historical Society only emphasizes the deficiencies of our own state in the matter of published records, memoirs and other historical material. Wisconsin is far ahead of us in that respect, and although our own state Historical Society is doing a noble work with limited resources, its activities date from a comparatively recent period; while those of our sister state were begun half a century ago and and have always been abundantly provided for by her legislature. The historical material relating to Illinois in the possession of the Wisconsin society rivals that of any similar collection of the kind in the country.

THE AMERICAN ABORIGINES

No picture of the times, however, can be complete without including the figure of the ubiquitous red man. "No Indians, no trade" might well have been the motto of the traders who were settled on this spot. No white man would have taken up his residence on this lonely frontier because of its natural attractions, for it had very few, nor in anticipation of its glorious future, of which he did not dream. But the prospect of profitable barter with the Indians was a sufficient attraction for the traders, and no place was so remote

but that as soon as the discoverers had pointed out the locality the traders quickly established themselves. Indeed the *coureurs de bois,* half savages as they were, penetrated the wilderness oftentimes before the discovery of its hidden mysteries was made known to the world.

The Indians, on the occasion of their visits to the trading posts, needed no provision for their accommodation in cabin or hut. Like true nomads they brought their own wigwams, and came and went as the whim seized them; always, however, watchfully observant of the movements of other tribes with whom their own unwritten laws and rude authority would carry little or no weight in their conduct towards each other.

POTTAWATOMIES AND IROQUOIS

The surrounding region was generally recognized at that time as the roaming ground of the Pottawatomies, although other tribes related to them resorted here in lesser numbers, and were regarded as friends. Among these were the Winnebagoes, Ottawas and Chippewas. All these tribes had, like the Iroquois, been invaders of the Illinois Country, and these invasions had finally resulted in the extermination of the Illinois Indians at Starved Rock a few years before; and they now occupied this region through the sufferance of those ferocious conquerors, the Iroquois.

The degree of subserviency of the western tribes to the Iroquois of New York is, however, difficult to estimate. The Pottawatomies were "French Indians" in their sympathies and trade relations up to and even after the close of the French regime in 1763. They were reluctant to acknowledge the sway of the British during the period of their possession, but through the commanding influence of the New York Indians, they kept the peace that was guaranteed by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. This treaty was made between the whites and the Iroquois, with their "dependent tribes," which presumably bound the western Indians, though afterwards the latter resented the proceedings. Narrowing the view to the Pottawatomies, it appears that, up to the close of the war of 1812, the latter tribe were strongly under British influence, though a few were loyal to the Americans; and that the British agents probably made use of the old terms of subserviency to the Iroquois, in order to strengthen their hold upon them. At the conclusion of the War of 1812, the Iroquois were largely removed to Canadian territory, north of Lake Ontario, and we hear no more of Iroquois participation in treaties in which the western tribes took part.

WOODS AND PRAIRIE INDIANS

There were two branches of the Pottawatomies, one branch called the Pottawatomies of the Woods, the other the Pottawatomies of the Prairies. Their different bands would unite and separate according to the abundance or scarcity of game or the emergencies of war. "The Pottawatomies of the Woods," says Grover, "became in time a different people from their western brethren: they were susceptible to the influence of civilization and religion; and took kindly to agriculture to supplement the fruits of the chase."

"It was very different, however, with the Prairie Indians," writes Judge Caton. "They despised the cultivation of the soil as too mean for their women and children, and deemed the captures of the chase the only fit food for a valorous people. . . . Nor did they open their ears to the lessons of love and religion tendered them by those who came among them and sought to do them good. . . . They enjoyed the wild roving life of the prairie, and, in common with almost all other native Americans, were vain of their prowess and manhood, both in war and in the chase. They did not settle down for a great length of time in a given place, but roamed across the broad prairies, from one grove or belt of timber to another, either in single families or in small bands, packing their few effects, their children and infirm on their little Indian ponies. They always traveled in 'Indian file' upon well-beaten trails, connecting, by the most direct routes, prominent points and trading posts. These native highways served as guides to our early settlers, who followed them with as much confidence as we now do the roads laid out and worked by civilized man."

INDIAN CUSTOMS AND TRAITS

The life of the savage is of absorbing interest and attraction to the civilized man living among the restraints of modern life. And yet with all the freedom he enjoys, the savage is constantly exposed to dangers from enemies and from natural calamities, has few comforts, and his longevity is curtailed. The races of the savages do not increase, but rather tend to diminish in numbers, while there is little inclination among them to make progress along the lines in which the white race has improved itself.

In his "Pioneer History of Illinois," Governor John Reynolds, whose acquaintance with Indian disposition and habits of life was of the most intimate character, thus describes them:

"The Indians are somewhat like the Arabs in their migrations. They travel together with several families, more or less, according to circumstances. They have their summer and winter residences similar to the gentry of large cities; but for different considerations. These natives travel with all their wealth, except at times they *cache* some articles in the earth, as the French call it; that is, they hide the article in the ground until they return. A family or a caravan of traveling Indians would make a good subject for a painter. These moving parties are generally going or returning from their winter hunting-grounds and have with them their wives, children, dogs, horses and all their assets of every description. Each family has its own organization and government. In the evening when they camp, the females do all the work in making the camp, fire, etc., while their lords take their ease in smoking. The whole Indian race of the males is grave, sedate, and lazy. Some may go out to hunt while the squaws are working. They generally stop early in the evening to prepare for the night.

"This traveling with the Indians is a living as much as if they were stationary in their towns. They have nothing changed in the peregrinations, only a very short distance of latitude or longitude, or a little of both, on the surface of the earth. Therefore their migrations may be termed traveling

residences. Under this system, they make as much improvement at each camp as they do at their winter hunting-grounds or in their towns. The small children are often tied on the horses' backs, to pack-saddles, so they can not fall off; the still younger ones are tied on boards, and while traveling, the boards are suspended by the side of the horse. These boards answer a valuable purpose to the Indians in traveling as well as at home. They are light and nicely made; are longer than the child and some wider. A hoop of strong hickory wood is bent over the face of the papoose and the ends made fast in the plank. Holes are pierced in the edges of the board, through which straps are passed to secure the bed and the child fast to the plank. Blankets and other clothes are placed between the infant and the wood and likewise around the small one; so that it and its bed are safely and securely made fast to the board. The hoop is often covered with a cloth or small piece of blanket, so that the child is perfectly at its ease and safe from external violence. At the end of the board a strap is passed through a hole and the ends tied together. When the squaws are busy, they hang the boards and children up out of the way from a limb of a tree; so the infants are safe while the mothers do the work. Sometimes they lean the board and child against a tree or post for safe-keeping. This is better for the child than sleeping in a cradle. Children placed on these boards grow straight, which is the reason the Indians are generally more erect than white men.

"The Indians in their diet are not fastidious or tasty. They display no unfriendly feelings to dirt or filth. They often pack their meat, in their journeys, by running a tug-rope through each piece, which is cut six or seven inches square, and tying the tug to the saddle; the meat is suspended by the side of the horse, exposed to flies, dirt, etc. In their journeys, the males mostly ride and make the females walk. The manner in which the females are treated in any country is an exact index to the barbarity or civilization of the community."

INDIAN CHARACTER

The Indian is a man, indeed, but one in the child stage of development, in which passions and impulses are stronger, and reasoning powers more feeble, than they are with civilized men. His powers of observation are highly trained, yet on matters without the range of his limited experience he reasons like a child. Indians are savages and have the vices of savages, but they also have savage virtues, many of which are admirable. Among them a liar is regarded with contempt, and when a man has once been detected in an untruth it is difficult for him to regain his reputation.

"Nowhere in the world was property more safe than in the old time Indian camp," says a writer in the "Atlantic Monthly." It is related that some years ago two white men and an interpreter visited an Indian camp in the West. Leaving their belongings lying loose in a lodge to go out for a stroll, one of the men said to the interpreter, "I have left all my things inside; will they be safe?" "Safe," replied the other, "sure, they'll be safe. There ain't a white man within thirty miles of here." There are no locks and keys in an Indian encampment; such devices are only necessary among white

people. Dr. Charles Eastman, a full-blooded Sioux Indian, when he was first brought East to attend school, relates that on arriving in Chicago, he was cautioned against pickpockets. "Evidently," he wrote, "there were some disadvantages connected with this mighty civilization, for we Indians seldom find it necessary to guard our possessions."

But though we are obliged to chronicle his evil deeds, which indeed more quickly arrest our attention and are the most conspicuous in the annals of the American Indian, yet when we consider the better side of his nature we may regard him in a spirit of indulgence and charity; and the dismal tale of his warfares and hostility to the superior race which has finally overwhelmed him may be relegated to the limbo.

"Of old, unhappy, far off things,
And battles long ago."

MAPS

The early maps of the Great Lakes and the Western country require some notice in this place. On Marquette's map the western shore of Lake Michigan, which he calls "Lac des Ilinois", is defined, but the eastern shore is indicated by a dotted line probably conjectured from the reports of the savages. The Illinois river is continued without a break from its mouth to Lake Michigan. The general course of the rivers over which the journey of Joliet and Marquette was made is surprisingly correct, however. The Mississippi is called "Riviere de la Conception," that being the name given to it by Marquette. No Indian tribe is shown as occupying the neighborhood of the Chicago portage, though it is well known that the region at that time was a part of the hunting grounds of the Illinois Indians.

Joliet's map, drawn by him from memory after his return to Quebec—for it will be remembered that all his records were lost when his canoe was overturned in the St. Lawrence while returning from his voyage of discovery,—shows the course of the Chicago river without, however, attaching any name to it, but designating the adjoining locality as a "portage." The general course of the Illinois river is shown with the name of "Riviere de la Divine." The Mississippi is shown with the name of "Riviere de Buade," which was the name given to the river by Joliet in honor of Frontenac, Buade being his family surname. As on Marquette's map, no tribes are indicated as occupying the region at the mouth of the Chicago river.

Franquelin, a young engineer living at Quebec, made a map from the descriptions of the returning explorers. This map was very elaborately executed, was six by four and a half feet in size, and was known as the "Franquelin map of 1684." On it is shown a number of Indian villages, one at the mouth of the Chicago river, with the name "Cheagoumeman" opposite the river's mouth, while a branch of the Illinois river, occupying a position near the course of the Desplaines, has the name "Riviere Chekagou." In this map the Mississippi is called by its present name, though it is given the alternative name of "Riviere Colbert," thus called in honor of the great French minister. None of these names bestowed by the explorers upon the great

river,—Conception, Buade, or Colbert,—were of long duration. The original Algonquin name still remains,—a good example of the survival of the fittest.

The Indian villages are shown with the number of warriors in each. The village near Fort St. Louis (Starved Rock) was that of the Shawanoes, spelled by the maker of the map Chaouenons. The information for the composition of this map was undoubtedly supplied by La Salle himself. In a letter of La Barre, Governor of Canada, to the French Minister, in 1683, he says, "The young man who made these maps is named Franquelin; he is as skillful as any in France, but extremely poor, and in need of a little aid from his Majesty as an engineer."

The map known as "Mitchell's map" bears the date of 1755, having been made by Dr. John Mitchell, a resident of Virginia. All the previous noteworthy maps had been the work of French, Spanish or Italian cartographers. This map was reprinted frequently, and was used by the commissioners in making the treaty of peace in 1783 between the United States and Great Britain. On this map appears the name of "Quadoghe," applied to the region west of the St. Joseph river. There is an explanatory remark following the name, as follows: "So called by the Six Nations [to indicate] the extent of their territories and bounds of their deed of sale to the crown of Britain [in] 1701, renewed in 1720 and 1744." This name of Quadoghe was used on maps of later date, that of Gibson's map of 1763 and others. Hurlbut, in his book "Chicago Antiquities," regards the name as that of an Indian tribe, but Mr. John F. Steward, who had one of the most complete collections of early maps in the country, considered that the name Quadoghe was a term used by the Iroquois indicating the boundary or limit of their territorial claims in that region. This view is in harmony with the inscription quoted above, and also with the general tenor of the "deed of sale" itself, which is printed in full in the "New York Colonial Documents" (volume IV, page 908).

ASPECT OF THE REGION

Having now arrived at the end of the eighteenth century in the progress of our history, let us look about us and take a survey of what we find within our view. At the mouth of the river, at a point about where the foot of Pine street now is, stood the cabin and trading house of Le Mai, and near it, a few yards to the northwest, was the less pretentious cabin of Ouilmette, and two others. Near these cabins were the gardens of the occupants. The landscape was the same as that looked upon by the discoverers a century and a quarter before. There was little sign of the life and activity which were soon to manifest themselves in such a marvelous manner on this spot. There was the glorious view of the lake to the eastward, its blue waters extending beyond the utmost stretch of the vision, just as it is today and just as it has been since the dawn of creation. Looking south along the shore its superb curve, rivaling even that of the Bay of Naples, trended easterly until the distant shores were lost to view. Along the beach low ranges of sand dunes met the eye, and back of them the prairie stretched away far to the southwest beyond the range of vision,—this being that portion of the "Grand Prairie of Illinois" which, for a space of some four or five miles, bordered on

the shore of Lake Michigan. Towards the west and southwest along the course of the river clumps of timber could be seen in the distance, while to the north the forest held sway completely from lake to river, a forest that continued unbroken except in marshy tracts as far as the timber line in the extreme northern part of the continent.

In the course of its history Chicago has existed under three flags; first, under the domination of the French kings, from the period of its discovery to the year 1763, when, after the French and Indian War, it passed into the possession of the English. As British territory it remained until the close of the Revolutionary War, when the Western Territories were ceded by the English to the Americans at the treaty of peace concluded in 1783; and thus the region in which Chicago is situated finally came under the Stars and Stripes, where, under the blessing of God, it shall remain in perpetuity.

CHAPTER III

FIRST THREE DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

BUILDING OF THE FIRST FORT DEARBORN—ARRIVAL OF JOHN KINZIE—PRIMITIVE MANUFACTURES—SLOW LAKE TRANSPORTATION—WAR OF 1812—THE CHICAGO MASSACRE—DESCRIPTION OF THE EVENT—FOUR YEARS OF DESOLATION—BUILDING OF THE SECOND FORT—IMPORTANT INDIAN TREATY—UNITED STATES TRADING HOUSES—"FACTORY" AT CHICAGO—FACTORIES CLOSED—ILLINOIS ADMITTED TO THE UNION — NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE STATE ESTABLISHED — POPE'S FAMOUS AMENDMENT—JUDGE STORROW'S NARRATIVE—JOURNEY THROUGH PRIMEVAL FOREST—STORROW'S ARRIVAL AT CHICAGO—AMERICAN FUR COMPANY—GURDON S. HUBBARD'S DESCRIPTION—TRADE CUSTOMS WITH THE INDIANS—HUBBARD'S LATER CAREER—THE BEAUBIENS—ALEXANDER WOLCOTT—TROWBRIDGE'S VISIT—EBENEZER CHILDS' VISIT—SCHOOLCRAFT'S VISIT—MAJOR LONG'S VISIT—THE CLYBOURNS—JAMES GALLOWAY—THE FIRST LIGHTHOUSE—REVIEW OF EVENTS, 1803 TO 1832.

BUILDING OF FORT DEARBORN

The construction of the first Fort Dearborn was begun in the late summer of 1803, but the structure was not completed until some time towards the end of the same year. At the time that Fort Dearborn was built the site of Chicago had been known to the civilized world for a hundred and thirty years, although the American domination of this region had existed only since the treaty of peace had been concluded between Great Britain and the United States recognizing the independence of the latter. The mouth of the Chicago river was selected as the site of one of its most important outlying posts on the western frontier, and as Gen. Henry Dearborn was at that time Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Thomas Jefferson the fort was named in his honor.

The necessary tools for the construction of the fort and supplies for the men engaged had been brought from Detroit by schooner, while a company of United States regulars had marched overland through the forests of Michigan to perform the labor and afterwards to form the garrison of the new fort. Like most of the frontier forts of that time Fort Dearborn was surrounded by a stockade with blockhouses at the corners. The construction of the fort was under the direction of Capt. John Whistler who was also the commander of the post after its completion. The fort was located on the southern bank at the point where the present Rush street bridge now spans the Chicago river.

In the construction of the fort there were two blockhouses erected, one at the southeast and the other at the northwest corners of the stockaded enclosure. These blockhouses projected slightly beyond the line of pickets so that their defenders could command the approaches from the open spaces without the fort. Beyond the main line of pickets another similar line was placed at a different angle converging toward the blockhouses, thus providing two strong palisades entirely surrounding the fort. A plan for the construction of frontier forts was prepared by the War Department and this plan was referred to in a letter of instructions written by Gen. Dearborn at a somewhat later time than the fortification at Chicago was completed, yet it was an outline of the general principles by which the department had been governed in all such works.

In the letter of instructions Gen. Dearborn wrote as follows: "Being of the opinion that for the general defense of our country we ought not to rely upon fortifications, but on men and steel, and that works calculated for resisting batteries of cannon are necessary only for our principal seaports, I cannot conceive it useful or expedient to construct expensive works for our interior military posts, especially such as are intended merely to hold the Indians in check." The details of the plan are further described in the letter. "The blockhouses are to be constructed of timber slightly hewed," he says, "and are to be so placed as to scour from the upper and lower stories the whole of the lines." Three pieces of light artillery were mounted in the blockhouses by way of armament.

Directly west of the fort, fronting toward the river, was built a double log house between the two parts of which an open passage was left, though the roof was made continuous over both portions as well as over the open passage. Along the front and rear a covered porch extended the full length of the structure. This building was the Agency House, or United States "Factory," used for storing goods to be sold to the Indians under government regulations. The plan of supplying the Indians directly by the government, so as to protect them against the rapacity of the traders, is described more at length in a later part of this chapter.

JOHN KINZIE'S ARRIVAL

A trader's cabin was standing at the mouth of the river in 1779, occupied by a Dominican negro named De Saible, mentioned in the previous chapter. This cabin eventually passed into the possession of John Kinzie, often called the "Chicago Pioneer," who rebuilt it and began to occupy it in 1804. Fort Dearborn was completed by that time and was garrisoned by a company of United States troops. Kinzie came to be known as "the Indians' friend" and prospered greatly as a trader and as an interpreter in the service of the military authorities.

In his book on "Chicago Antiquities," Mr. Henry H. Hurlbut mentions that it should not be forgotten at this day, when Chicago has risen to such a preeminence as a manufacturing city, that at the old Kinzie cabin was the first manufactory of the incipient city. "We are aware," he continues, "that from time immemorial there were domestic manufactures carried on by the

Indians within and without their wigwams; garments and mocassins were fashioned and decorated, mats were woven, baskets braided, robes and furs dressed, bows and arrows were shaped, and canoes of bark or logs constructed. But to speak of white men as manufacturers we may say that in the cabin of Mr. Kinzie lived the first artisan of the pale race, that followed his calling in this locality.'' Mr. Kinzie had learned the silversmith's trade in his youthful days at Detroit and found among the tribes and white trappers and woodsmen a lively demand for the silver articles that he made in great variety. He made silver brooches, rings, bands, clasps, crosses, ear rings, and the numerous other nameless trinkets of adornment so dear to the hearts of the savages, the Canadian *voyageurs,* and the *coureurs de bois.* Kinzie was known far and wide as the ''Silverman,'' and much of his time was spent in his cabin at the work bench fashioning articles from silver for which he received in exchange furs and doubtless some money, though there was very little of that in circulation in those times.

But Chicago was as yet but a poor market comparatively for articles manufactured on the spot. Of course most of the articles for barter were manufactured in the older portions of the country, blankets, cloths, weapons, ammunition, and the great variety of tools, knives, and other implements and hardware needed in a new region. Provisions and flour still must come from the East though cattle and game supplied an important part of the necessary subsistence. Liquors, too, were a large item in the importations from the older communities though the government made earnest efforts to suppress the trade in liquors, but with generally unsuccessful results.

MOVEMENTS OF MERCHANDISE

William Burnett, a trader of St. Joseph, Michigan, wrote to a firm in Montreal some time before Fort Dearborn was built, as follows: ''Last winter I wrote you that it is expected there will be a garrison at Chicago this summer, and, from late accounts I have reason to expect that they will be over there this fall; and should it be the case, and as I have a house there already, . . . I will have occasion for a good deal of liquors, and some other articles for that post.'' Burnett had been established at St. Joseph since 1785, and in addition to the regular shipments of furs made to lower lake ports he was able to include shipments of corn even at that early period as is shown by one of his letters to a merchant in Mackinac. Under date of May 14, 1786, he wrote as follows: ''Dear Sir: I take this opportunity, by Mr. Tabeau, to acquaint you that I have here 220 bushels of corn, and as I have no canoe nor batteau to send the corn to Mackinac, you will please endeavor to get what I have here put into the vessel if she is to come back again. Or, if she is to come to Chicago you can very likely get her to stop at the mouth of the river.'' There was much competition among the frontier traders and even before John Kinzie had established himself at Chicago he found that others had preceded him and had set up trading posts in the vicinity. Besides De Saible there was one Guarie who according to Gurdon S. Hubbard had a trading post on the west bank of the North Branch about where Fulton street is now prior to 1778. In fact it is worthy of note in passing that the North

Branch was known prior to 1800 as the "River Guaric," while the South Branch was known as the "Portage River," and that part of the river which we call the "Main Branch" was the only part of the river system called the "Chicago River."

WAR OF 1812

But events were steadily moving towards the great tragedy of 1812, by which sixty-four persons lost their lives and many more carried off into captivity in the Indian massacre, a brief account of which will follow. Fort Dearborn was garrisoned by a company of United States troops and militia numbering all told sixty-five soldiers. This it will be remembered was the year in which war broke out between Great Britain and the United States. Gen. William Hull, with headquarters at Detroit, was in command of the outlying posts which included among others the post at Fort Dearborn. Gen. Hull sent orders to Capt. Heald at Fort Dearborn to evacuate the post and march to Fort Wayne with a view of concentrating the forces scattered along the frontier at a point nearer Detroit where he was assembling an army.

The fort was evacuated in accordance with Hull's order on the 15th of August, 1812. The Indians of the vicinity, composed of the Pottawatomie tribes, had been apprised by Capt. Heald of the intention to evacuate the fort, and they had been asked to furnish an escort of four hundred of their number as far as Fort Wayne, which on the promise of a suitable reward they had agreed to do. It was afterwards found that the Indians, acting in the British interest, treacherously repudiated their promise, as the event will show. The column leaving the fort on that fatal day was comprised of the sixty-five soldiers mentioned above, and thirty-one women, children and civilians, a total of ninety-six whites. An escort of thirty friendly Miami Indians who had arrived the previous day from Fort Wayne, under command of Capt. William Wells, were distributed at the front and rear of the column in its march. The column stretched, with its baggage wagons conveying the women and children and necessary supplies, a mile and a half along the lake shore about where the present line of Michigan Avenue is now laid out.

THE MASSACRE OF WHITES

The column slowly creeping along the sandy road had reached a point about where Eighteenth street now abuts on the tracks of the Illinois Central railroad, when it was observed that the Pottawatomie escort, which had started with the procession on its march, apparently in good faith, had taken a divergent course some distance towards the west, and were now quite concealed in their movements by the line of sand hills that at that time lined the lake shore. Suddenly, far in the advance shots were heard coming from the direction of the sand hills, and it was at once realized that they came from the Pottawatomies. Capt. Wells who was at the head of the long drawn out column turned his horse and galloped back along the line of soldiers, swinging his hat around his head, which in the sign language of the frontier, meant, "We are surrounded by Indians." As he approached the commanding officer he shouted, "They are about to attack us, form instantly and charge them!" Capt.

Wells had lived among the Indians in his boyhood and knew savage methods of warfare and he knew also that no time must be lost in such a situation.

The treacherous savages could now be seen in great numbers coming into view from behind the mounds of sand. The troops were instantly formed and the savages began firing upon them with deadly effect, the first victim being a veteran of seventy years of age. The troops replied with a volley and charged upon their savage foes, driving them from their positions, but they scattered, Indian fashion, and presently began to envelop the flanks of the whites according to the usual practice of Indian warfare. At this juncture the Miamis mounted on their ponies would have been of the greatest service in preventing such a maneuver, but they had all fled across the prairie after the first shot had been fired, and quickly disappeared in the distance and were seen no more.

While the soldiers were pressing the attack from the front several Indians quickly made their way to the wagons where they tomahawked eleven of the children who were in one of the wagons, also killing two of the women. Capt. Wells was fighting desperately from his saddle, and doing more execution than any other man on the field. He freely exposed himself wherever the combat was most furious. He was armed with a rifle and carried two pistols which he would load and fire with incredible rapidity. His powder and bullets were carried in belts slung over his shoulders, convenient for instant use. He usually had the bullet needed for the next load ready in his mouth. "He would pour in the powder," said an eye-witness, "wad it down, blow in the bullet, prime, and fire, faster than one can tell the facts."

CAPTAIN WILLIAM WELLS

The savages had a wholesome fear of Wells, and they fled from his aim in all directions. His particular effort was to protect the women and children in the wagons, and presently he saw one of the young Indians come up and enter one of the wagons which was filled with these helpless members of the white party. Before he could reach the spot to prevent him the savage had ruthlessely slaughtered the entire group. "Is that their game," he shouted in rage, "butchering women and children!" But he could do little to stay the slaughter of the innocents, his horse was shot under him, and a shot had passed through his lungs. He realized that he was mortally wounded and in fact he was soon after dispatched by one of his savage foes. The wife of the commanding officer, Mrs. Rebekah Heald, was his niece, and she was presently at his side at this moment. "Tell my wife, if you live to get there,—but I think it doubtful if a single one gets there,—tell her I died at my post doing the best I could. There are seven red devils over there that I have killed."

Thus perished the man to whom in a greater degree than to any other person those who remained alive upon the scene looked for help and guidance in this awful extremity. Without him the thickening perils of the hour seemed the climax of despair. Some time later the news of the death of Capt. Wells reached his widow at Fort Wayne, long before Mrs. Heald who survived the massacre was able to convey the message entrusted to her. One of the Indians present who witnessed the scene, though he took no part in the per-

petration of that dark deed, was a friend of Wells, whom he had known in former years and whom he regarded as a brother. It was this Indian who went to Fort Wayne after the battle was over and gave Mrs. Wells the first intimation of her husband's death. After doing so he disappeared and it was supposed that he returned to his tribe as he was never seen afterwards.

The episode connected with the death of Capt. Wells was but one of a number of tragic encounters. The soldiers in the ranks fell rapidly under the withering fire of the savages who now surrounded them in overwhelming numbers. Still they continued the struggle bravely, and the prairie was soon covered with dead and wounded. Capt. Heald himself received a wound in his hip from which he suffered for the remainder of his life and which caused his death a few years later. The troops behaved most gallantly while the battle lasted and they seemed determined to make as brave a defense as possible. They were soon reduced to about one-half their original number.

In the distance the men saw the savages swarming about the wagons and could hear their shouts exulting already over their victory, and the wailings of the cruelly bereaved mothers. After the action had continued about a quarter of an hour Capt. Heald drew off the few men still remaining and took possession of a small elevation in the open prairie beyond the range of the shots coming from the sand-hills which the Indians now held, thus having reversed the positions occupied by the opposing forces at the beginning of the battle. The troops could now do nothing towards defending the baggage wagons or their occupants, and in fact it was too evident that they must perish to the last man. The captain and his first lieutenant were wounded, another lieutenant and the surgeon were killed, and there seemed to be nothing to do but make the best terms they could with their foes.

END OF THE BATTLE

The captain saw from his position the Indians making signs to him to approach and consult with them. The captain advanced alone in response to this invitation. Through a half-breed interpreter he was asked to surrender to them, they at the same time promising to spare the lives of all the prisoners. Capt. Heald, in his report, says that after a few moments' consideration he concluded it would be most prudent to comply with this request, although he did not put entire confidence in the promise. In fact Capt. Heald was reduced to extremities and he was obliged to make the best terms possible, for though a surrender might be followed by treachery there was really no other course for him to take.

The surrender was then agreed to and the fighting ceased. After delivering up their arms the survivors were taken back to the encampment near the fort and distributed among different tribes. The number of the Indian warriors at this battle, Heald said, was between four and five hundred, mostly of the Pottawatomie nation, and their loss in killed was about fifteen. There were about sixty of the whites killed in the battle and the massacre which followed. When the troops surrendered it was found that the Indians regarded the wounded as exempt from the condition that the lives of captives would be spared, and many of the wounded were immediately tomahawked, and in

the evening of the same day five of the soldiers were tortured to death. A number of those carried off into captivity perished during the following winter from the privations they suffered.

The various adventures of the survivors would require in their relation much more space than can be allowed in this work. But as we shall meet with John Kinzie and his family in the future pages of this book it may be briefly stated that they all escaped the massacre, and in later years again became residents of Chicago. The fort, being a stockaded structure, was burned by the Indians the next day after the massacre, and remained a charred ruin for four years. During the same time the bodies of those who fell in battle were left on the field unburied, and so remained until a new force of United States regulars arrived in 1816 to build the second Fort Dearborn.

There was now an interval of four years during which time there was no military occupation and but little signs of life in the trading activities of the post. John Kinzie and his family had taken up their residence in Detroit, where they remained for some years. His house on the north bank of the river, which had escaped the general destruction, being now unoccupied, was taken possession of by a trader by the name of Du Pin, who carried on some sort of trade with the few Indians that remained in the neighborhood.

The nine years' interval between the construction of Fort Dearborn in 1803 and its evacuation and destruction in 1812 were distinguished by a considerable increase in the trade with the Indians carried on mainly by John Kinzie and a few other competitive establishments in the neighborhood. The Chicago Portage was a favorite camping ground for the tribes of the region, who after a period of roaming about would erect their wigwams in great numbers near the river bank, especially in the vicinity of the present State and Randolph streets. The movements of the Indians were of great interest to the traders, who were anxious to secure the furs brought in from their hunting expeditions. "No Indians, no trade," was an axiom with the traders, and therefore every effort was made to attract them to the spot and establish trade relations with them.

The Indians during that period were in general peaceful and maintained friendly relations with the whites. Had it not been for the war with Great Britain the commercial importance of the locality would have enjoyed a continuous period of growth from this time which was so disastrously interrupted in succeeding years.

REBUILDING OF FORT DEARBORN

A treaty of peace was concluded between Great Britain and the United States late in the year 1814, but not until a year and a half later was any serious step taken to re-establish the post at Fort Dearborn. In the summer of 1816 a company of United States regulars was sent to this point which rebuilt the fort on its former site and once more Fort Dearborn found itself on the map, and traders and settlers began to gather in the neighborhood. The bones of the men who fell on the field of battle four years before still exposed were gathered up and given decent burial. While not the farthest outpost of the United States in the Northwest it was still "an isolated wilder-

ness station," says Quaife in his history. "Fort Wayne was the nearest post-office, and between this place and Chicago the mail was carried by foot soldiers once or twice a month. Other agencies for maintaining connection with the outside world were few and irregular. The conduct of the business pertaining to the garrison and the operations connected with the prosecution of the fur trade were responsible for most of them. The provisions for the garrison were for the most part brought around the lakes in schooners, although the live stock destined to supply the soldiers with fresh meat was sometimes driven overland to Chicago." A portion of a letter is quoted by Quaife, written by the commanding officer at Fort Dearborn, announcing that in December, 1816, "a drove of hogs consisting of about three hundred recently arrived here for the contractor."

Just before the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn John Dean, an army contractor, came to Chicago and built a house near the present foot of Randolph street, at the mouth of the river. This was the house that J. B. Beaubien bought in 1817 for one thousand dollars, in those days considered a high price. In 1819 Dean was made United States factor. David McKee came as a blacksmith in 1821 as a result of a treaty made by Gen. Cass with the Indians, one condition of which was that there should be a blacksmith at Chicago to work exclusively for the Indians. He it was who in 1826 agreed to carry the mail every month between Chicago and Fort Wayne.

One of the earlier arrivals after the rebuilding of Fort Dearborn was that of John Kinzie and his family. He resumed his residence in the same house he had previously occupied on the north side of the river. He at once undertook to collect the scattered remnants of his property, which proved a most disheartening task. He found his various trading posts abandoned, his clerks gone elsewhere, and his valuable furs and goods lost or destroyed. In fact, he never recovered from the losses he suffered at the time of the massacre, nor the position he held as the leading trader which he held before that disastrous event took place. He found on his return that the Frenchman, Ouilmette, and his Indian wife, had continued to live uninterruptedly in their cabin, situated a short distance behind the Kinzie house, through all the turmoil and strife of the massacre and the years of desolation which followed.

In 1817 John Crafts was established at "Hardscrabble" on the South Branch as the agent for the fur company of Conant and Mack, but five years later the American Fur Company absorbed the firm and Crafts became its agent. John Jacob Astor was the proprietor of the American Fur Company, which had its headquarters at Mackinac Island with branches in many places along the shores of the Great Lakes and at interior points.

MACKINAC ISLAND THE CENTER OF THE FUR TRADE

The principal depot of supplies for the traders at Chicago and its vicinity was Mackinac Island, where was situated the headquarters of the great establishment of the American Fur Company. John Jacob Astor was the president of this company, which employed a host of clerks and voyagers engaged in collecting furs and re-shipping them to eastern points. "On this island," says G. S. Hubbard, in his narrative, "lived old voyagers, worn out with the hard

service incident to their calling, with their families of half-breeds." Further details of the operations of the American Fur Company will be given in the following pages. From Mackinac Island were shipped the goods required by the Indian traders scattered along the shores of the lakes reached by the fleets of canoes constantly leaving and arriving during the open season of lake navigation. The extensive storehouses belonging to the company were filled with merchandise to be distributed among the numerous Indian trading posts of the vast interior country, and there were also great storehouses for the reception of the furs collected which were to be sorted and packed for their long journey to the points of shipment at the various seaports of the East for export to Europe.

As showing the character of the shipments made from Mackinac the following extract from a letter written by the manager at that point mentions "8 barrels of flour and 6 barrels of whiskey," which he hopes will reach their destination in good order. In another letter he states that he has shipped by the schooner "Hercules" "4 barrels of whiskey and 6 barrels of flour," indicating "an intolerable deal of sack" in proportion to foodstuffs in the shipment. This same schooner was wrecked in 1816 in the lake between the two Calumet rivers and all on board perished, one of the earliest of the shipwrecks that form so long a list of disasters on Lake Michigan.

But Chicago's dependence on Mackinac for supplies gradually grew less with the increase of larger craft, schooners and steamers, which made longer journeys down the lakes, and carried larger loads and made more frequent trips than was possible in the batteaux of the older period. Chicago as a distributing point for goods became of constantly more and more importance. Points in the interior and north along the upper Mississippi began to receive their supplies through Chicago even at a time long before the canal was constructed or railroads were built. One writer observed that Chicago need no longer depend upon either Mackinac or the Lower Wabash through which to receive her supplies, and to show the advantages possessed by the Chicago market it was declared that "the market here can furnish an almost inexhaustible supply of pine lumber from the forests of Michigan and Wisconsin. The lumber trade is already very considerable, and the supply can be increased in proportion to the demand. The towns on the upper Mississippi and its branches are chiefly supplied with lumber brought from the Alleghany river, a distance of upwards of 1,200 miles. The price of lumber at St. Louis generally averages forty dollars, while at Chicago the average price is about fourteen dollars per thousand feet. Our lumber trade must consequently be immense." This was written in 1840, and at that time Chicago was rapidly becoming a jobbing center.

AN IMPORTANT INDIAN TREATY

A treaty of a very important character was concluded with the Indians about this time providing for a cession of territory which had a far reaching effect in establishing the ownership of land in this region. Cessions of territory were by no means a feature of all the Indian treaties made. Many of them were for the purpose of declaring "perpetual peace and friendship" between

the United States and the tribes in occupation. But in August, 1816, a treaty was concluded at St. Louis by which a tract of land was ceded in which a large portion of the present city of Chicago is situated.

This treaty, known as the "Indian Boundary Line Treaty," was negotiated on the part of the United States by Ninian Edwards, Governor of Illinois Territory, William Clark, Governor of Missouri Territory, and Auguste Chouteau, a citizen of St. Louis; and on the part of the tribes by the "chiefs and warriors" of the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottawatomies. The boundaries of the tract were as follows:

"Beginning on the left bank of the Fox river of Illinois, ten miles above the mouth of said Fox river; thence running so as to cross Sandy creek, ten miles above its mouth; thence, in a direct line, to a point ten miles north of the west end of the portage between Chicago creek, which empties into Lake Michigan, and the river Depleine, a fork of the Illinois; thence, in a direct line, to a point on Lake Michigan, ten miles northward of the mouth of Chicago creek; thence, along the lake, to a point ten miles southward of the mouth of the said Chicago creek; thence, in a direct line, to a point on the Kankakee, ten miles above its mouth; thence, with the said Kankakee and the Illinois river, to the mouth of Fox river; and thence to the beginning."

IMPORTANCE OF THE TREATY

"Of all the Indian treaties ever made," says Blanchard, "this will be remembered when all others, with their obligations, are forgotten." The consideration named was one thousand dollars a year (in goods) for a period of twelve years. Briefly summarized, the tract thus ceded begins on the shore of the lake, ten miles on either side of the mouth of the Chicago river, that is, having a width of twenty miles; and, slightly narrowing, it extends in a generally southwesterly direction to the Fox and Kankakee rivers, some forty miles inland; and enclosing approximately an area of about eight hundred square miles.

"When the country came to be surveyed in sections," says Blanchard, "inasmuch as the surveys on both sides of the treaty lines were not made at the same time, the section lines did not meet each other; and the diagonal offsets along the entire length of the Indian grant were the result. An occasional gore of land is left open to discussion as to what range and township it belongs to, and all the sectional maps must ever be disfigured with triangular fractions."

It is a harrowing feature, however, to the map makers and abstract writers of later days, by reason of its diagonal course through the city and country beyond; and the abstracts of property along these boundary lines, north and south, are full of fractional descriptions, which bring perplexity and woe to the searchers of title to this day.

Wherever a council was called with the tribes in treaty-making days it was always especially noticeable that the Pottawatomies appeared with their demands. "Their greed was only equaled by their assurance," says Moses, in his history of Illinois. "Wherever there was even an apparent opportunity to receive any money, they were promptly on hand to put in a claim, and . . . generally succeeded in carrying off the lion's share."

THE UNITED STATES TRADING HOUSES

The "Factory System," so-called, had its origin in an act passed by Congress in 1796. The Ordinance of 1787 had provided, in one of its articles, that "the utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

It was in the spirit of this provision in the famous ordinance that Congress, in 1796, passed an act establishing trading posts at many points, with the humane purpose of protecting the helpless "sons of the forest" from the rapacity of the private traders. The agent in charge of these posts, called the "factor," was instructed to deal justly and pay fairly for furs bought of the Indians. One section of the act provides "that the prices of goods supplied to, and to be paid for by, the Indians shall be regulated in such manner that the capital stock furnished by the United States may not be diminished." The sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars was "appropriated for the purpose of carrying on trade and intercourse with the Indian nations." Other provisions of the act were that agents or clerks of Indian trading houses were prohibited from carrying on trade on their own account, and that they should not "purchase or receive of any Indian, in the way of trade or barter, a gun or other article commonly used in hunting, any instrument of husbandry or cooking utensil . . . (or) any article of clothing (except skins or furs)." From time to time the law was amended for the purpose of appropriating larger sums required for the extension of the system. However, the plan did not work well. The traders understood the Indians much better than the factors appointed by the government, having lived among them and being well acquainted with their peculiarities. In spite of the efforts made by the factors to secure furs from the Indians, the latter preferred to deal with the traders. And thus, after a thorough trial, the system failed completely to fulfill the purpose for which it was established. The causes of the failure are found in various reports, from which appropriate quotations will be made.

FACTORY AT CHICAGO

Soon after the building of Fort Dearborn, in 1803, the government established a factory at this post. The name of the factor from that time until 1810 "has not been preserved," says Andreas, "unless, as seems probable, Charles Jouett was both Indian agent and factor." In 1811 Jouett resigned and went to Kentucky, and Matthew Irwin, Jr., then became the factor, and discharged the duties of Indian agent as well. It appears that Irwin left Chicago in July preceding the abandonment of Fort Dearborn, just as Jouett had done in the preceding year, and thus escaped the massacre.

An Agency House had been built about the same time that the post was established, in 1803. "It was situated a short distance above the fort on the same side of the river," writes Andreas, "and is described as an old-fashioned

log building with a hall in the center, and one large room on each side. Porches extended the whole length of the building, front and rear." The Agency House shared the same fate as that of the fort on the day after the evacuation and massacre, and was burned to the ground.

In 1816 an Agency House was built on the north side of the river, at about where the north end of State street bridge is now located. Jacob B. Varnum was appointed factor, and at the same time Judge Charles Jouett again received the appointment as Indian agent, thus renewing his residence in Chicago, which had ceased five years previously when he went to Kentucky.

FAILURE OF THE SYSTEM

A report by Dr. Jedidiah Morse on Indian affairs made in 1822 states that in 1820 there were in the hands of the factor at Chicago stocks of goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars; that while the government disposes of goods at cost, yet there was only twenty-five dollars' worth of furs taken in trade from the Indians in that year. The reasons given are "that the goods are inferior in quality, and selected with less judgment than those of the traders . . .; that by some means the Indians had not confidence in the government as fair and upright in their trade." There was no reflection in the report on the integrity of the agent, but the fact that the Indians preferred dealing with the traders was considered good evidence that they had not been exorbitant in their prices nor had they intimidated the Indians in any way, and that the Indians had had perfect liberty to trade with one or the other, as they pleased.

The traders, however, had the great advantage over the government factors in being able to supply the Indians with whiskey, which they freely did, although strictly prohibited by the government. When the Indians arrrived at the posts with a quantity of furs, the traders would keep them in a state of intoxication so that they gave up their furs at great sacrifice. A return to reason would often lead them to give the names of the traders from whom they had been supplied with whiskey, but as the testimony of the Indians had no legal value, there was not the smallest chance of conviction.

A factory had been placed at Green Bay, Wisconsin, and the experience of the agent there was in many respects similar to that of the agent in Chicago. General Albert G. Ellis relates, in a paper published in the collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, that he arrived in Green Bay in 1822, and found Major Matthew Irwin in charge of the factory there. He was "a gentleman of intelligence, culture and integrity," but was totally unacquainted with Indian trade, and not fitted to compete with the traders who had won the confidence and good will of the Indians. The stock carried by the factor consisted of "sleazy woolen blankets, cheap calico, and, worst of all, poor, unserviceable guns,' " and in the course of four years "he did not secure fifty dollars' worth of peltries."

Major Irwin's well-meant efforts were frustrated by the crafty traders. The trader would lure the Indians with gew-gaws, presents and considerate treatment, and they would only offer the factor maple sugar in barter (which the traders would not accept) and would keep their furs for the traders. Ramsey Crooks, that Trojan among fur traders, who was then the agent at Mackinac

for the American Fur Company, pointed out, in a defense he made on the occasion of an official investigation by the government, that "the factories have been furnished with goods of a kind not suitable to the Indians."

The following letter, dated July 5, 1821, from Colonel McKenney, the Superintendent of the Indian Department, to Major Irwin, is printed in the collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society: "Sir:—I have the honor respectfully to represent, that for three years last past, the two factories on the lakes, one at Chicago, the other at Green Bay, have been in a measure useless to the Indians, and, in a pecuniary point of view, to the Government also. . . . The continuation of the same inactivity which has hitherto characterized the business at these two factories promises to make inroads upon the fund allotted for the trade. I do not feel myself authorized further to delay a decision on the subject . . . it is to break up and discontinue the two factories located at Chicago and Green Bay."

FACTORIES CLOSED

In 1822 the trading houses, or "factories," were ordered to be closed by Congress, and the goods on hand to be sold. The proceeds were to be applied towards the payment of annuities due to the Indian tribes. This ended the "Factory System," so-called, which, instead of fulfilling the philanthropic purpose intended by it, had proved a total failure.

The act passed by Congress May 6, 1822, which ordered the closing of the Indian Trading Posts, contained the provision that it should be "continued in force for the purpose only of enforcing all bonds, debts, contracts, demands, and rights, which may have arisen . . . and for the settlement of the accounts of the superintendent, factors and sub-factors, at the Treasury Department."

The observation may be made, suggested by the failure of the benevolent intentions of our government in the matter of Indian trading posts, that however praiseworthy the motives may be, "it must always be remembered," says Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, in a late magazine article in reference to the negro tribes of Africa, "that a fussy and ill-considered benevolence is more sure to awaken resentment than cruelty itself; while the natives are apt to resent deeply even things that are obviously for their ultimate welfare."

While "resentment" probably played no part in the failure of the "Factory System," yet, what was equally effective, neglect and indifference did; and when Congress at last discontinued the system in disgust, the dreams of many benevolent well-wishers of the savages were shattered.

THE NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF ILLINOIS

There was a period in the legislation preliminary to the admission of the State of Illinois into the Union in 1818, when the boundaries of the proposed state were fixed so that its northern extension went no farther than an east and west line touching the southern end of Lake Michigan. This line had not been surveyed, but it was afterwards described as forty-one degrees and thirty-nine minutes of north latitude. This description was used in the first draft of the Enabling Act when the bill was introduced into Congress, April 7, 1818.

While under consideration in the committee of the whole, the congressional delegate from Illinois Territory, Nathaniel Pope, moved an amendment to the bill by striking out that part which defined the boundaries of the new state, and inserting instead the following:

"Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash river; thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana to the northwest corner of said state; thence east with the line of the same state to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude forty-two degrees, thirty minutes; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi river; and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio river; and thence up the latter river along its northwestern shore to the beginning."

ORIGINAL PROVISION OF THE ORDINANCE

By the Ordinance of 1787 there were to be not less than three nor more than five states formed from the Northwest Territory created under that Ordinance. In case there should be only three states formed, the Ordinance specified that the western, middle and eastern states, as they were described, should have certain boundaries, with this proviso:

"It is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three states shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan." Before the formation of States, however, there were territorial divisions. When the Territory of Illinois came to be formed in 1809, the boundaries were established on the same lines as those of the present State of Illinois, except that the territory extended northwards to the line between Canada and the United States.

FAR-REACHING RESULTS OF THE AMENDMENT

The effect of Pope's amendment was to include within the limits of the proposed new State of Illinois, a strip of country sixty-one miles in width, extending from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river, containing an area of eight thousand, five hundred square miles of fertile country, diversified with forests and rivers, within the limits of which at the present time are located fourteen counties with many populous and prosperous cities. Among these may be mentioned the cities of Chicago, Evanston, Waukegan, Elgin, Aurora, Rockford, Freeport, Oregon, Sterling, Dixon, Fulton and Galena.

In presenting this amendment, Mr. Pope explained its object, and urged its adoption for the following reasons, which are admirably summarized by Moses in his history of Illinois, as follows: "That the proposed new state by reason of her geographical position even more than on account of the fertility of her soil, was destined to become populous and influential; that if her northern boundary was fixed by a line arbitrarily established, rather than naturally determined, and her commerce was to be confined to that great artery of communication, the Mississippi, which washed her entire western border, and to its chief tributary on the south, the Ohio, there was a possibility that her

commercial relations with the south might become so closely connected that in the event of an attempted dismemberment of the Union, Illinois would cast her lot with the southern states. On the other hand to fix the northern boundary of Illinois upon such a parallel of latitude as would give to the state territorial jurisdiction over the southwestern shores of Lake Michigan, would be to unite the incipient commonwealth to the states of Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York in a bond of common interest well-nigh indissoluble. By the adoption of such a line, Illinois might become at some future time the keystone to the perpetuity of the Union.

"The feasibility of opening a canal between Lake Michigan and the Illinois river was admitted by every one who had inspected the location and given the subject consideration. If the port of Chicago were included within the boundaries of the proposed state, the attention of the inhabitants of the latter would naturally be directed to the opening up of a water-way between the river named and the great fresh-water sea, and the early improvement of the entire region. The successful prosecution of such an enterprise would not only open up new channels of trade, but would tend to bind together the East and West by a chain whose links would be welded together not only by friendship but by a community of interest. And thus with common ties, and interests reaching out to the East as well as the South, an equilibrium of sentiment would be established, which would forever oppose the formation of separate and independent confederacies on the north, south, east or west."

The arguments of Mr. Pope carried conviction with them and the amendment was adopted without a division, on April 18, 1818, and thus the northern boundary of the state was established where it is today. Moses, in speaking of Pope's action, says: "The securing of the adoption of the above important amendment, fraught with such material results, was of his own motion, and on his own responsibility, without the instruction or advice of his constituents."

POPE'S PROPHETIC VISION

When we reflect that the region affected by Pope's amendment was as yet an almost unbroken wilderness, that the advantageous position of Chicago and its contiguous territory was only a matter of speculation, we must recognize in Pope's action in proposing and urging the adoption of his amendment the work of a keen and far-sighted statesman. "No man," says Moses, "ever rendered the state a more important service in Congress than did Nathaniel Pope." That the fixing of the northern boundary of the state where it is today had momentous consequences can be seen in the subsequent history of the state. Had the northern tier of counties included within the sixty-one mile strip become attached to Wisconsin, as it inevitably would have been, the State of Illinois would have lacked, when issues of tremendous moment were at stake, an important element in her legislature at the time of the breaking out of the Civil War, an element that Wisconsin did not require, as the Union sentiment in that state was at all times very strong. Whether or not the splendid support given to the Union cause by the State of Illinois was of such importance as to justify Pope's declaration, when arguing for his amendment, that the state might become "the keystone to the perpetuity of the Union," may be regarded

differently by historians. But the commanding position occupied by Illinois during the Civil War "with one of its citizens in the Presidential chair and another leading its two hundred and fifty thousand citizen soldiery and the armies of the Union," went far to make good the claim made by Pope in his declaration. The part taken by Pope in the boundary matter well illustrates what has been called his "almost superhuman sagacity."

EX-SENATOR DOOLITTLE'S HUMOROUS REFERENCE

When work on the great Sanitary Canal was inaugurated with considerable pomp and ceremony on the 3d day of September, 1892, Hon. James R. Doolittle, formerly U. S. Senator from Wisconsin, made one of the speeches. In the course of his remarks he said: "I rejoice to be here, and I pray God that I may live, though I am past seventy years of age, to see this work completed and this great waterway established between the lakes and rivers. I say it with just as much earnestness as if all my interests were identified with Chicago. I still live in Wisconsin. I live in the state to which Chicago belongs according to the Ordinance of 1787. (Laughter and applause.) I sometimes give an excuse to those gentlemen who ask me, 'Why is it you practice law in Chicago, and yet live in Wisconsin?' I tell them that by the Ordinance of 1787 Chicago belongs to Wisconsin, and I have a right to be there."

A DECISIVE DATE IN CHICAGO HISTORY

The northern boundary line established by Pope's amendment was one of the most important events in the annals of Illinois. It is named by Miss Lottie Jones, in her "Decisive Dates of Illinois History," as one of the five events which were decisive in their character; and, as this event affected the region which in later years became the site of the great city of Chicago, it may be especially considered a decisive date in Chicago history.

AN EASTERNER'S VISIT TO CHICAGO

Besides those who settled in Chicago there were visitors passing through frequently and now and then a traveler of some distinction. Such a one was Samuel A. Storrow, who visited the western country in the year 1817, and whose narrative of his trip is full of interest for the reader of Chicago history. Storrow was Judge Advocate in the army, and from the reading of his narrative it would appear that his purpose was to report on the condition and prospects of the western country with reference to its suitability for settlement. He also paid especial attention to the military situation, and carefully noted the advantages of certain points on the line of his route of travel as defenses against the savage tribes.

Judge Storrow's narrative is in the form of a letter addressed to Major General Jacob Brown, at whose request he had undertaken the journey, and is printed in full in the Wisconsin Historical Collections. Judge Storrow began his journey at Detroit on August 17, 1817. He proceeded by lake to

Mackinac, made a visit to Sault Ste. Marie, came back again to Mackinac; proceeded thence to Green Bay, where he set out through the wilderness to Milwaukee and Chicago; and from there he completed his tour by way of Fort Wayne, reaching Detroit again on the 16th of October, thus in two months making a circuit by water and land of a distance considerably exceeding a thousand miles. This journey, with its leading incidents, is summarized in the following paragraphs:

STORROW'S JOURNEY FROM DETROIT TO MACKINAC

Leaving Detroit in a barge, he proceeded as far as Fort Gratiot (near Port Huron) whence he continued his journey in a small vessel through Lake Huron, arriving at the island of Mackinac on the 28th of August, eleven days after starting from Detroit. He spent some time here, examining the fort, and made an estimate of its strategical value. "If Michilimackinac commanded any pass," he wrote, "the position would be invaluable, for it may be made impregnable." The geologic formations interested him. He visited the Natural Arch and Sugar Loaf Rock, and made an excellent description of those freaks of nature.

From Mackinac he made a trip by barge and canoe to St. Mary's Falls, occupying one week in going and returning. On the 9th of September he embarked in an open boat manned with soldiers, a guide, an interpreter, and a Mr. Pierce as a traveling companion. For several succeeding days the party followed the northern shore of Lake Michigan, while the judge made observations on the rocks and other natural features. On the 15th they reached the entrance to Green Bay, and followed the chain of islands which extend across that arm of Lake Michigan. He remarks upon Green Bay that "it is a body of water on the same noble scale as the Delaware or Chesapeake."

On the 19th the party arrived at Green Bay, and the military importance of this post claimed his attention at once. "At no part of the Indian frontier could a fortress be more useful and indespensable," he says. "It is in the chain of connection with the Indian settlements between the Mississippi and the lakes. It opens a way to their retreats in the West, and commands their thoroughfare towards the East. The Fals Avoines, Ottawas, Pottawatomies and dangerous Winnebagoes consider this place as their accustomed and privileged haunt. In times of peace they sometimes assembled about it to the number of one or two thousand; but for hostile purposes might collect twice that number on the most sudden emergency. The importance of the position was apparent in the jealousy with which the nations regarded the occupancy of it. They considered it as a check to their predatory habits, and assembled in a body to oppose it; being overawed at that moment, they have since threatened that at the first reduction of numbers at the post they shall make it their own."

While at Green Bay Judge Storrow made observations on the ebb and flow of a lake tide, by placing a stick perpendicularly in the water. From eleven o'clock in the morning to half past nine in the evening, the water had risen five inches; at eight, the next morning, it had fallen seven inches; at eight the same evening it had risen eight inches; thus showing, as it seemed to him, a mean tidal fluctuation of about four inches.

GREEN BAY TO CHICAGO

"After a short stay at Green Bay," he writes, "I made arrangements with a Fals Avoines chief to conduct me as a guide to the Winnebago Lake; from whence it was my determination to proceed on foot, through the wilderness, to Chicago." The commanding officer at Green Bay was Major Zachary Taylor, afterwards a general in the Mexican War, and President of the United States in 1849. How little did either Major Taylor or Judge Storrow dream of the future career of the former, the man who in 1846 won the battle of Buena Vista, and within three years thereafter was raised to the highest office in the nation.

Taking leave of Major Taylor and the officers at the fort, Judge Storrow entered the wilderness on his "two hundred and fifty mile journey" to Chicago, attended only by his Indian guide and a soldier of the garrison leading a pack-horse, loaded with provisions and presents for the Indians. "The thickness of the forest rendered marching difficult," he writes, "and almost entirely impeded the horse; but for exertions in assisting him over crags, and cutting away branches and saplings with our tomahawks, we should have been obliged to abandon him. The land was broken with hillocks and masses of rock." On the 24th of September the little party reached Lake Winnebago and visited a village of Fals Avoines, where their reception was anything but friendly, "the men eyeing me with contemptuous indifference," he says, "the females and children with a restless and obtrusive curiosity."

The Judge's opinion of Indians in general, their character and mode of life, is distinctly unfavorable. "Sloth, filth and indifference to the goods or ills of life, form the same characteristics of the remote Indians, as of those nearer to us. The similarity of traits is radical; disparity of situation makes but accidental shades. Necessity gives to the foresters an energy which contact with the whites takes from the lower tribes. They present fewer instances of helplessness, petty vices, and premature decay from intemperance; but substitute in their stead the grosser and more unrelenting features of barbarism."

The course was now towards Chicago, and having procured two new guides in place of the one who had accompanied him so far, the Judge, the soldier and the two Indians proceeded together in a southerly direction. They passed through the region of small lakes in what is now Waukesha County, and the Judge, keeping an eye open always to the geological features of the country, observes that "the country may be said to be without rocks; the few I had seen during the last two days were detached and of granite." As the significance of these detached granite rocks was not suspected by the geologists of that day, the cause of their presence in these regions, where there are no granite formations *in situ,* must have been puzzling enough to the Judge, though we now know that they were brought here from far distant regions of the north, embedded in glaciers, which, as they receded, left granite boulders scattered over a vast extent of country.

Their course was now southeast, and the Judge supposed himself not far distant from the dividing ridge between the Mississippi and Lake Michigan, knowing that the elevation was not very remote from the lake itself. "We commenced our march at sunrise of the 28th," writes the Judge; "the guides,

who during part of the preceding day, had been sullen and silent, seemed now in entire ignorance of the way, and were leading towards the northeast. I refused to follow them, and, after a fruitless and vexatious attempt to understand each other, or to know if they understood the way, I insisted upon their leaving me; which they did after a long and unintelligible altercation. I should not have resorted to this measure, which left me with but a single companion alone in the wilderness, had I not been convinced that a day's march properly directed would bring me to the shores of Lake Michigan."

Towards evening, however, the Judge caught a distant view of the lake from an eminence, and the next day, the 29th, reached its margin at the mouth of the "Millewackie" river. Finding a Pottawattomie village here, he procured a guide and continued on his way. He attempted to reach the Schipicoten river the same day, but darkness overtook the party while yet entangled in a swamp, and they were obliged to spend the night in this uncomfortable environment. The next day they reached the Schipicoten, known at present by the name of Root river, which flows into the lake at Racine. The river proved to be too deep to be forded, and finding no material to construct a raft, they were obliged, cold as it was, to cross it by swimming.

BEACH JOURNEY ALONG THE NORTH SHORE

On the morning of the first of October there was a severe frost. They judged that they were now within a day's journey of Chicago, and for the remainder of the distance their course lay along the beach. However, night overtook them while yet some distance from their destination, and the party slept on the sand, probably not far from the present location of Highland Park. In his letter the Judge speaks of meeting a great number of Indians "moving like caravans." For several days as they neared Chicago he encountered these parties, though it gives him, he says, little pleasure to refer to them; then follows a discussion of Indian virtues, religion and morality. His views are those of a thoughtful and observing man, and his conclusions are generally unfavorable to the Indian.

There is "nothing to justify the contradictory expression of *savage virtue*," he says. "The earliest gift of society to the savage may be its vices . . . yet society can give him nothing worse than his original properties nor lead him to any viler state than that in which it finds him."

We can imagine this party, led by our venturesome traveler, attended only by a soldier leading a pack-horse and the two Indian guides, passing along the beach at the foot of the picturesque bluffs that border the North Shore, while the surrounding country was inhabited only by savages—and all this less than one hundred years ago; if in contrast with this scene we consider the present conditions, the teeming population of civilized races which here are established, the wonder of it is sufficiently apparent. And when in some future "historical pageant" this scene shall be reproduced, showing the travelers wending their way along the shore, to the roar of Lake Michigan's waves breaking upon the sand and gravel, it may well bear the motto,

> "I hear the tread of pioneers, of nations yet to be,
> The first low wash of waves where soon will roll a human sea."

ARRIVAL AT CHICAGO

On the second of October, after walking for three or four hours, the party reached the river Chicago, and crossing it, entered Fort Dearborn, "where I was kindly entertained by Major Baker and the officers of the garrison, who received me as one arrived from the moon." He had thus accomplished the journey from Milwaukee to Chicago, eighty-five miles, in three days, an average of nearly thirty miles a day; or reckoning from Green Bay, the distance by the route taken was probably not far from two hundred miles, and the time occupied was eight days, an average over the whole distance of twenty-five miles a day; which considering that nearly the whole way was an untracked wilderness, was certainly good marching speed.

Judge Storrow's entrance upon the scene was some hundred and forty-four years after the first visit by Joliet and Marquette, and the progress made in the settlement of the place during that period was almost nil. Much indeed had occurred in its history within that space of time,—the French dominion had passed away, the succeeding British regime had ended its brief period, and after an occupation of a few years the American post had been swept away, root and branch, and was now but recently rebuilt and reoccupied. Although as we look back now to the time when a stranger's visit to the place was so rare that he was regarded as "one arrived from the moon," we should remember that even in that early period Chicago had a notable history. How many generations of red men and white men had passed and repassed this portage, men like old Jacques Vieau, who, long before the first Fort Dearborn was built, was considered an old *habitué* of the place; or like the Miami chief, Little Turtle, who, we are told, "frequently sojourned at Chicago."

STORROW ON CHICAGO

"At Chicago," writes Judge Storrow, "I perceived I was in a better country. It had become so by gradual melioration. That which I had left was of a character far above mediocrity, but labors under the permanent defects of coldness of soil and want of moisture. The native strength of it is indicated by the growth of timber, which is almost entirely of white oak and beech, without pine, chestnut, maple, ash, or any kind which denotes warmth. The country suffers at the same time from water and from the want of it. The deficiency of circulation, not of water itself, produces this contradiction. It is not sufficiently uneven to form brooks to lead off its redundant rains and form a deposit for mid-summer. The snows of winter dissolve and remain on the ground until exhaled by the sun at a late period of spring. In prairies that are entirely level this produces a cold which is scarcely dissipated by the heat of summer; in such as are undulated, it renders one-half (that on which the water rests) useless, or of inferior value. It must be remembered, moreover, that this region is not to undergo the changes incident to new countries generally, from the thinning of forests and exposure of the soil. It is already on the footing of the oldest, and has received for the lapse of ages all the heat it is ever to derive from the sun alone. At some remotely future period, when a dense population enables the husbandman to apply artificial warmth to his ground, means of life may

be extracted from this soil which are latent at present. It requires industry and is capable of repaying it.

"The river Chicago (or, in English, Wild Onion river) is deep and about forty yards in width. Before it enters the lake, its two branches unite—the one proceeding from the north, the other from the west, where it takes its rise in the fountain of the De Plein, or Illinois, which flows in an opposite direction. The source of these two rivers illustrates the geographical phenomenon of a reservoir on the very summit of a dividing ridge. In the autumn, they are both without any apparent fountain, but are formed within a mile and a half of each other by some imperceptible undulations of the prairie which drain it and lead to different directions. But in the spring, the space between the two is a single sheet of water, the common reservoir of both, in the center of which there is no current towards either of the opposite streams. This circumstance creates the singular fact of the insulation of all the United States, excepting Louisiana, making the circumnavigation of them practicable, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to that of Mexico, with the single hindrance of the Falls of Niagara." (Note: Judge Storrow was mistaken if he means that the source of the Desplaines is at or near that of the Chicago river. The Desplaines river takes its rise some distance north of the state line between Wisconsin and Illinois).

"The Chicago forms a third partition of the great country I had passed. The Ouisconsin and Fox rivers make a water communication between the Mississippi and [Lake] Michigan, with the exception of four miles. The Millewackie [Milwaukee] and *Riviere a la Roche* [Rock river] the same, with half the exception. The Chicago and De Plein make, in the manner I have described, the communication entire. This latter should not escape national attention. The ground between the two is without rocks, and, with little labor, would admit of a permanent connection between the waters of the Illinois and [Lake] Michigan."

This observer showed an intelligent grasp of the physical conditions, and his views doubtless had their weight with the public men of the time, as this letter was printed in pamphlet form, and, no doubt, was accessible to anyone who was interested in the subject. Some thirty years later the Illinois and Michigan canal was cut through the "divide" which he described, and in recent years a new and much larger channel has been excavated along practically the same route, having the double purpose of drainage and navigation. Judge Storrow said in his letter that the ground between the two rivers, the Chicago and the Desplaines, was "without rocks," but both the canal builders and the builders of the great Drainage Channel found plenty of rocks lying a short distance below the surface, which added very much to the difficulty of making the excavations.

Writing further of Chicago, Judge Storrow said: "It has no advantage of harbor, the river itself being always choked and frequently barred, from the same causes that I have imputed to the other streams of this country. In the rear of the fort is a prairie of the most complete flatness, no sign of elevation being within the range of the eye. The soil and climate are both excellent. Traces yet remain of the devastation and massacre committed by the savages in 1812."

We need not follow Judge Storrow in his further travels except to explain

that, after a stay of two days in Chicago, he left for Fort Wayne, traveling along the beach for sixty miles,. and arriving safely at his destination in four days from his departure. In the course of his observations about Fort Wayne he adds: "The nature of the country I have just passed, and the facilities of communication afforded by it, enhance the importance which I had already ascribed to Chicago. It being at the head of a probable connection between the Illinois and [Lake] Michigan, its remoteness from any dangerous neighbor, and its facility of deriving resources from the Miami of the Lake, the Wabash, and the fertile interior of Indiana, mark it as the future place of deposit for the whole region of the Upper Lakes."

ON RETURNING TO THE EAST

After returning to Brownville, N. Y., from this journey, Judge Storrow wrote to his sisters: "If you ask me what upon earth tempted me to such an undertaking I shall be at a loss to give an answer. It led me to many spots where Christian footstep never trod before, and the vanity of doing so was, I fear, one of the leading reasons. It tested my nerves and my bodily ability, and that by itself alone has its graitfications. I have been at different periods for ten days without entering a house or seeing one—sleeping on the ground without even a tent while the ice was forming every night."

This letter may have its value in explaining away any motive ascribed to Storrow in undertaking the journey; at any rate, it gives us a short though intimate glimpse of the personality of a man who had the love of adventure and the quaint humor that are possessions of the true sportsman. Others of his letters to his sisters, whom he loved devotedly, show many charming traits of character—attachment to his friends, finest consideration of others, an uncalculating courage in his political convictions, and withal a delightful childlikeness of feeling.

THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY

The founder of the American Fur Company was John Jacob Astor, whose design it was to establish a chain of trading posts extending from the Great Lakes to the Pacific. In the scope of its operations it was comparable with the corporations of the present day with nation-wide ramifications. This company brought great wealth to its promoter and principal owner and extended the field of commercial enterprise enormously. Its principal depot was at Mackinac Island, from which point it exercised a dominating influence over the fur trade of the vast interior regions, and was the main channel for the distribution of manufactured goods of every description used by the Indian tribes and the few white traders on the frontiers.

The American Fur Company was organized in 1809 and soon thereafter began to absorb the numerous independent traders scattered throughout the West. In his reminiscences Gurdon S. Hubbard describes the workings of this company in much detail. Hubbard came to Mackinac in the employ of the Fur Company when he was a young man of sixteen, and eventually settled in Chicago, where he spent the remainder of his life. "The island," he writes, "was the headquarters of the American Fur Company, and here I first learned something of the working

and discipline of that mammoth corporation, and took my first lessons in the life of an Indian trader, a life which I followed exclusively for ten consecutive years. . . . The village had a population of about five hundred, mostly of Canadian French and of mixed Indian blood, whose chief occupation was fishing in summer and hunting in winter. There were not more than twelve white women on the island, the residue of the female population being either all or part Indian.

LIFE AT MACKINAC ISLAND

"Here during the summer months congregated the traders employed by the Fur Company, bringing their collections from their several trading posts, which extended from the British dominions on the north and the Missouri river in the west, south and east to the white settlements; in fact, to all the Indian hunting grounds, so that when all were collected they added three thousand or more to the population. The Indians from the shores of the upper lakes who made this island a place of resort numbered from two to three thousand more. Their wigwams lined the entire beach two or three rows deep, and with the tents of the traders made the island a scene of life and animation. The *voyageurs* were fond of fun and frolic, and the Indians indulged themselves in their love of liquor, and by the exhibition of their war, medicine and other dances and sports, often made both night and day hideous with their yells.

"These *voyageurs* were all Canadian French and were the only people fitted for the life they were compelled to endure, their cheerful temperament and happy disposition making them contented under the privations and hardships incident to their calling." The force of the company when all were assembled on the island, he says, "comprised about four hundred clerks and traders together with some two thousand *voyageurs*. About five hundred of these were quartered in barracks, one hundred lived in the agency house, and the others were camped in tents and accommodated in rooms of the islanders." Here were collected and sorted the furs which had been brought in by the various parties or "brigades" arriving from far distant regions. From here the furs were shipped to Astor in New York. The fur of the marten, "sable" so-called, was the most valuable except that of the silver gray fox. Besides there were mink, muskrat, racoon, lynx, wild cat, fox, wolverine, badger, otter, beaver, and other small fur animals. Bear and deer skins also formed a considerable proportion of the skins sent to the eastern markets.

GURDON S. HUBBARD'S FIRST VOYAGE

Young Hubbard's first assignment to duty was in the brigade of Antoine Deschamps, who traded yearly with the Indians on the Illinois river. On the 10th of September, 1818, the party started from Mackinac Island, and on October 1st they reached Chicago when Hubbard had his first view of the place. The party was received by Mr. Kinzie and his family, among whom Hubbard was thenceforth a welcome guest. On this occasion he passed through the place, though he finally settled there and became one of Chicago's pioneer merchants. From Chicago the brigade went up the South Branch, through the swamps and

muddy waters lying between the South Branch and the Desplaines towards their destination on the Illinois river below Peoria.

Of the method of trading with the Indians Hubbard tells us, "It was our custom to give the Indian hunters goods on credit in the fall of the year, so that they might give their whole time to the hunt; and indeed it would have been difficult if not impossible for them to hunt without the necessary clothing, guns and ammunition furnished by us. The conditions of this credit were that these advances should be paid from the proceeds of their first winter's hunt, but should they fail to pay, after having devoted all their furs for the purpose, and shown a disposition to act honestly, the balance was carried over to the next year, but the balance was seldom paid. The debtors reasoned that, having appropriated the entire proceeds of their season's hunt to the liquidation of their indebtedness, it was the fault of the Great Spirit that they had not been able to pay in full, and so they considered the debt cancelled. We were very careful whom we trusted. We satisfied ourselves first that the person's intentions were honest and that he was industrious and persevering; and second, that he was a skilled hunter and trapper and knew where to find game in abundance. If he lacked these qualifications he was deemed unworthy of credit, at least to a large amount."

It was necessary in trading countries where there were independent traders, rivals of the American Fur Company, for the employees of the latter to be watchful and active, lest the other traders should have made their bargains and engaged the furs of the Indians in advance of the company's agent. At outwitting and anticipating his competitors Hubbard was very successful on account of his energy, endurance and ingenuity. In the early spring the traders of the Illinois brigade proceeded northward with their accumulations of furs, passing again through Chicago, and reaching Mackinac about the middle of May.

FURTHER ADVANCEMENT AS A TRADER

In the summer of 1823, after five years with the American Fur Company, Hubbard's salary was increased and he was appointed superintendent of the Illinois trading posts of the Fur Company, to succeed his former master, Mr. Deschamps, now grown too old for the arduous service required. In this year Hubbard lengthened a path already established by him for trading routes, so that it extended from Chicago to a point about one hundred and fifty miles south of Danville, and this route became known on the early maps of Illinois as "Hubbard's Trail." When in 1833 a state road was located between Chicago and Vincennes this trail was followed almost the whole distance, being the most direct route and over the most favorable ground.

In 1826 Hubbard was given an interest in the American Fur Company as a "special partner," which gave him greater responsibility and at the same time made his work harder. The winter was spent near the Kankakee river, and part of the following spring and summer in Danville, where Hubbard had already located a post. Being in Mackinac in the summer of 1827 he bought out the entire interests of the American Fur Company in Illinois, and established headquarters in Danville, where he built a store. "During these years he dealt quite extensively in farm produce, and had contracts for furnishing

beef and pork to the troops stationed at Fort Dearborn. He continued his annual visits to Mackinac and during his life as a fur trader he made twenty-six trips to and from that island, coasting Lake Michigan in an open rowboat. In the winter of 1829 he killed a large number of hogs at Chicago, and not having received the barrels which were to arrive by vessel, he piled the pork up on the river bank near where Rush street now is, and kept it in that manner until the arrival of barrels in the spring. This was the beginning of the packing industry in Chicago.

In 1834 Hubbard began to devote himself exclusively to his business in Chicago and in that year he erected, at the corner of South Water and La Salle streets, the first large brick building in the town, which the inhabitants called "Hubbard's Folly," so enormous it seemed to them and so far beyond the business requirements of the place at that time. Chicago was as yet under a village form of government and its population is given by Putney as 1,800 in 1834. But the town was growing very rapidly and nearly doubled its population in the following year; and by 1837, the year when Chicago was incorporated as a city, it was 4,170. The river channel had been dredged out in 1833, and lake vessels were able to enter the river which before it had been impossible for them to do.

HUBBARD'S LATER CAREER

So intimate became the business career of Gurdon S. Hubbard with the future development of Chicago that we cannot do better than to follow in brief outline some of the activities in which he was engaged. He was a director in the Chicago branch of the State Bank, and was one of the incorporators of the Chicago Hydraulic Company which built its works at the foot of Lake street and supplied a large part of the town with water, until its franchises were purchased by the city in 1852. In 1848 he was one of the organizers of the Chicago Board of Trade. In 1836 Hubbard sold out his mercantile business and built a warehouse fronting on Kinzie street and the river, and organized the firm of Hubbard and Company, Henry G. Hubbard and Elijah K. Hubbard being his partners. The firm embarked largely in the forwarding and commission business, and became interested in a great number of vessels and steamers, forming the "Eagle Line" between Buffalo and the upper lakes. He continued his packing business and was for many years known as the largest packer in the West. In later years, in connection with A. T. Spencer he established a line of steamers to Lake Superior, among which were the "Superior" and the "Lady Elgin." The former was lost on the rocks in Lake Superior, and the "Lady Elgin" foundered in Lake Michigan off Highland Park in 1860 with the loss of 300 lives.

Hubbard also engaged in the importation of tea directly from China. In the great fire of 1871 his business was completely ruined so that he made no further attempts to continue having arrived at an age when it seemed fitting for him to retire. Hon. Grant Goodrich said of him in a memorial address delivered before the Chicago Historical Society in 1886, that "there were few of the numerous veins of commerce and wealth producing industries that have not felt the inspiration of his genius and been quickened by his enterprise and energy. In the progress of events one who has reached the ordinary

limit of life in this age has lived longer than the oldest antediluvian, and this is surely verified in the life of Mr. Hubbard. When he reached Mackinac at scarce sixteen years of age the West, except here and there a trading post, was an unbroken wilderness, and now what a change after the lapse of sixty-eight years! It challenges all historic parallel! Before the march of civilization the wild Indian has disappeared or been driven toward the setting sun, the dark forests and broad prairies where he roved in the pride of undisputed dominion have been transformed into harvest fields, dotted with villages and cities where the hum of varied industry is never silent, and the smoke of forges and factories darken the sky."

THE BEAUBIENS

Soon after the rebuilding of the fort, the trading post outside its walls began to grow, with the arrival of strangers who had come with the definite purpose of settling there, or of those who chanced to stay, attracted by one or another feature of the place. The name of Beaubien is frequently met with in the early history of Chicago, and the descendants of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, who came in 1817, and Mark Beaubien, his brother, who came in 1826, are numerous, many of them being residents of Chicago today.

Jean Baptiste Beaubien, often referred to as John B. Beaubien, was an employe of the American Fur Company at Milwaukee, and in 1817 the company transferred him to Chicago. The Beaubien family were French in their origin, and lived in Detroit, where John Baptiste was born about 1778. He early became connected with the fur trade, and on arriving at Chicago he purchased the house of John Dean, an army contractor, located on the lake shore a little distance south of the fort. Soon after he was married to Josette La Framboise, a French Ottawa half-breed, who had worked in John Kinzie's family before the massacre.

Mark Beaubien, a brother of John B. Beaubien, came to Chicago from Detroit, where he left his family, in 1826, said his daughter, Mrs. Emily Le Beau in an interview with the author. He returned to Detroit for his family, and, in 1829, he brought them with him to Chicago, journeying in a horse and wagon through Michigan, camping out nights on the way, and Chicago thenceforward became his permanent abiding place. Mark built a hotel near the northeast corner of Lake and Market streets, which became known as the "Eagle Exchange." There were in later years other hostelries bearing the names of "Eagle Hotel" and "Eagle House," but Mrs. Le Beau positively said, in the interview above referred to, that the first house built by her father which was used as a stopping place for travelers was called the "Eagle Exchange," and she related the circumstances under which it received this name. After Mark had built the house and began to use it for the purpose mentioned a wandering sign painter stopped at the hotel and offered to paint a sign for him. To this Mark agreed and the man painted a picture of an eagle,—"at least," said Mrs. Le Beau, "he said it was an eagle, though it would have been difficult to name the bird from the picture." The sign was hung up in the usual manner in the front of the hotel, and it was thenceforth called the "Eagle Exchange."

Some time later Mark built a larger and better house north of the old "Eagle

Exchange," and named it the "Sauganash," in honor of his old friend, Billy Caldwell, who was at that time a resident of Chicago. The Sauganash became the principal hotel of the place until in the course of time other and more ambitious structures were erected.

The Sauganash Hotel built by Mark Beaubien, was situated at the southeast corner of the present Lake and Market streets, where, in 1860, stood the "Wigwam," the building in which the Republican convention met when Abraham Lincoln was nominated. Mark's place was a favorite resort for purposes both of business and of amusement, and he was renowned for his accomplishment as a player of the violin. He was jovial and light-hearted, a great story-teller, and one of the "characters" of the place. He said his playing on the violin was like that of the Evil One himself, and that his "hotel" was like the Evil One's sulphurous abode. As travel increased, Mark enjoyed a liberal patronage. In the loft of the tavern there was sufficient space for fifty men to lie on the floor, the furniture, however, being very scant. As men arrived, he would place two and two of them together, drawing off the blanket from the one who had previously gone to sleep for the use of the later comer. In this way, he related, he managed to make a pair of blankets answer for a house full of guests.

DR. ALEXANDER WOLCOTT

Dr. Alexander Wolcott was Indian agent at Chicago from 1820 until his death in 1830. He was a Yale graduate and had come to Chicago from Connecticut. He was appointed physician of Governor Cass' western expedition in 1820, one of the party with Schoolcraft, Trowbridge and John H. Kinzie. Of the Chicago of Dr. Wolcott's day, Schoolcraft tells us: "We found four or five families living here, the principal of which were those of Mr. John Kinzie, Dr. A. Wolcott, J. B. Bobian [Beaubien] and Mr. J. Crafts, the latter living a short distance up the river." He writes later of continuing their journey: "Dr. Wolcott, being the U. S. Agent for this tribe [Pottawattomies], found himself at home here, and constitutes no further a member of the expedition." There the exploring party left Dr. Wolcott, "whose manners, judgment, and intelligence had commanded our respect during the journey."

While his predecessor, Jouett, was Indian Agent, the latter had begun the building of an agency house north of the river, on the southwest corner of the present intersection of North State and North Water Streets. This was later finished by Dr. Wolcott and occupied by him from 1820 to 1823, and again from 1828 until his death in 1830. The building was called "Cobweb Castle," perhaps owing to its bachelor housekeeping. In 1823 Dr. Wolcott was married to Ellen Marion Kinzie, daughter of John Kinzie. Earlier in the same year, when the troops were removed from Fort Dearborn, Dr. Wolcott, having been put in charge of the post and its property, moved into one of the officers' dwellings. There he lived during the vacancy of the fort until 1828, when he returned to his own house, where he died in 1830. In mourning the death of Dr. Wolcott, Mrs. Kinzie, in her book, "Wau-Bun," says: "That noble heart, so full of warm and kindly affections, had ceased to beat, and sad and desolate, indeed, were those who had so loved and honored him."

CHARLES C. TROWBRIDGE

When Governor Cass came to Chicago in 1820, on his famous tour of exploration—the same tour on which he was accompanied by Henry R. Schoolcraft,—he had in his party as assistant topographer, Charles C. Trowbridge, then a young man and a trusted confident of his chief. The party traveled in five canoes, of which Trowbridge was in charge of one and John H. Kinzie of another. The little group of dwellings along the river did not impress him, as we see in a note written by him long afterward to the secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society: "Even as late as 1834, I declined becoming a party to the purchase of one-fourth of the Kinzie Addition, Chicago—on the North Side—at five thousand dollars. Ten years prior to that I was in Chicago, and would not have given that sum for both sides of the river as far as the eye could extend."

EBENEZER CHILDS

It might be said of Chicago in the early day that it was but an outpost of the trading interests located at the head of Lake Michigan, and a stopping place between those much older settlements of Mackinac and Green Bay on the north and Cahokia, St. Louis, Cape Girardeau and many others on the south. So it was that Chicago was the stopping place for many from points north and south, who were brought there by trading interests. One of those who visited the settlement was Ebenezer Childs, who in 1820 was keeping a small store at Green Bay, where he had come from Massachusetts. In 1821, he made a trip to St. Louis by water, coming back by way of the Illinois river. Canoeing up into the Desplaines river with his men, he was unable to find the portage owing to the inundation of the country, due to heavy rains. He says of his arrival: "After traveling a few miles, I found the current of the Chicago river. The whole country was inundated; I found not less than two feet of water all the way across the portage. That night I arrived at Chicago, pitched my tent on the bank of the lake, and went to the fort for provisions. I was not, however, able to obtain any; the commissary informing me that the public stores were so reduced, that the garrison were subsisting on half rations, and he knew not when they would get any more. I went to Col. Beaubien, who furnished me with a small supply. I found two traders there from Mackinaw, and as my men were all sick, I exchanged my tent and canoe for a horse, and took passage on board the Mackinaw boat as far as Manitowoc. One of our party had to go by land and ride the horse. There were at this time but two families residing outside of the fort at Chicago, those of Mr. Kinzie and Col. Beaubien."

A second time, in 1827, he visited Chicago and says, "The place had not improved any since 1821; only two families yet resided there, those of Kinzie and Col. Beaubien."

SCHOOLCRAFT'S VISIT IN 1820

On the twenty-ninth of August, 1820, Henry R. Schoolcraft visited Chicago in the party of Governor Lewis Cass. In addition to his position as governor

of Michigan Territory, General Cass was also ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs in that territory, and, likewise, for a great portion of the time he had charge of agencies at Chicago and other places in the West, notwithstanding that Illinois was then a full-fledged state in the Union. Besides the governor the party comprised seven officers, guests and interpreters, together with ten Canadian *voyageurs* to manage the canoes, ten United States soldiers for an escort, and ten Indians to act as hunters. Three large bark canoes were required for their accommodation.

Coasting the shores of Lake Michigan from the north, the party, on arriving at Chicago, says Schoolcraft, "found four or five families living here, the principal of which were those of Mr. John Kinzie, Dr. A. Wolcott, J. B. Beaubien and Mr. J. Crafts, the latter living a short distance up the river." The garrison at Fort Dearborn consisted of one hundred and sixty men, under command of Captain Bradley. "The river," continues Schoolcraft, "is ample and deep for a few miles, but is utterly choked up by the lake sands, through which, behind a masked margin, it oozes its way for a mile or two till it percolates through the sands into the lake."

Schoolcraft made a sketch "from a standpoint on the flat of sand which stretched in front of the place. This view," he writes, "embraces every house in the village, with the fort." The sketch was reproduced for the purpose of being used in Schoolcraft's "Ethnological Researches," which the artist, when making the reproduction, slightly altered from the original; so that, as Schoolcraft remarks, "the stockade bears too great a proportion to the scene, while the precipice observed in the shore line of sand is wholly wanting in the original."

The party were favorably impressed with the aspect and natural situation of the place. "The country around Chicago," writes Schoolcraft, "is the most fertile and beautiful that can be imagined. It consists of an intermixture of woods and prairies, diversified with gentle slopes, . . . and it is irrigated with a number of clear streams and rivers, which throw their waters partly into Lake Michigan and partly into the Mississippi river." He then indulges in a prophetic vision, and says that it must "become one of the most attractive fields for the emigrant. To the ordinary advantages of an agricultural market town, it must add that of being a depot for the commerce between the northern and southern sections of the Union, and a great thoroughfare for strangers, merchants and travelers."

A few more interesting details are added to Schoolcraft's account. "Having partaken," continues the narrative, "of the hospitalities of Mr. Kinzie, and of Captains Bradley and Green of Fort Dearborn, during our stay at Chicago, and completed the reorganization of our parties, we separated, . . . Governor Cass and his party, on horseback, taking the old Indian trail to Detroit, and Captain Douglass and myself being left, with two canoes, to complete the circumnavigation of the lakes." Bidding adieu to Dr. Wolcott, "whose manners, judgment and intelligence had commanded our respect," the party embarked, and, favored by a good breeze, which permitted the boatmen to hoist their sails, they proceeded on their way around the southern bend of Lake Michigan. The party continued their journey up the west shore of the lake, passed into Lake Huron and at length arrived at Detroit, Septem-

ber twenty-fourth. The entire journey had occupied just four months of time, and the distance traversed was forty-two hundred miles. The journey was performed without the occurrence of a single untoward accident. On their arrival the party found that Governor Cass and his equestrian party from Chicago had prceeded them thirteen days.

MAJOR STEPHEN H. LONG, U. S. E.

Some of the visitors of the early day were men of no little national note. In 1816, Major Stephen H. Long passed through Chicago. He was then a second lieutenant of engineers, having in charge, then and for several subsequent years, government explorations west of the Mississippi. At the time of his visit to Chicago, he was on his way back from an expedition which was "to make a comprehensive military and scientific exploration of the country between the Missouri river and the Rocky Mountains." After making this tour he reported in a letter to the government the unfitness for cultivation of "the great American desert," consigning all this western region to "buffaloes, wild goats and other wild game." He regarded it, however, as an invaluable frontier and as a security against the schemes and incursions of other nations. On his return eastward, he comes, he says, "through a savage and roadless wilderness, via Fort Clark (Peoria), and the valley of the Illinois river, to Lake Michigan."

In 1823, Major Long made a second visit to Chicago in charge of an exploring expedition. In a history of that expedition, written later, he says of Chicago: "The village presents no cheering prospects, as, notwithstanding its antiquity, it contains but few huts, inhabited by a miserable race of men, scarcely equal to the Indians, from whom they are descended. Their log or bark houses are low, filthy and disgusting, displaying not the least trace of comfort. As a place of business it offers no inducement to the settler, for the whole amount of the trade of the lake did not exceed the cargoes of five or six schooners, even at the time when the garrison received its supplies from Mackinac."

JONAS AND ARCHIBALD CLYBOURN

Jonas Clybourn was the father of Archibald Clybourn, but did not come to Chicago until a year after his son's arrival. Archibald Clybourn was twenty-one years of age when he came in 1823. The Clybourns formerly lived in Virginia, and after Archibald had become established in Chicago he returned to his old home and brought his parents back with him.

Jonas Clybourn and his wife settled on the North Branch, and built a log house that came to be known as the Clybourn Place, near the present station of Clybourn Junction. They themselves called the place "New Virginia," in memory of their former home. There the father prepared to farm the bit of land about his house. With his son he went into the butchering business, starting a slaughter house near their residence, and supplying Fort Dearborn and the settlement with meat. Archibald Clybourn went often to the southern portion of the state to buy and bring back the cattle. Thus it was that he came to marry Mary Galloway, whose father's home on the Illinois river

was one of the young man's stopping places. To his parents' home he brought his wife in 1829, and there they lived for six years, when Archibald moved his family, now increased by three children, to a small frame house he had built on Elston Road (now Elston Avenue), near the present station of Clybourn Junction. In the next year, 1837, he erected on the same location, adjoining the frame building, a brick house which faced toward the south. It was most pretentious for those days, having twenty rooms, large, columned porch, and being built of brick, which was made near the house by Francis C. Sherman, later the founder of the Sherman House, and many times elected as mayor of the city.

Archibald was the first constable of Chicago, appointed in 1825, when Chicago was in Peoria County. "In June, 1829, the month of his marriage," says Andreas, "he was authorized to keep a ferry in conjunction with Samuel Miller across the Chicago river, at the lower forks, near Wolf Point, crossing the river below the Northeast branch, and to land on either side of both branches, to suit the convenience of persons wishing to cross. . . . In the later part of the same year, he was appointed one of the first trustees of the school section, Archibald Clybourn, Samuel Miller and John B. Beaubien comprising the board. He was made Justice of the Peace in 1831. Jonas Clybourn and his son Archibald were the early butchers of Chicago. They furnished the garrison at Fort Dearborn, and sometimes extended their trade to Mackinac. When the Black Hawk War, in 1832, brought crowds of frightened settlers from the country to the shelter of the fort, the Clybourns and John Noble and their sons fed nearly the entire population until the pioneers could return to their homes. The Clybourn family, with the rest of Chicago's population, took refuge in the fort until the danger was past. Mr. Clybourn lived on the old place until his death, August 23, 1872. He left, at that time, his widow, still living in Chicago with her daughter, Mrs. Parks, and ten living children."

JAMES GALLOWAY

In 1826, James Galloway, after a preliminary survey of Chicago and its vicinity, brought here from Sandusky, Ohio, his family, consisting of his wife, three little daughters and a son. They came by the lake route and landed at Chicago after encountering severe storms throughout the journey. Mr. Galloway had brought with him a large supply of provisions for his family and goods for trading with the Indians. Much of this was forfeited to the American Fur Company, who did not welcome an opposition trader in the settlement, making it difficult for the newcomer to secure his property when it was unloaded at Chicago. His first residence in the settlement was in a log cabin at "Hardscrabble," which was offered him for the winter by the Indian chief, Alexander Robinson, who had become his good friend. There he had as neighbors, Joseph Laframboise, William H. Wallace, Mr. Weicks and an Indian trader named Barney Lawton. This little group of people was about four miles from the fort, and quite truly in Indian country. Even in the daytime the wolves often came to the doorstep; and the frequent rumors of the hostile approach of Indians were alarming to this family not accustomed to encounters with savages. One stormy, snowy night when Mr. Galloway was

absent on his claim on the Illinois river, wild whoops were heard outside the cabin and the terrified mother bolted the door, gave to her eldest daughter Mary an ax and seized one herself. The Indians pounded and danced and yelled as if intent on killing every inmate of the house, and finally, unable to get in, they left the beleaguered house to go to a neighboring cabin, where their noisy demands were granted. They had returned from a long hunting trip, were hungry and cold, and expected shelter from their friends in the cabin. This was their manner of expressing their request and their surprise at not finding it granted.

In the early part of 1827 Mr. Galloway took his family to his claim at what was then called the Grand Rapids of the Illinois, at the present site of Marseilles. There the family continued to live until the death of Mr. Galloway in 1864, his wife having died in 1830. Two years after the arrival there of the family, in June, 1829, the eldest daughter Mary was married to Archibald Clybourn, who had come to Chicago in 1823, was engaged in the butchering business, and often had to go as far south as Sangamon County to buy his cattle, thus passing by the home of Mary Galloway.

THE FIRST LIGHTHOUSE AT CHICAGO

In the year 1831 the first lighthouse was built by the government. It was located just west of the fort on the south bank of the river about where Graham and Morton's steamship dock is situated. It was built of stone with walls three feet in thickness and reached a height of fifty feet. The government appropriation for this work was five thousand dollars. But before it was used the tower developed a weakness in the foundation and as a consequence it began to lean over and for a week afterwards cracks in the wall showed themselves. Finally it fell with a "terrible crash and a noise like the rattling of fifty claps of thunder," as described by a letter writer of the period. The contractor said that its fall was owing to quicksand underneath its foundations. The same contractor, however, was permitted to erect another one in the following year which continued in service for twenty years, when the government erected a new lighthouse on the North Pier.

REVIEW OF EVENTS FROM 1803 TO 1832

To enable the reader to obtain a clearer knowledge of the period between the years from 1803 to 1832, inclusive, we will make a general survey, grouping the important events together under each year in chronological order. The period mentioned lends itself readily to an arrangement of this kind, better indeed than other portions in our history. Previously to this period such an arrangement would be attenuated and scanty; while for any later period, when there was an increasingly rapid development in affairs, it would be difficult to compress such a record into so narrow a form with any degree of satisfaction. We have chosen to regard the period thus outlined as having a place by itself.

At the beginning of the century, before the establishment of the first Fort Dearborn, we saw on the north bank of the river four small dwellings, one

owned and occupied by Joseph Le Mai, another by Antoine Ouilmette, and a third by one Pettell. Le Mai sold his house to John Kinzie who came in 1804 soon after Captain John Whistler had arrived to build and occupy the fort. On the South Branch Charles Lee settled not long afterwards at the place that was known as "Hardscrabble."

In 1812 came the massacre, and from that time until the rebuilding of the fort in 1816 the place was deserted by all save Ouilmette and his family, M. Du Pin, a French trader who was there for a short time, Alexander Robinson, an Indian half-breed, who came in 1814 and with Ouilmette planted the ground near the former fort with Indian corn. There were also an army contractor by the name of John Dean who came in 1815, and Judge Charles Jouett who came in that year as Indian agent. With the new garrison came settlers to this spot now protected by United States troops, and Chicago began to have the appearance of an active frontier settlement. Captain Hezekiah Bradley was the commanding officer of the troops and in charge of the rebuilding operations.

When the inhabitants were so few each one was a person of prominence and their names were of importance in the history of that time. The Beaubiens were early comers; another was John Kinzie Clark, arriving in 1816; a few years later came his stepbrother, Archibald Clybourn, followed soon after by his parents; and in 1826 James Galloway brought his family to the place. Here is the community in its second beginnings. Then came numerous visitors and traders, among them Major Stephen H. Long, passing through Chicago after an expedition west of the Mississippi; Ebenezer Childs, a trader from Green Bay; Schoolcraft and Trowbridge, coming in Gov. Cass' expedition of 1820; and John H. Fonda, a rover through this new West. Thus little by little we find out the story of each one whose names occur so frequently in the records of our early history.

CHRONOLOGY, 1803 TO 1832

1803. Arrival of Capt. John Whistler with a company of United States soldiers who began the construction of the first Fort Dearborn.

1804. John Kinzie, known as "Chicago's first settler," arrived.

1804 to 1812. No events worthy of note in this brief record occurred.

1812. On June 18 of this year war was declared between the United States and Great Britain, followed on August 15th by the evacuation of the fort and the massacre of the retiring troops by Indians. The next day the fort (a wooden structure) was burned by the savages. August 18, John Kinzie and his family took their departure by boat for St. Joseph. Ouilmette and his Indian family were the only residents remaining in the place.

1813. Ouilmette and his family continued their residence, but a few months later a French trader named Du Pin took up his residence in the abandoned Kinzie house.

1814. In July of this year Thomas Forsyth at Peoria learned from wandering Indians that "it was currently reported at Milwaukee that the British were coming the ensuing fall to build a fort at Chicago." No attempt to do so, however, was made by the British.

1815. John Dean, an army contractor, built a house on the lake shore near the foot of the present Randolph street.

1816. In June Capt. Hezekiah Bradley arrived with a company of U. S. soldiers and began the erection of the second Fort Dearborn on the site of the former one destroyed by the Indians. John Kinzie and his family returned to their former dwelling. An Indian treaty was concluded at St. Louis on August 24th, ceding lands at Chicago and in its vicinity. A school was opened at the fort with an attendance of seven or eight pupils. The government Indian agency was re-established with Charles Jouett as the agent. Major Stephen H. Long made a visit to Chicago.

1817. The trading house of Conant and Mack established at "Hardscrabble." John Crafts, a trader from Detroit, also arrived and became a permanent resident. Samuel A. Storrow, judge-advocate in the United States army, visited Chicago.

1818. November 1st, Gurdon S. Hubbard arrived at Chicago on his first visit. On December 3d of this year Illinois was admitted as a state in the Union.

1819. The importance of a canal from the Illinois river to Lake Michigan was urged by John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, in a report to Congress.

1820. Henry R. Schoolcraft visited Chicago. Arrival of Dr. Alexander Wolcott.

1821. Ebenezer Childs visited Chicago. Schoolcraft made his second visit to this place in this year.

1822. Charles C. Trowbridge visited Chicago.

1823. Major Long made his second visit to Chicago. Troops ordered to evacuate Fort Dearborn as no longer being necessary for military purposes. In this year Archibald Clybourn came.

1824. Jonas Clybourn came to Chicago in this year.

1825. John H. Fonda visited Chicago.

1826. First election held in Chicago. Thirty-five persons voted.

1827. Ebenezer Childs made his second visit. In July the Winnebago War broke out but lasted only a few weeks.

1828. John Kinzie died on January 6th of this year, aged sixty-five years. Fort Dearborn again reoccupied owing to threatening dangers from the Indians.

1829. Lieutenant Jefferson Davis visited Chicago. The Illinois and Michigan canal was incorporated in this year.

1830. The canal section in Chicago was platted. A special election was held in Chicago in this year. Fifty-six votes were cast. On the 8th of March in this year Cook County was organized.

1831. On the 31st of March in this year the Chicago postoffice was established. In May Fort Dearborn was again evacuated by the troops, all danger from Indian troubles seeming to be at an end. Collapse of new lighthouse.

1832. In April of this year the Black Hawk War broke out. On June 17th Fort Dearborn was again occupied by United States troops. On the 3d of August the Indian war was ended by the defeat and capture of Black Hawk.

CHAPTER IV

INTERIOR TRANSPORTATION AND LAKE NAVIGATION

LAND TRANSPORTATION ROUTES—OX TEAMS IN A NEW COUNTRY—ROAD CONDITIONS—TYPE OF WAGONS USED—WAGON TRANSPORTATION—THE BLACK HAWK WAR—CAMPAIGN OF 1832—STILLMAN'S DEFEAT—PURSUIT OF SAUKS INTO WISCONSIN—DEFEAT AND CAPTURE OF BLACK HAWK—LINCOLN'S REMINISCENCES OF THE WAR—WAR EXCITEMENT IN CHICAGO—SHABBONA'S GOOD INFLUENCE—FUGITIVES IN CHICAGO—GEN. SCOTT'S PRESENCE ON THE SCENE—BLACK HAWK'S LIFE IN CAPTIVITY—CHARACTER OF THE INDIAN—TREATY OF CHICAGO—REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS—WHARFING PRIVILEGES—FEASIBILITY OF THE CANAL—STATE LEGISLATION—WORK BEGUN ON CANAL—DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED—WORK HALTED—FINANCIAL CONDITIONS—CANAL COMPLETED—DESCRIPTION OF CANAL.

INTERIOR TRANSPORTATION ROUTES

The villages and hunting grounds of the Indians were connected by a network of trails through the forests and over the prairies. Many of the most important of these were no doubt originally made by the buffalo in their long journeys between pastures, or in their migrations westward in advance of oncoming settlement. The buffalo traces were followed by the Indians in their travels and they generally proved to be the most convenient and direct routes when the settlers came into the country and utilized them on their journeys. "The natural evolution," says Thwaites, "has been, first, the buffalo trace, then the Indian trail, next the pioneers' path, broadened and straightened at last for wagons, then the military road or the plank road, and finally the railroad. Broadly speaking the continent has been spanned by this means. There are still discoverable in isolated portions of the Middle West remains of a few of the most important of the old Indian trails, such as have not been adapted into white men's roads."

The principal path used by the Indians in Northern Illinois was the old Sauk Trail, extending from Black Hawk's village at the mouth of the Rock river on the Mississippi to the south shore of Lake Michigan, and then through Michigan to Malden, Canada. "Over this deep-beaten path," says Thwaites, "portions of which are still visible, Black Hawk's band made frequent visits to the British Indian agency at Malden." Mrs. Kinzie, in her book, "Wau-Bun," describes a horseback journey with her husband, John H. Kinzie, from Fort Winnebago to Chicago in 1834. While stopping over night at Dixon's Ferry they sought directions for the next day's journey. Mr. Dixon gave

directions how to cross and follow the Sauk trail on their route to Chicago, with a special warning to avoid the "Winnebago Swamp, for once in that," he said, "there is no telling when you will ever get out again."

Between Galena and the southern part of the state conditions were similar to those in all the region about Chicago. A journey made in 1827 is described by Chetlain in his "Recollections," through a country where scarcely any trails existed, as follows: "It was common for men to go with teams of four yoke of oxen, and strong canvas-covered wagons from southern Illinois to the lead regions. In those regions they spent the summer in hauling from the mines to the furnaces or from the furnaces to the place of shipment, and taking back a load of supplies. In the fall the teamsters returned to their homes, taking a load of lead to St. Louis. These men lived in their wagons and cooked their own food, the oxen lived by browsing at night."

Gurdon S. Hubbard speaks in his book of the aid derived from oxen in the course of a long journey from Toronto to Lake Simcoe in Canada, while his party was on its way to Mackinac in 1818. Ox teams were employed to haul carts loaded with supplies overland part of the way and the boats over the portages into Lake Simcoe. Having launched their boats in that lake they put two yoke of cattle on board of one of the boats, and at the other end of the lake, with the help of the oxen, made the portage of six miles into the Nottaway river, taking a week in the operation, and thence down the river into Lake Huron. Oxen were much used in the farming operations of the early settlers, a custom followed quite extensively by the farmers in the eastern states where most of the settlers came from. The wagons employed by immigrants on their journeys from the eastern states looking for homes in the west were usually drawn by oxen, the wagons with their canvas covers were known as "prairie schooners."

ROAD CONDITIONS IN A NEW COUNTRY

The road conditions in a new country vitally affected the efficiency of transportation and travel in the interior parts of the country. The season of the year most favorable for transportation was the summer and early autumn when the ground was generally dry and the water in the streams low, as the principal method of crossing them was by fording. At large rivers there were ferries which carried travelers across for a small fee. Settlers came by river, lake or overland, according to the destination they had in view. "Settlers who located in southern and western Illinois," says Pooley, "generally came by way of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers; those who settled in the northern part of the state by way of the Great Lakes; while the majority of the pioneers of eastern Illinois came by wagons over no beaten road."

Prior to 1830 the ox-cart was much used for transportation by those taking land routes to the West. A yoke of oxen hauling an enormous load moved at about the rate of a mile and a half an hour. During the mild weather of the autumn season immense caravans could be seen traveling in a western direction. The newspapers of the day took note of the number of wagons passing a given point. An issue of the Chicago Democrat, of June 18, 1834, contains an item, as follows: "On Thursday the 15th, about one hundred and

fifty persons passed through this place southward, emigrating to Illinois or perhaps Missouri. They had their 'plunder' in twenty-two or twenty-three wagons." One man traveling in Indiana counted four hundred emigrants' wagons on the road within a distance of fifty-five miles. Many of them were drawn by horses and of course these traveled much faster than the slow-going ox-teams.

Mrs. Farnsworth, whose parents came to Gross Point, in 1841, some twelve miles north of Chicago, writing an account of the experiences of her family in those days, said, in a newspaper article, that the farmers did not have horses but many of them owned oxen. She said that many ox-teams passed the house daily hauling loads of wood for the Chicago market, wood being then the principal form of fuel used by the inhabitants. She said she remembered as a child in the "forties" watching the slow motion of the oxen and wondering when they would ever get to their destination. "Father always insisted that he could hear old Ben. Emerson when he was still a mile away, because of his powerful voice shouting, 'gee-haw' to his oxen." In 1845, Benjamin Trumbull, father of Lyman Trumbull, was engaged in farming with some of his sons in Michigan, and, in Horace White's "Life of Lyman Trumbull," the author says, that "none of the brothers in Michigan kept horses, the farm work being done by oxen exclusively."

The vehicles used were of every kind, sometimes no wagon or cart at all was used, for many a man traveled the whole way from the East on foot, with all his worldly possessions carried in a bundle or carpet-bag on his back. The contents of the emigrant wagons were astonishing in amount and variety of articles thus transported. A look under the canvas covering would reveal a conglomeration of women, children, bedding and utensils of every description, while from the lower part of the wagons dangled kettles, buckets and tinware, and at the ends hay and grain for the teams. Often a considerable amount of live stock was driven along by the movers giving a vast amount of trouble and anxiety to their guardians. In such cases men mounted on horseback usually accompanied the trains of wagons. At night camping places were found convenient to a water supply, and groups of the travelers could be seen sharing among them a space where they built fires and cooked their meals, while happy children liberated from the confinement of the wagons ran and shouted over an unlimited play ground.

The patience of the people living in the towns through which the stream of travel moved was often severely tried by the noise and confusion caused by the passing throngs. A paper published in 1834 in Cincinnati commented thus: "We are so completely overrun by emigrants or movers with carriages, wagons, cattle, horses, dogs and sheep, that we are compelled to speak. Our streets are a moving mass of living men, women, children and everything joyously wending their way to their new habitations in the West."

WAGON TRANSPORTATION

Many guide books for the use of emigrants were published during the early years of the century, and our pioneers eagerly purchased and read such books before starting on their journeys. Every historical library contains a col-

lection of "Emigrants' Guides," "Travelers' Guides," and "Gazetteers" in which a remarkable amount of curious and accurate information is found. In Morse's "Gazetteer" of 1826 there is a list of the towns and natural features of the United States with a description under each title. Peck's "Gazetteer" of 1837 performs a similar service for Illinois exclusively. In the notice of Chicago contained in the latter it is stated to be "beautifully situated on level ground, but sufficiently elevated above the highest floods," and the "natural position of the place, the enterprise and capital that will concentrate here, with favorable prospects for health, must soon make this place the emporium of trade and business for all the northern country."

The first wagon to pass between Galena and Chicago made the trip in 1829. It was hauled by mules and carried a load of a ton and a half of lead from the mines, taking eleven days on the journey out and eight days on the return. A Galena paper mentions that the lead "was taken by water from Chicago to Detroit." Gurdon S. Hubbard had in previous years opened a road from Chicago to Danville, as has already been related. The southern part of the state having been settled long before the northern part it was far in advance in respect to roads. As the northern country filled up with settlers the north and south roads began to be established in constantly increasing numbers. The salt industry flourished in the region about Shawneetown, and the Chicago region was supplied from this source. The salt industry was more important than the lead mining industry, until in later years salt was more conveniently obtained from Michigan.

Wagon transportation between the northern and southern parts of the state increased rapidly in succeeding years, especially after the construction work on the canal had been started. In an account of his experience an early settler living near Joliet relates that in 1835 he bought a yoke of oxen for forty-eight dollars from a man who came from the southern part of the state with a wagon load of apples drawn by two yoke of oxen. After selling the apples and one yoke of oxen he returned with the remaining pair. The next year the same man appeared again with apples and oxen for sale, finding that he could get better prices for his produce and animals in the newer settlements of the northern counties than in the market towns of his own neighborhood.

THE BLACK HAWK WAR

At the time the Black Hawk war broke out in 1832 northern Illinois possessed comparatively few settlers though this region was attracting much attention from the people of the eastern states. Western emigration up to this time had followed routes much farther to the south where transportation along the Ohio river rendered it easier for the emigrants to pass over the long distances they were obliged to travel. It was beginning to be realized that the routes by way of the lakes was convenient and the cost moderate, but for the vast region not accessible by either of these water routes the only alternative for the travelers was striking directly westward through the wilderness.

The Black Hawk war, also called the Sauk war, chiefly affected the northern portion of the state. Black Hawk was a chief of the Sac and Fox tribe.

These Indians were also called Sauks, and their principal habitations and hunting grounds were in the northwest part of the state extending beyond the Mississippi. Black Hawk believed that his tribe had been swindled by the whites in a treaty ceding lands of his tribe, and refused to leave the village he had long inhabited near the mouth of the Rock river. Year by year the whites took up land and erected cabins in the territory included in the cession, until in 1831 the belligerent chief, irritated beyond endurance, resorted to hostilities. Bands of Sauks under his leadership destroyed the crops and live stock of the white settlers, attacking and terrifying them so that they were driven to flight though no actual lives were lost in the campaign of this year.

John Reynolds was the governor of the state, and after giving the complaints which reached him careful consideration he decided that the militia should be called out. Seven hundred mounted men were sent to the scene of the troubles. The whole state with its forty thousand white settlers living mostly in the southern part, resounded with the war clamor. The whites were intensely bitter towards the Indians. They were looked upon as the chief obstacle to the peace and welfare of the settlers, occupying vast stretches of territory which they knew not how to improve, and practiced none of the arts of civilized society. In short they were believed to be unworthy of the possession of the land and could never become members of an orderly community.

Black Hawk, having less than three hundred men at his command, left his village upon the appearance of the troops, and under cover of darkness withdrew his band to the west side of the Mississippi. The town was then burned by the whites, after which Black Hawk was brought back to the headquarters of the general, where he signed a treaty to remain on the farther side of the Mississippi and never cross the river again unless with the permission of the proper authorities. Thus terminated the campaign of 1831, no blood having been shed on either side. Black Hawk and his followers passed a very disagreeable winter. It was too late in the season to plant crops for their sustenance, and though food was dealt out to them by the government they suffered greatly.

CAMPAIGN OF 1832

As spring advanced Black Hawk became possessed with the idea that he could regain his village on the east side of the river. He therefore violated the treaty he had entered into and crossed the Mississippi early in April of the year 1832. This move of course created much excitement among the settlers of the neighborhood which he tried to allay by explaining that he was on his way to visit his Winnebago friends in Wisconsin, and to plant corn in their country. He disregarded the warnings of Gen. Atkinson at Fort Armstrong (Rock Island), and finally reached Dixon's Ferry, where he encamped with a force including about five hundred men.

Governor Reynolds, known as the "Old Ranger," was now thoroughly aroused by this action on the part of the Sauk chief. The governor had had much experience in Indian campaigning, he knew their methods of warfare and treacherous disposition, and he determined that Black Hawk should be given a thorough beating and taught a lesson in keeping treaties. None of the tribes of Illinois Indians had ever given the whites as much trouble as the Sauks, and

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it was decided that this should be the last time that they could disturb the peace of the frontier. The governor at once raised a force of eighteen hundred volunteers with Gen. Whiteside in command. This force was sworn into the service of the United States and became a part of the regular army. It is noteworthy that Abraham Lincoln was a captain of a company in this force. He was then a young man of twenty-three years of age.

STILLMAN'S DEFEAT

On the 12th of May Gen. Whiteside advanced to Dixon's Ferry, where he expected to come up with the Sauk force. Meantime the Indians, becoming alarmed at the approach of Whiteside's army, moved to Sycamore Creek, some thirty miles away. A battalion of two hundred and seventy-five men under Major Stillman pushed on ahead of the regular force and encamped within five miles of Black Hawk's band, but neglected taking any precautions whatever against a surprise attack by the Indians. Suddenly three Indians appeared in the distance bearing a white flag, evidently with the purpose of asking a parley. Disregarding the flag of truce some of the troopers dashed forward and took the Indians prisoners. Just behind the three Indians thus taken there were six others who had been sent forward by Black Hawk to observe the reception his messengers would receive. When these were seen the principal body of Stillman's force rushed to attack them and some of them were killed. Black Hawk hearing the uproar came to the rescue of his friends and fell upon the pursuing troopers furiously. The advance of the troops was then suddenly turned into a rout, and they returned to their camp in a panic-stricken condition. The troops at the camp, frightened at the yelling and tramping of horses' feet, which seemed all the more terrible now that night had set in, believed that Black Hawk's whole band was upon them, although but forty Indians were pursuing the fugitives. All the men at the camp fled precipitately to Dixon's Ferry, where the main body of the army was encamped, with a horrible tale of slaughter. There had in fact been about eleven whites killed in this affair. "Want of discipline among the officers and men," says Professor Scherger's account, "was the cause of this rout."

This in brief is the tale of "Stillman's Defeat" as set forth in the various histories of the war. As soon as the news reached Gov. Reynolds he issued a call for two thousand additional volunteers which was promptly responded to. Gen. Whiteside in the meantime had turned on the Indians and was soon pursuing them towards the Wisconsin boundary line, but the Indians were active and visited the outlying settlements near Ottawa and La Salle, killing and capturing many of the settlers and their families. The family of William Hall living on Indian Creek were perhaps the most grievous sufferers in these bloody operations. A monument now stands at Indian Creek to commemorate these massacres.

The fresh levies of volunteers quickly arrived on the scene and the whole force of troops now assembled at Peru on the 15th of June, prepared for a more effective prosecution of the campaign against Black Hawk. The Sauks, however, were extremely alert under the able leadership of Black Hawk, and retired before the augmented forces of the whites, taking positions successively at points on the

Wisconsin river and holding their pursuers at bay. On the 10th of July Gen. Winfield Scott arrived at Chicago with a large force of regulars sent by the government from Old Point Comfort, in Virginia, by way of Buffalo and Detroit in two steamers. But an outbreak of cholera occurred among the troops and they were detained in camp near Fort Dearborn. These troops took no active part in the war as it lasted but a few weeks after their arrival.

PURSUIT OF INDIANS INTO WISCONSIN

By the 20th of July the troops had reached Four Lakes (now Madison in Wisconsin), and the Sauks now hastened their flight towards the Mississippi hoping to cross that river to a safer region. The Indians, encumbered with their families and camp equipage, attempted to expedite their retreat down the Wisconsin river, and procured a raft upon which their women, children and old men embarked while the warriors pushed westward through the country. The pursuing forces came in sight of the raft, and with needless cruelty opened fire upon it, killing fifteen outright while fifty others were drowned in an attempt to escape to the banks. Most of the others were taken prisoners.

After a week's pause to recuperate after their hard marching and also to replenish their supplies, the troops took up the pursuit afresh, and in a few days overtook the Indians at the mouth of the Bad Axe river. Black Hawk, now become hopeless of the situation, abandoned his tribe and found refuge among a tribe of the Winnebagoes who befriended him in his extremity. The now leaderless band were mercilessly attacked by the pursuing force and were driven into the river or escaped to the forests. Great numbers of the Indians perished while bravely fighting or attempting to escape. "The battle of Bad Axe, as it is called," says Professor Scherger (whose account we have followed), "was one of cruel and wanton extermination, about three hundred of the Indians being either killed or drowned. There were still as many more who succeeded in crossing the river, but upon reaching the other shore they were attacked by a party of Sioux under Waubasha, and half of those who escaped thus far were now slaughtered. Out of a thousand warriors who had crossed the Mississippi in April about a hundred and fifty survived the war." The loss to the Americans in this war was about two hundred and fifty persons while the financial cost aggregated about two millions of dollars.

END OF THE BLACK HAWK WAR

After the defeat of Black Hawk Gen. Scott arrived at Prairie du Chien and discharged the volunteers, on the 8th of August, 1832. Many among the young officers of the army during the Black Hawk war afterwards attained great celebrity. We have already mentioned that Abraham Lincoln served as captain of volunteers. Zachary Taylor, afterwards Major General in the Mexican war and still later president of the United States, was present as lieutenant-colonel, and Jefferson Davis, later president of the Southern Confederacy, was a young lieutenant. Black Hawk was made a prisoner of war and sent to Fortress Monroe where he was kept in custody for a year and then released. "The war might have been prevented," says Professor Scherger, "if the whites had shown more

forbearance and honesty, virtues which indeed were difficult to practice when Indian massacres and depredations were taking place along the border, arousing the frontiersmen and impelling them to acts of blind ferocity."

The Black Hawk war marked the close of the Indian occupation of the Illinois country, for in the following year a treaty was concluded with the Indians, or perhaps we might say was forced upon them, by which all the tribes in this and the adjoining states agreed to leave the country and take up their places of abode far to the west on reservations assigned to them. This period, too, marked a period of renewed settlement activity. Public interest in the eastern states during the war was strongly attracted toward this region. The whole country, east and west, watched the Black Hawk war with eager attention. Many of the scenes had seldom or never been looked upon by white men, and the soldiers in the campaign moved in virgin wilds. "No doubt on the whole," says Scherger, "the Black Hawk war greatly promoted the development of the Northwest."

HUMOROUS REFERENCES TO THE WAR

When, some years after the war, Mr. Lincoln was a member of Congress, he made a very amusing speech, in which, alluding to the custom of exaggerating the military services of candidates to public office, and ridiculing the extravagant claims to heroism set up for General Lewis Cass, then a candidate for the presidency, he referred to his own services in the Black Hawk war, in the following terms: "By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military hero? Yes, sir, in the days of the Black Hawk war I fought, bled, and came away. Speaking of General Cass' career reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender; and, like him, I saw the place very soon afterwards. . . . If he saw any live fighting Indians, it was more than I did; but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes, and, although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say I was often very hungry. Mr. Speaker, if I should ever conclude to doff whatever our democratic friends may suppose there is of black-cockade federalism about me, and thereupon they shall take me up as their candidate for the Presidency, I protest they shall not make fun of me, as they have of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero."

Colonel James M. Strode made a humorous report of Stillman's defeat in which he said: "It was just after twilight, in the gloaming of the evening, when we discovered Black Hawk's army coming down upon us in a solid column; they deployed in the form of a crescent on the brow of the prairie, and such accuracy and precision of military movements were never witnessed by man; they were equal to the best troops of Wellington in Spain, and what was most wonderful there were large squares of cavalry resting upon the points of the curve, which squares were supported again by other columns fifteen deep, extending back through the woods and over a swamp three-quarters of a mile, which again rested upon the main body of Black Hawk's army, bivouacked upon the banks of the Kishwaukee. It was a terrible and glorious sight to see the tawny warriors as they rode along our flanks attempting to outflank us, with the glittering moonbeans reflected from their polished blades and burnished spears.

"It was a sight well calculated to strike consternation to the stoutest and

boldest heart, and accordingly our men began to break in small squads for tall timber. In a very little time the rout became general, the Indians were upon our flanks and threatened the destruction of the entire detachment. About this time Major Stillman, Colonel Stephenson, Major Perkins, Captain Adams, Mr. Hackleton and myself, with some others, went back to the rear to rally the fugitives and protect the retreat; but in a short time all my companions fell, bravely fighting hand to hand with the savage enemy, and I alone was left upon the field of battle.

"About this time I discovered, not far to the left, a corps of horsemen who seemed in tolerable order. I immediately deployed to the left, when leaning down and placing my body in a recumbent position upon the mane of my horse, so as to bring the heads of the horsemen between my eye and the horizon, I discovered by the light of the moon that they were gentlemen who did not wear hats, by which token I know they were no friends of mine. I therefore made a retrograde movement and recovered my former position, where I remained for some time meditating what further I could do in the service of my country, when a random cannon ball came whistling by my ear, and plainly whispering to me, 'Stranger, you have no further business here.' Upon hearing this I followed the example of my companions in arms and broke for tall timber, and the way I ran was not a little, and quit."

Colonel Strode was a lawyer living in Galena, and, at the time of this episode, was just returning from the circuit with a slight wardrobe and Chitty's "Pleadings" packed in his saddle-bags, all of which were captured by the Indians. The Colonel afterwards related, "with much vexation," says Ford, "that Black Hawk had decked himself out in his finery, appearing in the wild woods amongst his savage companions, dressed in one of the Colonel's ruffled shirts drawn over his deerskin garments, with a volume of Chitty's 'Pleadings' under each arm."

THE WAR EXCITEMENT AT CHICAGO

The news of the uprising of the Sacs reached Chicago from the settlements on the Fox river, which were immediately threatened after Stillman's defeat. By the 10th of May the fleeing families began to arrive at Chicago and took refuge in the fort, which was as yet unoccupied by troops then on the way from Fort Niagara. The fort soon gave shelter to nearly seven hundred souls, two-thirds of whom were women and children. Colonel T. J. V. Owen, the Indian agent then in charge of the fort, spared no effort to accommodate all that came, and, though occupying the commander's house with his own large family, confined himself to a single room and gave up the rest of the house to the fugitives. Many of the heads of families had sent their women and children to the fort while they themselves drove their live stock towards the Wabash.

SHABBONA'S GOOD INFLUENCE

When, soon after Stillman's defeat, Shabbona, the chief of the Ottawa tribe, was visited by Black Hawk, "Shabbona," said the wily Sauk Chief, "if you will permit your young men to unite with mine, I will have an army like the trees in the forest, and will drive the pale-faces before me like autumn leaves before

an angry wind." "Aye," replied Shabbona, "but the pale-faces will soon bring an army like the leaves on the trees and sweep you into the ocean beneath the setting sun."

While this language was hardly likely to have been used between these two Indian chiefs, there is no doubt that in substance it was the purport of their conversation,—an appeal by the one, a firm rejection by the other. Shabbona and his son then stole away from the camp of the Sauks and hastened to warn the settlers of impending danger. Some did not heed the warnings and were soon after massacred by the advancing enemy. Others were wiser and started on the long flight towards Fort Dearborn. For the distinguished services performed by Shabbona at this time he was granted a pension by the United States government, and his memory is held in high esteem among the people where he was known. A monument to his memory in the form of a block of granite was placed in position in 1903, at Morris, Illinois, where he died in 1859.

COLONEL OWEN'S ENERGETIC ACTION

The people at Chicago had, however, been by no means idle in dealing with the emergency. Colonel Owen had called a council in which Alexander Robinson and Billy Caldwell, the two friendly chiefs of the Pottawatomies, took part, as well as some other chiefs who were inclined to emphasize their grievances against the whites. It was made plain to them, however, that if any of the Indians within the district surrounding the fort should form any alliance or give aid to Black Hawk and his Sauks they would be held to a strict accountability for it, and would be punished severely. This council had good results, and among the Pottawattomies a company of scouts was soon after formed which did good service in protecting the outlying settlements. It may be well to mention here that the name Sac often appears in the older histories as Sauk, either of the two forms being used indifferently. Individuals of the tribe were known as Sauks, Saukees, or Saukies.

In May a company of twenty-five men was organized in the fort, which advanced towards the Fox river and rendered aid to the settlers in that direction. They soon arrrived at Walker's Grove, since called Plainfield. Here was the residence of the Rev. Jesse Walker, superintendent of the mission work of the Methodist church in the region extending from Peoria to Chicago. Here also lived the Rev. Stephen R. Beggs, an itinerant Methodist preacher. Beggs had built a rude fort of logs which for the time being was called "Fort Beggs," within which were sheltered one hundred and twenty-five persons. It was decided, however, to remove all the fugitives to Chicago, which was done accordingly, though the suffering endured both on the journey and after their arrival was heartrending, as appears in Begg's narrative.

EXPERIENCES OF THE FUGITIVES

There was scant accommodation for the fugitives after their arrival in Chicago. Five or six families were in some cases crowded into one small room, and though it was then the summer season there was much suffering and distress. Among the refugees some fifteen new born infants were added to the

number. The troops arriving soon after, even the shelter of the fort buildings were denied them and a large number of women and children were obliged to find shelter in open sheds outside the fort. General Scott's army arrived about this time and among them the cholera had broken out, adding to the alarms of the unfortunate refugees. Mr. Beggs in his book, "Early History of the West and Northwest," says that at this juncture he proposed to Mrs. Beggs that they return to their abandoned home at Plainfield. To this she consented, saying that "it would be no better to die here than to be killed by the Indians on the road." They started on the forty mile journey and reached it in one day's traveling.

PESTILENCE AND WAR

Meantime many deaths from the cholera were occurring, and the people who had assembled at the fort for safety again began to flee from this new terror, and Chicago became almost deserted except for the troops. Some followed Beggs to his fort, and some went to Danville, then considered a place of safety.

On the 10th of July, General Winfield Scott had reached Chicago with a force of United States troops. President Jackson, having grown impatient at the delays in the conduct of the war against the hostile Indians, ordered Scott to take nine companies from the Atlantic coast and "proceed to the seat of war and put an end to it." At Buffalo the troops were embarked on four steamers, but some cases of cholera having developed on the passage, two of the steamers were sent back from Fort Gratiot on the St Clair river. The other two became separated, the steamer "Sheldon Thompson," with General Scott on board arriving some eight days in advance of the "William Penn" with the remainder of the force. The journey from Fortress Monroe had been accomplished by General Scott in the short space of eighteen days.

Of the eight hundred and fifty men who left Buffalo more than half were sent back from Fort Gratiot, and but little more than one-third reached Chicago in a condition fit for service. On the passage and during the fortnight following their arrival eighty-eight died from the cholera. Some were buried in the waters of Lake Michigan and a considerable number were buried at Chicago near the present northwest corner of Lake street and Wabash avenue. The fort was transformed into a hospital and the troops still in good health found shelter wherever they could, some under boards placed against the fence, others in tents.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE COMMANDER

"General Winfield Scott, some time after the Mexican war, told me," said John Wentworth in his address on Fort Dearborn, "that he had often been in great danger, and that he had witnessed a great deal of suffering, but he had never felt his entire helplessness and need of Divine Providence as he did upon the lakes in the midst of the Asiatic cholera. Sentinels were of no use in warning of the enemy's approach. He could not storm his works, fortify against him, nor cut his way out, nor make terms of capitulation. There was no respect for a flag of truce, and his men were falling upon all sides from an enemy in his very midst." Indeed the general's responsibilities were never greater. Indian

massacres were demanding the utmost haste, and all were looking to him for direction and decisive action.

Accompanying General Scott at the outset of his journey was the majority of the class graduated that year from West Point, who were sent with him to obtain their first lessons in Indian warfare. Twenty-nine of them left Buffalo with him, but nearly all were sent back from Fort Gratiot. During all the horrors of the situation the commanding general never wearied in his ministrations to the suffering men. "In many a campaign did this fine old hero distinguish himself," writes Stevens, "but in none did he win more fame than in this."

ABATEMENT OF THE CHOLERA

On the 29th of July, finding that there was an abatement of the pestilence, General Scott set out with three officers of his staff for Prairie du Chien. This was just at the time when General Atkinson was hotly pursuing Black Hawk's retreating band into Wisconsin; and when the commanding general arrived at Prairie du Chien on the 7th of August, the final battle of the war had been fought five days before, and Black Hawk was a fugitive.

The later movements of General Scott may be briefly told. After his arrival at Prairie du Chien he ordered the discharge of the volunteer forces so that they might speedily return to their homes and resume their interrupted occupations. He then proceeded down the Mississippi to Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, where, on the 21st of September, "a treaty of peace, friendship and cession" was concluded between the United States and the confederated tribes of Sac and Fox Indians. On the part of the United States this treaty was signed by Winfield Scott and John Reynolds, and on the part of the tribes by Keokuk and a large number of other chiefs. General Scott returned to the East within a few weeks after the signing of the treaty. He visited Chicago again in 1839, being a guest on the occasion of the city's presentation of a flag to the steamer *Illinois,* built by Oliver Newberry.

HISTORY OF THE SAUK WAR

Several volumes have been published having for their subject the life of Black Hawk or the Black Hawk War. The year after the war the fallen and captive chief dictated the history of his life, which was published by J. B. Patterson of Rock Island, under the title of "The Autobiography of Black Hawk." In the preface to the book the editor, who was also the publisher, refers to him as a "hero," and a "patriot"; and elsewhere as a "brave man," and says that he was possessed in a marked degree of "the elements which constitute a noble nature."

A volume entitled "The Sauks and the Black Hawk War," written by the late Perry A. Armstrong, of Morris, Illinois, is a very complete account of the war, in which a mass of details is contained. Armstrong takes a favorable view of Black Hawk's character and usually finds a justification for him in all his acts of hostility towards the whites, speaking of his "true nobility of character," and of his abilities as a leader and as a natural orator. This author, however, was an ardent admirer of the Indian character, taking every occasion to show his sympathy for the wrongs of the savages, and passing unstinted condemnation on the encroachments and impositions of the whites. Armstrong was deeply

influenced by the glamor and romance of the savage life, and wrote of Indian virtues and natural gifts in the most extravagant terms.

STEVENS' HISTORY OF THE WAR

The most exhaustive work on this period of history is that of Frank E. Stevens, published in 1903. This volume adequately treats of the events of the Black Hawk War and appears to have taken notice of every detail that is worthy of mention in that connection. The author has likewise made a surprisingly large collection of portraits of the men of Illinois, contemporary with that period, as well as of the actors in the war itself. It is probable that there is no book on western history extant that has such a wonderful portrait gallery. The formation of this collection required many years of patient effort, and the three hundred rare and interesting portraits and views with which the volume is illustrated add greatly to its value.

Stevens has no sort of sympathy with Black Hawk, whom he charges with cherishing a malignant and enduring hostility towards the Americans throughout his career, until defeat and captivity worked in him at last a change of heart. This author denounces the old chief on every occasion and will not allow any consideration in his favor. Like a prosecuting attorney he marshals the evidence against him with many caustic comments. "Black Hawk," he says, "without provocation and contrary to his promises . . . waged a merciless war on the feeble settlements, simply because he hated the Americans." He calls him a "cold-blooded aggressor and murderer," speaks of his "implacable hatred," and says he was "churlish and revengeful." In other respects great praise must be given to Mr. Stevens for his "History of the Black Hawk War," which is one of the most valuable contributions to the early history of Illinois which we possess.

THE SAC CHIEFS' VISIT TO WASHINGTON

When, in the year following his capture, Black Hawk was taken to Washington on a visit to President Jackson, he and some other Sac chiefs who accompanied him were greatly impressed with the evidences of the wealth and power of the white people which they witnessed on every hand. In one of his speeches he said, "Brother, your houses are as numerous as the leaves upon the trees, and your warriors like the sand on the shore of the big lake that rolls before us." The president gave Black Hawk and his chiefs some good advice: "Bury the tomahawk," said he, "and live in peace with the frontiers," which admonition Black Hawk promised to heed. "When I get back I will remember your words," said he; "I won't go to war again; I will live in peace."

The party then visited other eastern cities, attracting much attention and even admiration from the crowds which everywhere surrounded them. A poet of the day addressed a lengthy effusion to the "old forest lion," as he called him, the opening lines of which were:

"There's beauty on thy brow, old chief, the high
And manly beauty of the Roman mould,
And the keen flashing of thy full dark eye
Speaks of a heart that years have not made cold."

BLACK HAWK'S CHARACTER

But the sentiments of people far removed from scenes of danger, and of people living in later times, who know nothing of the terrors of Indian alarms, were not apt to be shared by the pioneers themselves. Neither are they shared by those whose duty it is to study the records of pioneer life. We have seen the estimate placed upon Black Hawk by Professor Scherger at the conclusion of his account of the war given above. "Black Hawk was honest," he says. "He was attached to the home of his people; but he was indiscreet and sentimental." Dr. Thwaites, in his account of the Black Hawk war, says of Black Hawk, "He was of a highly romantic temperament; his judgment was warped by sentiment; and tricksters easily played upon his weakness . . . He was, above all things, a patriot. In the year before his death, he made a speech to a party of whites who were making a holiday hero of him, and thus forcibly defended his motives: 'Rock River was a beautiful country. I liked my town, my cornfields, and the home of my people. I fought for them.' No poet could have penned for him a more touching epitaph."

In the *Outlook* magazine, the number for April 10, 1910, there is a reference to an incident of Black Hawk's eastern trip. The "Spectator," while visiting an aerial exhibit in Boston, heard a story of the captured chief. "Near the Harvard exhibit," he writes, "where the Wright and Curtiss models faced each other, the Spectator found a gray haired man in an official blue coat and brass buttons, who was always the center of a group of boys. He was helping them build their aeroplanes for sale, and telling them about old days in air navigation. 'Yes, sir, I'm the son of Charles Durant, the aeronaut who made the balloon ascension in Castle Garden in 1834. Here's the handbill.' He showed a quaint old placard, with a queer ancient cylindrical barometer hanging along side of it. 'And that barometer was used on the ascent. So was this flag—pretty ragged and faded now, isn't it? Only twenty-one stars there were then, you see.' The red stripes were faded almost white, and the white yellowed and worn in the folds, but the flag spoke for itself, and the boys gazed at it delightedly.

"'Andrew Jackson was President then. He came on from Washington—and that meant some traveling in those days—to see my father make the ascent. Black Hawk, the Indian chief (they'd just captured him) was brought to New York and saw it, too. The Government thought it might do him good to see what wonderful things the white man could do. The old fellow was astonished, sure enough. He wouldn't say much, but he looked and looked, and he asked whether the balloon would go all the way to the happy hunting-grounds, and whether my father would ever come back. That's a question no aeronaut can ever answer. But my father went up into the air, and did come back safe, and the Indian felt just the way they wanted him to—that the white man could do anything, no matter how wonderful.'"

CHARACTER OF THE RED MAN

We have had much to say in this history of Indians, whose presence in the land which the whites came to occupy, was the chief and most important fact among the conditions which were encountered by the pioneers of the wilderness. We of a later generation can little understand the deep interest with which the

early settlers regarded them, nor wonder at their dealings with them. It is common to condemn the conduct of the white man in his so-called "encroachments" upon the savage, who by reason of his want of experience in the ways of civilized men was peculiarly subject to imposition. The savage, however, was not much impressed with ideas of justice, and when it came to making treaties the pleas he made for his rights were merely the sentiments which he had borrowed from the whites. Indeed Indians cared for the ideas obtained from civilized life only so far as they could be made use of to their own advantage, and "played fair" only when obliged to do so. Like all savages they were apt to be bullies taking advantage of weakness rather than exercising the virtues of generosity or forbearance, and with little regard for good faith.

Savage nature and its characteristics were often depicted in a sanguinary and lurid aspect quite in excess of real conditions. The opening stanza of a poem read at the unveiling of the memorial tablet on the site of Fort Dearborn, ran as follows:

"Here, where the savage war-whoop once resounded,
Where council fires burned brightly years ago;
Where the red Indian from his covert bounded
To scalp his pale-faced foe."

Such practices by the "red Indian" were very exceptional and seldom indulged in. Indians were not always "bounding from their coverts" or scalping pale-faces, for they had too much reason to fear the people thus rudely pounced upon, as the consequences of such acts were apt to be very serious to them. When they did engage in warfare, however, they avoided open and fair fights, preferring the sneaking methods of surprises and ambuscades, and making attacks on defenseless women and children.

The Indian had only the most rudimentary ideas of right and wrong. He had no aspirations for mental or moral improvement, and an altruistic impulse of any kind was foreign to his nature. There were exceptions of course to such a statement but even then only as the result of ideas borrowed from the whites. The average Indian, when not hostile, was an idler and a vagabond. He was obliged to spend part of his time in hunting in order to provide sustenance, but he left all the drudgery to be performed by the weaker sex. He spent much time, when near posts or settlements, in lounging about in the hope of picking up a few crumbs or cast-off articles, and in "watching the proceedings."

Indian lore is of absorbing interest. The literature of American history is heavily saturated with it. But the interest that the average person of today feels is of a far different kind from that which was felt by those who were in actual contact with the "noble red man of the forest." We criticise the harshness of the pioneer in his conduct towards the Indians, but we forget that constant vigilance was the price of safety, and it was almost inevitable that antagonisms should arise.

EARLY TREATIES

From the time of the signing of the Greenville treaty in 1795, there was a series of Indian treaties extending over thirty-eight years particularly affecting

the region of northern Illinois. Some of these treaties were merely declarations of friendship, others provided for territorial cessions while some renewed the conditions of former treaties and included as participants additional tribes. The provisions of these treaties were often not clear to the ignorant chiefs who, after the agreement was made and ratified, would raise objections and demand another council. The government would then frame up a new treaty including the former provisions as well as added ones, and again the chiefs were gathered to sign away, usually unwittingly, still more of what remained to them. The odds were all against them, with their unstable conditions of land tenure, their ignorance and barbarity on the one side; and the keen, often unscrupulous, wits of the government agent on the other side. Finally came the great Treaty of Chicago in 1833, which provided for the removal of the Indians to the reservation in the West which was given them by the terms of this same treaty. It was a long time before the significance of this agreement came home to them, and they realized but slowly the seriousness of the great father's intention to send them away from their dwellings to new lands nearer the setting sun.

TREATY OF CHICAGO

The Treaty of Chicago was signed on September 26, 1833. By proclamation the President of the United States had gathered together at Chicago the United Nation of Pottawattomies, Chippewas, and Ottawas for a council to be held on September 10, 1833. The purpose of this was to make a treaty whereby the Indians would cede to the United States all the land remaining to them on this side of the Mississippi, and remove to lands given them on the east bank of the Missouri river. The necessity for this had been made clear by the coming of increasingly greater numbers of Easterners, who were settling on land which the Indians had occupied and now threatened.

By the time appointed the Indians had assembled at Chicago in hundreds, and with them a multitude of those white people who expected to take advantage of the offer of the government to make good losses of all kinds that had been suffered in connection with the Indians. Everywhere were Indian wigwams; the encampment overspread the village, covered the river bank, occupied the lake shore and extended back over the prairie and into the woods. Of the countless agents, traders and adventurers who had come to get what spoils they could at this distribution, some presented claims for lost property averred to have been stolen by Indians; others were there as land speculators; others to trade with the Indians when drink should have made them regardless of spending of the silver half dollars that came to them in the payment. Those who were present to conduct negotiations on behalf of the government were housed in the fort and in hastily constructed huts made for their accommodation.

THE ENCAMPMENT

An account of this picturesque event has been written by Charles J. Latrobe, the English traveller and author, who was present at the gathering, and whose complete and lively description is the basis for this narrative.

The council had opened with the statement from the principal commissioner,

Governor George B. Porter of Michigan Territory, that "as their great father in Washington had heard that they wished to sell their land, he had sent commissioners to treat with them." To this they replied that their "great father in Washington must have seen a bad bird which had told him a lie, for that far from wishing to sell their land, they wished to keep it." The commissioner, urging that, nevertheless, as they had come together for a council, they must take the matter into consideration, prepared to state his terms. But as there was a passing cloud in the sky the chiefs refused to continue negotiations, and adjourned *sine die*.

For many days it was impossible to gather the Indians in council, owing to bad omens that continued to present themselves. In the meantime life at populous Chicago was chaotic; all day there were feasting and games and clamor or barter; all night there was dancing and yelling. As negotiations for the treaty had begun, the government supplied daily rations to the Indians, and all was well with them; the first night, in abandoned joy, they danced the war dance, and whooped and sang about the village. During the whole period of the encampment the forbidden whiskey was sold to the Indians, and this, too, in full view and knowledge of the commissioners. Many traders made preparations to have a great supply of this commodity so disastrous to the Indian, which they sold to him for exorbitant prices. Not only this, but they found him, intoxicated, a ready and open handed customer for any other goods that attracted his eye. So did these worthies ply their trade.

The scene during the encampment was an epitome—a condensation in time and space of most of the elements and experiences of Indian life. "Far and wide the grassy prairie teemed with figures; warriors mounted or on foot, squaws, and horses. Here a race between three or four Indian ponies, each carrying a double rider, whooping and yelling like fiends. There a solitary horseman with a long spear, turbaned like an Arab, scouring along at full speed; groups of hobbled horses; Indian dogs and children; or a grave conclave of gray chiefs seated on the grass in consultation. It was amusing to wind silently from group to group, here noting the raised knife, the sudden drunken brawl quashed by the good-natured and even playful interference of the neighbors; there a party breaking up their encampment, and falling, with their little train of loaded ponies and wolfish dogs, into the deep, black narrow trail running to the north."

Meanwhile no progress was made with the treaty. Each day the signal gun at the fort was fired to call the chiefs together, and each day an unpropitious omen forbade their responding. Finally, on the 21st of September, late in the afternoon, the council fire was lighted in a large open shed on the north bank of the river. The chiefs sat at one end of the enclosure; at the other end were the government commissioners (G. B. Porter, Thomas J. V. Owen, and William Weatherford), besides interpreters and visitors. After some bickering and speeches of more or less violence from a few Indians, the treaty was agreed to, by which these original proprietors of the country, degraded beyond their former state after years of contact with white men, were giving up the land which had immemorially been theirs, and agreeing to leave it forever to dwell in lands of which they had little or no knowledge. Each chief in signing put

"his X mark" to the treaty, which was also signed by the government commissioners.

This was on September 26th, and on May 22nd following the treaty was ratified. By its terms the Indians ceded to the United States all lands claimed by the United Nation east of the Mississippi, supposed to be about five millions of acres. In return they were to receive as much land as they relinquished, on the east bank of the Missouri river, this land being located in the southwestern part of the present state of Iowa and the northwestern part of the present state of Missouri. The country thus assigned to them was to be inspected, previous to the removal, by a deputation of not more than fifty persons accompanied by five United States agents. The government undertook the expense of this deputation and of the entire removal, and agreed, moreover, to provide subsistence to the Indians for one year after their arrival at their new homes. Payments were to be made, as follows: "one hundred thousand dollars to be paid in goods and provisions, a part to be delivered on the signing of this treaty, and the residue during the ensuing year; two hundred and eighty thousand dollars to be paid in annuities of fourteen thousand dollars a year, for twenty years; one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to be applied to the erection of mills, farmhouses, Indian houses, and blacksmiths' shops, to agricultural improvements, to the purchase of agricultural implements and stock, and for the support of such physicians, millers, farmers, blacksmiths and other mechanics, as the President of the United States shall think proper to appoint; seventy thousand dollars for purposes of education and the encouragement of the domestic arts, to be applied in such manner as the President of the United States may direct."

In the articles supplementary to the treaty is one which provides for the payment of "twenty-five thousand dollars, in addition to the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, contained in the said treaty, to satisfy the claims made against all composing the United Nation of Indians, which they have admitted to be justly due, and directed to be paid according to schedule B, to the treaty annexed." The list of names of those who appear in Schedule B as creditors to the United Nation, either by debt or damage suffered, for sums ranging from $20 to $5,000, is an alarmingly extensive one, and there has been much merited doubt concerning the justice and honesty of the claims of certain ones. By signing the treaty the Indians endorsed these claims against themselves, whether they realized it or not, and the payments were made. Speaking of the treaty negotiations, Hurlbut writes of the expressions of an early resident here who "was familiar with the whole proceedings, and whose ideas of the business scarcely accord with those who would commend the action of our government officials on that occasion." This eye-witness said: "You, or hardly any other man, can imagine what was done, or how ridiculously the whole thing was carried on or closed up. It should have been conducted upon principles of truth and justice; but the whole thing was a farce, acted by those in office in our Government."

REMOVAL OF THE INDIANS

It was stipulated that soon after the ratification of the treaty the Indians should leave the land ceded by them and lying within the state of Illinois. The country north of the boundary line of that state they could inhabit

without molestation for not longer than three years. On one pretext and then another the removal was delayed from season to season, the Indians pleading that they must gather their crops, visit their old hunting grounds once more, remain near the burial places of their dead—and many another excuse given by these simple creatures reluctant to be sent away from all that was familiar to them. Finally the government agent, Major Sibley, issued word to the Indians of this region that the time for their removal had come, and they must meet him in Chicago in the summer of 1835. There they were to receive their payments, and then be taken by the agent to their new homes beyond the Mississippi river. Major Sibley succeeded that year in collecting about one-half of the total number of 5,000 Indians. While awaiting the arrival of the goods for paying them off, many of the Indians, tired of lounging about the streets, withdrew to the woods west of the prairie until the time for payment. During their stay in the village, about eight hundred of the braves danced their last war dance in Chicago for the benefit of the residents there. In September, 1835, the government agent advertised for "ox teams and covered wagons, to remove the Indians," and the start was at length made. During the fall they were established on the lands assigned them near the Council Bluffs.

The task of gathering together the rest of the Indians in the following summer, preparatory to their removal West, would have been very great had not Billy Caldwell, brave in sacrifice and loyal to the interests of the whites, told them that he, too, intended to go with them, leaving the land they all loved and sharing their hardships in a strange home. He, with J. B. F. Russell, the government agent at that time, effected the peaceful departure of the Indians, taking some by steamboat from St. Louis to the Council Bluffs, and gathering numbers as they proceeded westward. Thus to leave behind them the country that had always been theirs and to go silently and reluctantly to a strange region where they were placed on reservations adjoining, frequently, those of some ancient enemy, was heart-breaking indeed to many a chief with his proud record of victories. During the lifetime of Caldwell his wise and peaceable councils prevailed, and there was little disturbance between his own brethren and hostile tribes on neighboring reservations.

The Indians were later moved by the government to Kansas, and again to the Indian Territory. By the census of 1900, the number of Indians then in Illinois was sixteen, a meagre remnant of the numbers that, but three quarters of a century before, could claim this regions as their own, and could assemble by thousands in a mighty encampment.

THE ALLEGORICAL INDIAN

In the old time geographies and histories there were often shown in the frontispieces allegorical pictures. One of these pictures represented an American Indian surveying an extensive landscape from an eminence. The landscape was diversified by a great variety of features. There were cities with domes and spires and tall chimneys, shipping at the water front, steamers passing in the harbor, railroad trains crossing lofty viaducts, and cultivated fields on the slopes of surrounding hills,—all these views presented themselves to the thoughtful gaze of the untutored red man. What he was thinking of was left to the

imagination, but it was supposed that he was contemplating the advances of the white man's civilization, the wonderful progress of the arts of peace, and, perhaps, by contrast, the inferiority and ultimate doom of his own race.

Doubtless these old allegorical pictures fairly represented the truth, commonplace though it may be, that the white race had won complete possession. It was indeed a race problem which was thus approaching its solution after two centuries of conflict.

WHARFING PRIVILEGES

The first map of Chicago, which the Canal Commissioners had made in 1830, shows the front of those streets bordering the river, the "Water Streets," as they were called, as open to the water's edge. Some three years after the making of this map, namely, March 1st, 1833, the General Assembly of Illinois abolished the Board of Canal Commissioners, and it was not until January 9th, 1836, that an act was passed creating another board to prosecute the work of building the canal. During this interregnum practically all interest in the canal and canal matters was suspended. Meantime, says the writer of a historical sketch in the Canal Commissioners' report for 1900, "trespassers, timber thieves, squatters and speculators living along the Chicago river and the line of the proposed canal had full and undisputed sway. Those in the immediate vicinity of the original sub-divisions at Chicago appear to have taken prompt measures to secure the full benefit of this opportunity. Many pieces of state property were appropriated for private use, upon which were erected stores, dwellings and other private improvements."

The wharfing privileges along the Chicago river were appropriated by the Town Board of Trustees, under an act passed by the legislature July 11th, 1835, which provided as follows: "Section 6: The Board of Trustees [of the town of Chicago] shall have power to lease the wharfing privileges of said town, giving to the owner or owners, occupant or occupants, of the lots fronting the river the preference of sub-privileges."

"On November 14th, 1835," says Colbert, "the Board resolved to sell the leases of the wharfing privileges in the town for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years," the Board agreeing to dredge the river to the depth of ten feet at least, within four years from the sale, and the lessees of the privileges being bound to erect a good dock, five feet wide and three feet above the water in front of each lot or wharfing privilege which was to be kept open as a tow or foot path.

These terms having been agreed upon it remained to fix the prices, and accordingly on the 26th of the same month a sale of these "immensely valuable wharfing privileges" was ordered. The minimum prices established, at which owners of lots fronting the river had the privilege of buying, were twenty-five dollars a front foot on South Water street, eighteen dollars and seventy-five cents on North Water street, and eighteen dollars on West Water street. "The men who got rich in buying such property at such prices," say Colbert, "deserve no credit for speculative ability." The Board took secured notes for three and six months for the first payment of one-fourth of the price, and gave three years in which to pay the balance. However, the dockage fronts did not readily find

sale, and it was not until after several postponements that the greater portion of them was at length disposed of.

THE LEGISLATURE CALLS A HALT

A few days after the passage of the act creating a new board of Canal Commissioners the legislature apparently awoke to the fact that its former action in empowering the Board of Trustees of the Town of Chicago to dispose of wharfing privileges was inconsistent with the authority that should properly be vested in the Canal Board. The legislature passed an act to amend the section previously quoted. The effect of this amendment quite altered the situation, and naturally gave rise to much litigation. It provided "that so much of the sixth section of the act to which this is an amendment, relating to the powers of the trustees of said town to lease the wharfing privileges shall not be so construed as to empower said trustees to create or make any lease of said privileges for any one term longer than five years; nor shall any lease as aforesaid be so construed as to give any lessee power to erect any building, store house or other buildings than a wharf for loading or unloading goods, wares, merchandise or other articles on said wharfing privileges, and all houses, buildings, stores and out houses heretofore erected upon any ground or land situate, lying and being between the south line of South Water street and the north line of North Water street, in said town as laid out by the commissioners of the Illinois and Michigan canal, shall be deemed nuisances, and may and shall be abated."

The mischief had been done, however, and there could not fail to be a crop of lawsuits to follow the contradictory legislation above quoted. Within a decade most of the property, much of which had already changed hands, was in dispute, either between private parties and the City of Chicago, which had meantime been incorporated, or between the city and the Board of Canal Commissioners. "The authorities," says Andreas, "rightly decided that something must be done, and done quickly, to settle the validity of titles, as on account of the bitter disputes, some of the property had been abandoned completely, and the benefits were being derived to a great extent by non-owners."

TITLES EVENTUALLY SETTLED

Accordingly an act was passed February 27th, 1847, which was entitled "An act to adjust and settle the title to the wharfing privileges in Chicago." The preamble of this act states the condition of affairs in clear language. "Whereas," it says, "those portions of land, or parts of South Water, North Water, West Water and East Water streets, in the original town of Chicago (on the sides of said streets nearest the river) which lie eighty feet distance from the lines of the lots laid out on the sides of said streets further from the river, sometimes known as the 'wharfing privileges,' are now, and have been for a long time past, made the subject of much controversy between different persons and corporations claiming title to the same; and whereas, as they are now situated, neither the city of Chicago, nor any person or any body incorporate, derives any benefit from the same, except the persons who are occupying them, but they are a fruitful source of discord, dissatisfaction and illegal violence; and whereas, it

is for the benefit of all parties claiming an interest therein, that the questions arising as to the title to the same shall be settled and determined as speedily as possible; now therefore,

"Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That the Common Council of the City of Chicago shall have full power and authority to discontinue and vacate any part or portion [of the streets previously named] . . . and to compromise, adjust and determine all conflicting rights or claims arising between the city and any or all persons and corporations who are or may be claimants of such portion of said streets or wharfing privileges."

It was in consequence of the act just quoted, and of an amendment to the same some years later, and the adjustments effected under their authority, that the titles to the "wharfing lots and privileges" were eventually settled, so that owners went on and placed upon them the buildings that we see today along the water fronts of the Chicago river.

FEASIBILITY OF A CANAL

When Joliet, on his world-renowned voyage of discovery in 1673, passed over the Chicago portage from the west to the waters of Lake Michigan, he became impressed with the importance of a waterway to connect the Mississippi and its tributaries with the great lakes. "There would be but one canal to make," said he, "by cutting only one-half a league of prairie to pass from the Lake of the Illinois [Lake Michigan] into St. Louis river," referring to the Desplaines and Illinois rivers. But when La Salle passed that way, in 1682, he took an unfavorable view of Joliet's suggestion. Among the difficulties would be, he said, that there was not water enough either at the entrance to the Chicago river or in the channel of the Desplaines river; that vessels could not resist the spring freshets in the Chicago river, "much heavier than those in the Rhone," and that periods of low water and freezing up in winter would render navigation impossible for the greater part of the time during the remainder of the year. He further said that he would not have mentioned the matter in his letter "if Joliet had not proposed it without regard to difficulties."

This view was confirmed by Father Hennepin in his account of a visit made about the same time to this locality. "The country between the said creek [the Chicago river] and the Divine [Desplaines] river [is not] fit for a canal," he wrote, "for the meadows between them are drowned after any great rain, and so a canal will be immediately filled up with sands. And besides it is impossible to dig up the ground because of the water, that country being nothing but a morass."

For more than a century the struggle for existence smothered all dreams of commercial possibilities. Indian wars, wars between the French and English, and between the English and Americans, prevented consideration of improvements in the waterways. The Treaty of Greenville, in 1795, provided that a tract of land six miles square, "at the mouth of the Chicago river," be ceded to the United States by the Indians, and that the tribes allow "the people of the United States a free passage by land and by water through their country, along the chain of posts . . . from the mouth of the Chikago to the

commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois river to the Mississippi." "This clause," says Brown in his "Drainage Channel and Waterways," "may be considered the first official suggestion of a canal across the Chicago Divide."

During the following years the feasibility of building a canal was frequently mentioned in Congress. The plan was referred to in the issue of the Niles' Register for August 6, 1814, as follows: "By the Illinois river, it is probable that Buffalo, in New York, may be united with New Orleans by inland navigation, through Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan, and down that river [*sic*] to the Mississippi. What a route! How stupendous the idea! How dwindles the importance of the artificial canals of Europe, compared with this water communication! If it should ever take place (and it is said the opening may easily be made), the territory [of Illinois] will become the seat of an immense commerce, and a market for the commodities of all regions." We have already referred to the Treaty of 1816, by which the Indians ceded a tract twenty miles in width at the lake, that is, ten miles each way from the mouth of the Chicago river, and extending a distance of some forty miles in a southwesterly direction, thus including what would inevitably be the natural route for a canal.

The Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, made a report to Congress in 1819, in which he mentioned the proposed canal from the Illinois river to Lake Michigan "which the growing population of the state renders very important," and which would be "valuable for military purposes." On March 30th, 1822, Congress passed an act "authorizing the State of Illinois to open a canal through the public lands to connect the Illinois river with Lake Michigan," at the same time granting a strip containing ninety feet of land on each side of the canal. The state legislature in the following year provided for a board of commissioners to devise a plan and adopt such means as might be required to build a canal between the Illinois river and Lake Michigan. Engineers were employed who examined the route and estimated the cost at seven hundred thousand dollars,—an absurdly low estimate.

STATE LEGISLATION

This led to the passage of a law by the General Assembly in 1825, to incorporate the "Illinois and Michigan Canal Association," with a capital of one million dollars. It was soon seen, however, that this being a corporation for pecuniary profit to its prospective stockholders, assistance could not be expected from the general government as was hoped for, and the act was repealed. In 1827, Congress granted to the State of Illinois, "for the purpose of aiding her in opening the canal," the alternate sections of the public lands on each side of the canal for five miles in width along its entire route.

The act of Congress, passed March 30th, 1822, had granted to the state, for the purpose of opening a canal "to connect the Illinois river with Lake Michigan," a strip containing "ninety feet of land on each side of said canal," for the use of the state in building a canal, and "for no other purpose whatever." The grant of "one-half of five sections in width, on each side of said canal," under the act of March 2, 1827, was in addition to the "ninety-foot strip;" but with power under the later act, "to sell and convey the whole, or any part of the

said land," for the purpose aforesaid, namely: "for the purpose of aiding the state in opening a canal to unite the waters of Illinois river with those of Lake Michigan." Thus while the "ninety-foot strip" could not be alienated, but must be used for a canal, the alternate sections five miles each side of the canal could be sold to aid the state in building the canal and a title in fee-simple given therefor.

A new board of commissioners was provided for by the legislature, and a new survey made which resulted in an estimate of four million dollars as the cost of construction.

This staggered the promoters of the canal, and the project slumbered for some years. In 1833 the legislature abolished the board of commissioners, thus undoing its work for the second time. Finally, in 1835, it was again decided to go head with the work, and on January 9th, 1836, the legislature passed an "act for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan Canal," and ordered an issue of stock to the value of half a million dollars, for the payment of which the faith of the state was irrevocably pledged. It was also provided in the act that "the commissioners shall select such places on the canal route as may be eligible for town sites, and cause them to be laid off into town lots, including the canal lands in or near Chicago." The revenue from the canal when completed and that from the sale of the lands granted by Congress was also pledged for the payment of the interest on the stock, and for the reimbursement of the principal. The term "stock" was used at that time in the same sense we now use the word "bond."

FINANCING THE WORK

The commissioners appointed were William F. Thornton, Gurdon S. Hubbard, and William B. Archer. They determined, on the advice of the chief engineer, William Gooding, to adopt the plan of a lake-fed canal sixty-feet wide at the water level, thirty-six feet wide at the bottom, and having a minimum depth of six feet of water. Gooding had been formerly an engineer on the Erie Canal, completed in 1825, which had a depth of only four feet, and convinced the commissioners that New York had made a mistake in constructing a canal inadequate to its rapidly growing traffic. The first plan under consideration had provided for a depth of four feet, and the commissioners adopted the plan of a six foot canal, as advised by engineer Gooding, "because they were convinced," says Professor Putnam in his "Economic History of the Illinois and Michigan Canal," "that the increased utility of the larger canal would more than counterbalance the increased cost of construction."

These two plans were referred to in the discussions regarding the proposed canal, one as the "shallow cut," the other as the "deep cut." It began to be realized by the commissioners that the old estimate of four million dollars as the cost of the proposed canal was entirely too low, but relying on the great and increasing value of the land grants, reinforced by the pledge of the state's credit, they boldly went ahead and let contracts for a portion of the "Summit division." Under the conditions of the act of January 9, 1836, the six per cent canal bonds had become marketable securities, and a loan of half a million dollars was readily negotiated in New York, at a premium of five per cent.

REJOICING AT CHICAGO

There was great rejoicing in Chicago when the news was received that the legislature had passed the law which authorized the beginning of the work on the canal. There was now a good prospect that at last "the dirt would begin to fly," and that the hopes cherished through long years of anxious waiting were to become accomplished facts. The population of Chicago at this time was about 3,800, and the town was growing fast. The construction of a canal had been the subject of so much discussion during the previous thirteen years, that great numbers of settlers from the East had been attracted to this spot and the neighboring territory; the prevalent belief being that here was to be the gateway of an extensive commerce, and that the canal would be its principal artery.

When the construction of the canal was at length assured, western immigration received a new impetus, every avenue of approach and every means of communication being taxed to its utmost capacity. There were, indeed, other reasons for the great influx of new arrivals in this city and its vicinity, such as the settlement of the Indian troubles, the cheapness and fertility of the lands, and the convenient access by lake to eastern markets now that the Erie Canal was in operation. But the canal at this period was uppermost in the thoughts of the people of northern Illinois, just as a few years later the railroads became the object of their hopes. "The Canal, which had excited public attention for fifteen years," says the *Democrat,* "was to be commenced. . . . The cares, labors, anxieties and disappointments of the past were forgotten in the joyful anticipation of the future." It is to be noted that the initial letter of the word "Canal" was always printed with a capital letter in the newspapers of that time.

MEETINGS OF CITIZENS AT CHICAGO

The act was passed January 9th, 1836, and on the 13th the news reached Chicago. A meeting was held at the Tremont House, with Colonel Richard J. Hamilton in the chair. The object of the meeting was "to take into consideration the propriety of making some public demonstrations of joy on account of the passage of the Canal bill," and it was resolved "that a committee of ten be appointed to make arrangements for carrying into effect the objects of the meeting." The chair appointed on this committee H. Pearsons, J. H. Kinzie, G. W. Snow, J. C. Goodhue, A. Garrett, G. W. Dole, G. Kercheval, G. H. Walker, E. Peck and J. L. Wilson.

It was also resolved that a gun be fired for each of the members of the legislature who had voted for the bill; and that the editors of the two weekly papers, the *Democrat* and the *American,* should be requested to publish the names of the "Ayes" and "Nays," as given on the final passage of the bill; and that the "Ayes" be printed in capital letters, and the "Nays" in small italics. The *American* complied with this request in its issue of the 16th, and this amusing specimen of typography appeared accordingly much to the entertainment of its readers. The names of the unfortunate minority were not only printed in small italics, but even the initial letters of their names appeared in the same ignominious type. The *Democrat,* whose day of issue was on the 20th, did not

print the names as requested in the resolutions, evidently regarding it as a needless repetition of what had already been printed in the other paper.

"THE DIRT BEGINS TO FLY"

The day appointed for the beginning of the work on the canal was the fourth of July, 1836. On that day there was the usual Fourth of July celebration and the occasion was taken advantage of to combine with it the ceremonies of breaking ground on the canal. A procession of leading citizens was formed, and the signal for the start was given by firing three cannons from the fort. Some of the people went by boats; others on horseback, in wagons, or afoot, followed the newly opened Archer road to Bridgeport, where the celebration was to be held. After all had assembled the Declaration of Independence was read and suitable addresses delivered. Colonel William B. Archer had the honor of turning the first spadeful of earth.

It is related by Gale, in his "Reminiscences," that some of the irrepressible youngsters in the crowd nearly robbed their elders of the glory of performing the first act in the construction of the canal. Young Fernando Jones and another lad filled the waiting wheelbarrow with "sacred earth," apparently when no one was looking, and it was presently discovered that they had actually begun the work themselves. But the boys, not being on the program of exercises, were quietly ignored, and thus the record fails to recognize their presence.

One of the boats while on its way to the place of meeting, it is also related by Gale, passed a party of Irishmen employed in a brickyard on the east bank of the river at Adams Street, who insisted on being taken aboard. The boat being crowded no stop was made. At this they were highly incensed, and upon the return of the boat they assailed the excursionists with brickbats. But the party afloat, filled with Independence Day enthusiasm, resented the attack; and the boat being stopped some of the offending Irish were gathered in and later placed in the "Watch House."

PROGRESS OF THE WORK

During the remainder of the year little actual progress was made, as roads had to be built, houses for laborers erected, and machinery procured. Laborers were hard to be found, so that it became necessary to insert advertisements in eastern papers offering wages of from twenty to twenty-six dollars a month for hands. Various acts of the legislature were passed to provide funds as the work made progress, as it was soon found that the original amount of stock was inadequate. In 1837 the great financial panic occurred which embarrassed the work. The State Bank of Illinois suspended specie payments, thus tying up a large amount of canal money which had been realized from the sales of securities and from sales of land at Chicago and along the line of the canal. Further loans were authorized, but the fact that at about that time the state, in its efforts to finance a vast scheme of internal improvements, had become deeply involved in debt, rendered it increasingly difficult to make further sales of canal securities.

Under an act of the legislature, passed March 2d, 1837, the canal board became elective by the General Assembly, and subject to its control, instead of

receiving its appointment from the governor and being subject to his control, as its predecessor had been. A new board was created consisting of W. F. Thornton, Jacob Fry and J. A. McClernand; and Benjamin Wright was appointed special engineer. Wright made a report strongly supporting the plan previously adopted. "The Illinois and Michigan Canal, as now projected and under construction," Wright reports, "may truly be considered as one of the greatest and most important in its consequences of any work of any age or nation. . . . It is the shortest artificial work with the least lockage. The climate, soil, and the capability of productions of the country which will be benefited by the construction of this work, will certainly equal, if they do not exceed any other part of the United States; and when I view it in this light, I think it justly merits to be executed upon the best and most permanent plan, and will justify by its revenue any outlay which may be put upon it in reason."

Thus encouraged the commissioners continued the work with the means at their command. From the proceeds of the earlier sales of bonds the board had, by the end of the year 1837, expended $390,000 in work on canal construction. Meantime Chicago had become incorporated as a city (March 4, 1837), and its population had increased to 4,170. It was now the largest town in the state. There was also a sudden increase of transient population along the route of the canal where work was going on, and great numbers of these "transients" became permanent settlers. The Indians had been removed to their new reservations in 1836, and the people of Chicago regarded matters as greatly improved by their removal.

A traveler passing through Chicago in August, 1838, kept a journal in which he recorded some of his observations. This traveler was Dr. William Blanding of Philadelphia, "a genial, cultured gentleman," and a copy of his journal in manuscript is now in the possession of the Evanston Historical Society, through the courtesy of W. J. C. Kenyon, Esq., of Chicago. "The Illinois Canal," he says, "is a work of no small labor, level as the country is. Twelve miles from Chicago is the deepest cut, which is thirty-two feet in limestone, of a good quality for building and burning. . . . By sinking the canal thus deep the water from the lake is used, and, strange to tell, falls into the Mississippi. . . . But for this rocky barrier, Lake Michigan would soon find its way by the Mississippi to the ocean and rob Niagara of part of its waters."

MAGNITUDE OF THE UNDERTAKING

"It was a Herculean task that the young state had set for itself," writes Professor Putnam, "but, led on by that large optimism which has ever been characteristic of the continually advancing West, the people of Illinois were not dismayed by the magnitude of the undertaking. With prophetic vision they beheld the completed canal bearing on its placid waters the products of the East, the West, the North, and the South; they saw the cities, villages, farms, and factories which would ultimately come into being along its course. . . . For ten years the commercial and industrial importance of the Erie canal had been a familiar story to the people of Illinois, and they confidently expected to see that history repeated in their own state."

Governor Thomas Ford in his inaugural message to the General Assembly,

December 8, 1842, said, "if the canal progresses to completion, the lands and lots and water power will be quadrupled in value, and the tolls alone would in a short time pay interest on all the debt contracted for its construction." The committee, to which was referred this part of the Governor's message, approved the suggestions made, and added the following expression: "The completion of the canal will secure to our farmers a rich reward for their honest labors, good prices and a ready sale for their produce, revive business, restore prosperity, and give a new impulse to trade and commerce. Emigration will pour into the state, our vacant lands will be sought after, our wild prairies will be transformed into rich and beautiful farms. Capital will flow into the country, industry will be encouraged, enterprise will be stimulated, and the citizens of Illinois will soon become prosperous and happy."

The financial difficulties increased, however, as the work advanced, and though the commissioners had performed wonders in obtaining a sale for canal securities, it was found by March, 1843, that expenditures could no longer be met and the work on the canal was entirely suspended. More than five millions had been spent and the canal was still far from complete. The extensive schemes of internal improvement entered upon by the state legislature in 1837 had by this time brought the credit of the state to so low an ebb that repudiation was freely discussed as a possibility. While the canal funds were kept separate from the other state securities, and had the canal lands as a basis for their value, yet they suffered from being in bad company. Credit seemed exhausted, and it was predicted that the canal would never be completed. A period of gloom settled over the canal's prospects, the failure of the General Assembly to provide further means for the continuance of the work being interpreted as the abandonment of the canal to its fate.

DIFFICULTIES SURMOUNTED

But with three-fourths of the work done there began to spring up a new hope that the completion of the canal might be accomplished if another loan could be secured. The state's borrowing power was at an end, but with the substantial security of the unsold canal lands, and the prospect of the tolls to be received after navigation had become possible, it was reasonably hoped that a loan could be made with these guarantees. The commissioners had already resorted to the issuance of "scrip," which the contractors on the work accepted for a time. This scrip was receivable for purchases of canal lands and much of it was bought up by speculators at a discount, but it soon became a drug on the market.

It was thought that three millions of dollars would be required for the remainder of the work, but no way was seen by which so large an amount could be raised. In this extremity the friends of the canal bethought them of the old "shallow cut" plan. It was reluctantly agreed by every one that this was the only alternative. Much of the "Summit level"—that part of the canal from Bridgeport to Lockport—was already excavated in accordance with the "deep cut" plan, but the engineers made an estimate that by the "shallow cut" for the remainder of the work the sum of $1,600,000, would be sufficient. It was considered practicable to raise this amount on a pledge of the canal lands and

revenues. After protracted negotiations the necessary funds became assured. One of the conditions which was made by the subscribers to the new loan, the amount of which was to be $1,600,000, was that a board of three trustees be created, two of whom were to be chosen by the subscribers to the new loan, and one by the governor. The arrangement was authorized by the General Assembly and to this board of trustees all the property of the canal was turned over, to be held and managed for the benefit of creditors, under such restrictions as would safeguard the interests of the state. This board consisted of Captain W. H. Swift, of Washington, and David Leavitt, of New York, chosen by the creditors, and General Jacob Fry as the state member. In effect this was a "trust" in the old meaning of that much abused term, and it was continued until the work was completed and every dollar of liabilities paid off, as will be shown in a later portion of this account.

THE WORK RESUMED UNDER A TRUSTEESHIP

In June, 1845, these trustees assumed the trust and began preparations for resuming the work on the canal. The first installment of the new loan was called for to be paid in the following September. It was provided in the act authorizing these new arrangements that the former contractors should have priority of right in securing the contracts on their old sections, and in August those sections not pre-empted by the former contractors were let to the lowest responsible bidders. "These contracts evidenced the change in the economic condition of the region since 1836," says Professor Putnam. High prices had prevailed in that year, a condition which "was magnified in the region of the canal with its suddenly acquired population and its undeveloped resources, and by the necessity of importing all needed supplies. In 1845 the country was slowly recovering from a period of industrial depression. Prices were relatively low. Food supplies were particularly cheap in the region of the canal, where they were now produced in abundance. As a consequence, although the new estimates were far below the earlier ones, the trustees experienced no difficulty in finding contractors who would undertake the work at less than the estimated cost of completing it." As an instance of the great decline in the prices of food, the wages of laborers, and the value of animals, during the period from the beginning of work on the canal to the time when these contracts were let, the following table of comparisons is printed in the "Report of the Illinois and Michigan Canal," for 1844.

Wages, Animals, Foodstuffs.	Cost in 1836	Cost in 1843
Labor of man per month (average)	$ 40.00	$16.00
Horses, each	100.00	60.00
Oxen, per yoke	80.00	45.00
Beef, per hundred weight	6.00	3.00
Pork, per barrel	22.00	8.00
Flour, per barrel	11.00	3.50

An interesting statement on the subject of prices prevailing in the years mentioned in the above table is found in the recollections of John McCowan, who came West with the family of his father, Peter McCowan, in the spring

of 1835. The family settled near the present village of Channahon on the line of the canal, then in Cook County, but afterwards included within the limits of Will County when that county was organized in 1836. When they first came into the country, said Mr. McCowan in an interview with the writer in 1902, the people used corn meal and potatoes as their principal food, and they also had a plentiful supply of prairie chickens and other game. Domestic fowls were scarce at first, but soon began to multiply rapidly, and, by 1843, "they had eggs to throw away," for they could scarcely get two cents a dozen for them until work was resumed on the canal, when, owing to the presence of a large number of men on that work, prices recovered to ten and twelve cents a dozen. . . . Eggs were cooked for every meal," said Mr. McCowan, "until I was so tired of them I wouldn't touch eggs for years afterwards." In the same account it is related that the elder McCowan, in 1835, bought a yoke of oxen for forty-eight dollars from a man who came from the southern part of the state, with a wagon load of apples drawn by two yoke of oxen. After selling the apples and one yoke of oxen, he returned with the remaining pair. The next year the same man appeared again with apples and oxen for sale, finding that he could get better prices for his produce and animals in the newer settlements of the northern counties, than in the market towns of his own neighborhood.

By the act of the legislature before referred to it was required that the canal be completed within three years after it should be turned over to the trustees. In spite of delays caused by floods and by an unusual amount of sickness among the laborers, the work was completed in the allotted time, and was opened for navigation in April, 1848.

FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE CANAL IN 1843

The expenditures on the canal before it was taken over by the trustees amounted to a little more than five million dollars. An inventory of its assets included the value of the canal itself, which was considered worth five millions of dollars, that is, the cost of its construction up to the time when work upon it ceased; also 230,476 acres of land worth ten dollars an acre, and 3491 lots in the cities and towns of Chicago, Lockport, Ottawa and La Salle, valued at $1,900,000. The total valuation thus arrived at, amounting to $9,204,670, was accepted by the creditors as reasonable and safe. In addition to this it was estimated that the rentals from water power privileges would aggregate from $75,000 to $100,000 a year. The estimates made for the tolls to be paid by shippers were vague, but it was anticipated that they would be large, more than $100,000 a year at least. In fact the average receipts for tolls for thirty years after the canal was in operation were about $178,000 per annum, after which period there was a steady decline.

COMPLETION OF THE CANAL

On the 10th of April, 1848, all was ready for the passage of boats through the "Summit Level," and on that day the "General Fry" arrived at Chicago from Lockport, passing down the river amid the cheers of the inhabitants. The delegation from Lockport on board the boat was welcomed by Mayor Woodworth,

and an eloquent speech was made by Charles Walker. Later in the month boats were started simultaneously from La Salle and Chicago, meeting at Lockport, where an enthusiastic reception awaited them. The La Salle boat, the "General Thornton," proceeded to Chicago, where it arrived on the 23d, "laden with sugar and other goods from New Orleans en route to Buffalo." We can imagine the enthusiasm of the people when they witnessed the fulfillment of their long cherished hopes, and the promise thus given that Chicago hereafter was to be the chief point of transhipment for goods and merchandise, on the route between far distant regions of the country.

THE ERIE CANAL OF NEW YORK

The demonstrations of popular enthusiasm over the culmination of the great work were comparable to the joyful demonstrations of the people of New York State, when the Erie Canal was completed in 1825; a description of which reminds us of the "pageants" of our own day. The following account of the picturesque proceedings is condensed from an article in the Publications of the Illinois Historical Society, by Dr. Bernard Stuve, and will be found interesting in this connection.

A fleet of canal boats was made up at Buffalo, having New York City for its destination. One of the boats was loaded with a family of Indians from the western part of the state, a live buffalo from the plains, a raccoon, and some prairie dogs, typical of the former western products; while the other boats were loaded with wheat, oats and corn to show what the Great West was capable of producing. Others still were thronged with invited guests, including Governor De Witt Clinton as the chief figure. All the boats were gaily decorated with flags, and drawn by fine gray horses. A cask of Lake Erie water was also put aboard.

The fleet started on its way amidst the firing of cannon, music of the band, and the cheers of the people gathered to see the procession move. Cannon had been placed within hearing distance of one with another along the route clear to New York City, and their reports informed the people from time to time of the progress of the fleet.

On reaching the Hudson, the fleet was met by a convoy of steamers and the boats were towed down the river, the banks of which, at many points, were crowded with people who cheered them as they passed. At New York the whole city, apparently, turned out to welcome the first boats through the canal. The fleet passed on to Sandy Hook at the entrance to New York bay, where, after a speech by Governor Clinton, and with music and cannon firing, the cask of Lake Erie water was emptied into the Atlantic, thus signalizing the union of the waters of the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean. On the return of the fleet to the city, the streets were illuminated, followed by a succession of banquets, balls, and meetings.

M'COWAN'S NARRATIVE

We have already referred to the recollections of John McCowan, whose father settled near Channahon, on the route of the canal, in the year 1835. From

this account, as well as from the many oral traditions common in that neighborhood, we may get an idea of the fervent longing possessed by those people whose farms adjoined the canal, to see the boats actually passing before their eyes, when the work should at last be completed. During the twelve years that the canal was passing through its construction period they watched its progress with intense interest; and when the channel was flooded, and the boats began moving on their courses within its banks, they felt that their hopes and dreams were at last realized in the splendid achievement.

In his narrative McCowan says, "the canal was completed in 1847, but boats did not begin to run until 1848. Mother never saw the boats run, as she died January 25, 1848," that is, three months before they began. This was pathetic indeed, as no doubt she, like all the people, had looked forward with eager anticipation to the happy day when she could see the boats passing; and it shows, too, what a strong hold the canal had upon the mind and imagination, that McCowan should speak of his mother's death in such a connection. Old Captain Willard, one of the early settlers, and once an owner of sloops on the Hudson, saw three or four of the boats pass before his death, which occurred in April, 1848. "He saw them from his bed as he sat up," says the account; the last earthly interest he had being to witness with his own eyes those harbingers of a new era.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CANAL

The canal thus completed was ninety-seven and a quarter miles long from Bridgeport, at the head of the canal on the South Branch of the Chicago River, to La Salle. At the latter point canal boats could pass down the Illinois River to the Mississippi. The canal had been completed on the "shallow-cut" plan, that is with a minimum depth of four feet, though in later years, as we shall see, it was deepened to six feet. Owing to the adoption of the "shallow-cut" plan, when work on the canal was resumed in 1845, it had been found that the gravity flow from Lake Michigan was not sufficient to keep the water in the canal at its proper stage. Pumping works were therefore installed at Bridgeport during the last year of the work, and their service proved to be satisfactory for the purpose. The canal has seventeen locks to overcome the difference in level between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River at La Salle. This difference amounts to one hundred and forty-five feet. The locks on the completed canal were 110x18 feet, and provided for the passage of boats, with a carrying capacity of about one hundred and fifty tons. The state has never attempted to transport passengers or freight on the canal. Having furnished the route, it has left the work of transportation to individuals and corporations.

REVIEW OF THE WORK

Nearly twelve years had elapsed since the work on the canal was in process of construction, from July 4, 1836, when ground was first broken at Bridgeport, to April 23, 1848, when the first trip of the "General Thornton" over the entire length of the canal was completed, a period as long as was required for building the great interoceanic canal at Panama, after the United States assumed control of that work. "Chicago and the State of Illinois owe much to it," says

Brown, "for it was the corner stone of their prosperity. . . . Chicago really owes its existence to the canal. . . . Its advantageous location was not fully realized until the canal was completed."

It will be remembered that when the work of construction was resumed in 1845 on the "shallow-cut" plan, the sum of $1,600,000, was borrowed on the security of the canal lands and the canal itself, which was far advanced towards completion; and that a trust was formed under the control of three trustees, two of whom were appointed by the subscribers to the loan, and one by the state. When the canal was completed it was found that the cost of the work since its resumption was well inside the estimate, and the trustees had a balance remaining of over $170,000. In other words, since the assumption of their responsibilities, the trustees had spent only $1,430,000, of the amount raised on the loan of $1,600,000. The amount that had been spent on the work when it passed into the hands of the trustees was $5,039,248. Add to this the amount expended by the trustees and the total cost of construction is thus seen to have been $6,469,248.

In a general review of the economic history of the canal, Professor Putnam writes concerning the conduct of affairs up to the time of the suspension of work, in 1843, as follows: "The financial management of the canal has generally been honest and reasonably efficient; but it has not always been above criticism from the standpoint of policy adopted or methods used. During the period of construction, the ever-present financial problem led to the trial of unsound financial expedients. . . . The responsibility for these expedients rests partly with the board and partly with the General Assembly. The issuance of canal scrip is a case in point. As is usual in such cases, the scrip was over-issued and consequently suffered a heavy depreciation, casting an undue burden upon the men least able to bear it, namely, the laborers. The contractors were paid in scrip, but they were able to pass it on to the laborers in payment of wages. The laborers either used it in making purchases of necessaries of life, the price of which was raised to cover the depreciation of the scrip, or sold to speculators for cash at a discount. In either case, the laborer bore the chief part of the burden of depreciation.

"The General Assembly which authorized such a course was not blameless, but the administration of the act lay with the commissioners. The act was rather permissive than mandatory, and the amount of the issue was entirely within their control. It may be urged, however, in extenuation of the policy, that no other means was available at the time for continuing the work on the canal; and that a suspension of operations would have been much more disastrous to the contractors, and certainly to all the laborers, who could not readily find work elsewhere, than the depreciation of the scrip proved to be. Be that as it may, the inevitable result of the policy adopted was the practical reduction of the wages of the laborers and the development of a class of land speculators at the expense of the laboring men, who were forced by the necessities of life to cash their scrip for whatever it would bring. Men with ready money were enabled to purchase scrip at a heavy discount, and use it in payment for canal lots or lands at face value."

The very excellent treatise of Professor J. W. Putnam, published in the "Journal of Political Economy" (University of Chicago Press), for the months of May, June and July, 1909, under the title of "An Economic History of the Illi-

nois and Michigan Canal,'' contains a very complete account of the canal from its inception, and throughout its entire history down to the present time. Another volume of great value on this subject is that of Mr. G. P. Brown, published in 1894, under the title of ''The Drainage Channel and Waterway,'' which gives a history of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, down to the date of the publication of his book. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to these sources in the preparation of this chapter, as well as to the regular publications of the Canal Commissioners.

CHAPTER V

GROWTH OF CHICAGO DURING THE THIRTIES

CHICAGO INCORPORATED AS A TOWN—LIMITS OF THE TOWN EXTENDED—FUNCTIONS OF TOWN AND COUNTY GOVERNMENT—LAST YEAR OF TOWN GOVERNMENT—CHICAGO INCORPORATED AS A CITY—PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER—FIRST CITY ELECTION AND CENSUS—CHART OF EVENTS—THE TWO INCORPORATIONS—PURPOSES OF A CITY CHARTER—EARLY SYSTEM OF SURVEYS—TOWNSHIP SYSTEM OF SURVEYS—FIRST PLAT OF CHICAGO—SALES OF LOTS IN THE NEW SUBDIVISION—CHART OF LOTS—VALUES OF PROPERTY—EARLY STREET NAMES—CONTEMPORARY EVENTS—CANAL COMMISSIONERS AND CANAL TRUSTEES—WINTER OF THE DEEP SNOW—SUFFERINGS IN THE WINTER SEASON—TRAGEDIES OF THE COLD—WINTER ADVENTURES—HOFFMAN'S VISIT TO CHICAGO—WINTER SPORTS—WOLF HUNTING—INCREASED COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES—BEGINNING OF THE SPECULATIVE MANIA—CAUSES OF ADVANCES IN VALUES—CONDITIONS IN 1836—SPECULATION FEVER—GROWTH OF THE CITY CHECKED—WILD CAT CURRENCY—VARIOUS SCHEMES OF INFLATION—CAUSES OF THE PANIC OF 1837—THE PANIC IN CHICAGO—EXTERNAL ASPECT OF THE CITY—THE LAKE HOUSE AND THE TREMONT HOUSE—FIRES OF THE PERIOD—STAGE ROADS TO THE CITY—TAVERNS ON THE ROADS—STAGE ROADS TO THE NORTH—STAGE ROADS TO THE WEST—SOCIETY IN THE EARLY DAYS.

CHICAGO INCORPORATED AS A TOWN

On August 12, 1833, the Town of Chicago was incorporated, that being the date of the first meeting of the Board of Trustees. This board consisted of Thomas J. V. Owen, president, George W. Dole, Madore B. Beaubien, John Miller, and E. S. Kimberley. Isaac Harmon was appointed clerk of the board. The first boundaries of the town were those of the Canal Commissioners' first subdivision, as shown on "Thompson's Plat," namely, Kinzie, Desplaines, Madison and State streets, embracing an area of about three-eighths of a square mile.

The incorporation of the Town of Chicago was made possible by an act of the legislature, passed February 12, 1831, by the provisions of which citizens of any community of over one hundred and fifty inhabitants were authorized to incorporate as a town, with limits not to exceed one square mile in extent.

Soon after its incorporation, that is, on November 6th, 1833, the limits of the new town were extended so as to embrace an area of seven-eighths of a square mile, thus keeping safely within the limits specified in the general act. These new and enlarged boundaries were in general as follows: The boundary on the north was Ohio street, that on the west was Jefferson street, that on the south

Jackson street, and that on the east State street as far as the river, and thence north along the lake shore. This irregular eastern boundary was made necessary to avoid including the military reservation within which the fort was situated. It will be seen that although the boundaries were thus extended on three sides, the western boundary was placed at Jefferson street, thus cutting off the six blocks numbered 10, 11, 25, 26, 47 and 48, lying west of Jefferson street. This was rendered necessary in order to keep within the "one square mile" limit of the act, which adding rapidly growing districts to its area in other directions. The curtailed portion, however, was again placed within the limits of the town, as we shall see, in the next extension of its area.

LIMITS OF THE TOWN AGAIN EXTENDED

Even at that early period Chicago began to show a wonderful expansion in population and trade, and before the end of another year its population was estimated at about two thousand, a newspaper had been established, lake commerce was becoming important, and building operations were very active. This phenomenal rate of increase, and the prospects for a continuation of its growth, made evident the need of extending the powers of the trustees. In order to increase the area of the town a special act of the legislature was passed Feb. 11, 1835, and under its provisions another extension of the area of the town was made. The enlarged boundaries were as follows: the boundary on the north was Chicago avenue; that on the west Halsted street; that on the south Twelfth street, and that on the east the shore of the lake, excepting the military reservation, thus enclosing an area of about two and two-fifths square miles within its limits.

The number of trustees was increased to nine, with enlarged functions and powers. The new board prohibited gaming houses, and the sale of liquors on Sundays, provided for public cemeteries, made police and fire regulations, and adopted an official seal. As the town consisted for the most part of flimsy frame structures, the care of the trustees was especially directed against the danger from fire. No person was allowed to endanger the public safety by passing a "stove pipe through the roof, partition or side of any building," unless guarded by an iron shield. All persons were forbidden to carry open coals through the streets except in a covered fire-proof vessel. In the year 1836 was erected a one-story and basement brick building for a courthouse on the public square. This building was classic in its style of architecture, the pediment being supported by four Doric columns, and the portico approached by a flight of steps the full width of the building. This handsome structure fronted east on the northeast corner of the public square. The county offices were in the basement, while the court-room, which was above, was one large apartment, capable of seating two hundred persons.

FUNCTIONS OF COUNTY AND TOWN GOVERNMENT

It should be remembered, however, that the County Commissioners of Cook County were also exercising their functions within the usual limitations of county government. The scope of authority exercised by the two forms of government, one within the other, are set forth by Greene in his work, "Government of

Illinois,'' as follows: The county board is primarily a legislative body acting under the laws of the state, on the broad general principle of American politics, that ''the people of any particular district or community ought, so far as possible, to manage its own affairs.'' The county board has the right to lay a limited amount of taxes, it must maintain a system of county courts, and its officers must execute the orders of the said courts. It must keep a record of deeds to lands; and, where such duties are not delegated to boards of town trustees, must provide the machinery for elections, keep the peace, maintain schools and charities, survey and maintain highways and bridges, and, in general, look after all local affairs.

The board of trustees of a town is permitted by law to assume many of the lesser responsibilities which would otherwise be exercised by the county board. It assumes charge of the streets and bridges within the limits of the town, enforces authority through justices of the peace and constables, lays taxes for local purposes, and acts as agent of the state and county in the assessment and collection of taxes.

LAST YEAR OF TOWN GOVERNMENT

The last board of trustees of the Town of Chicago was elected on June 6, 1836. The members of the board were Eli B. Williams, president, Samuel G. Trowbridge, Peter Bolles, Peter L. Updike, Augustine D. Taylor, William B. Ogden, Asahel Pierce, Thomas Wright, and John Jackson. The belief in the future of the town was now so strong that an insistent demand arose for a city charter. The work on the Illinois and Michigan Canal having been fairly begun in 1836, the Indians having been finally removed to their new reservations, large numbers of immigrants continually arriving, and real estate advancing at a rapid rate, it was an appropriate time, it seemed, for the Town of Chicago to take a step forward in its civic development, and assume the powers and responsibilities of a full-fledged city.

CHICAGO INCORPORATED AS A CITY

Following the incorporation of the Town of Chicago on August 12th, 1833, the next important event in the civic life of the place was its incorporation as a city. This bears the date of March 4th, 1837.

In the previous November the President of the Board of Trustees of the Town of Chicago had invited the inhabitants to select three persons from each of the three districts into which the town was divided, to meet the Board and ''consult upon the expediency of applying to the Legislature for a city charter.'' A meeting was accordingly held and a committee of five was appointed to prepare the draft of a city charter and report at a subsequent meeting. The members of this committee were Ebenezer Peck, John D. Caton, Theophilus W. Smith, Peter Bolles, and William B. Ogden.

On the 9th of December, 1836, the committee presented their draft of a city charter, which was voted on by the people at a public meeting, held in the Saloon Building. Four-fifths of those present favored the charter and it was approved. The mention of the Saloon Building, famous in the early history of

Chicago, requires a brief description, as the hall contained within it was considered at that period the finest and most commodious hall "west of Buffalo." Its name was chosen as being the equivalent, in English, of the similar French word, *salon,* indicating a spacious and grand hall. It was much used as a place for popular assemblages and public entertainments, and had but recently been built. It stood at the southeast corner of Lake and Clark streets.

The charter having been approved by the people it was sent to the Legislature, and was passed by that body on March 4, 1837, which is the date chosen by the historians on which the municipality began its corporate existence. The election to choose officers was not held, however, until the following May.

The elective officers under the new charter were a mayor, board of aldermen, one clerk, one treasurer and six assessors. The corporate limits of the city were defined to include the district of country, in the County of Cook, in the State of Illinois, with boundaries as follows: The boundary on the north was North avenue; on the west, Wood street; on the south, Twenty-second street; and on the east, the lake, excepting the military reservation where the fort stood. The city was divided into six wards, each of which was empowered to elect two aldermen.

"Under the city charter," says President E. J. James, in his work on the "Charters of Chicago," "all corporate power was vested in the council consisting of the mayor and aldermen. The mayor was, however, little more than a figurehead. He was presiding officer of the council, but had no veto, and not even a vote unless there was a tie. Nearly all the officials of the city were appointed by the council and made subject to its immediate direction. The council not only organized the various city departments under its ordinances, but it governed the city through these departments as its own immediate agents."

FIRST CITY ELECTION AND CENSUS

An election was held on the second of May, 1837, to choose the officers provided for in the charter. At this election William B. Ogden was chosen the first mayor of Chicago; Isaac N. Arnold, clerk; and Hiram Pearsons, treasurer. Soon after, a census of the city was taken, on July 1, 1837, which gave a total of 4,170 souls, as follows: Men, 2,570; women, 1,600. In this total is included seventy-seven colored people of both sexes. The census also showed that there were three hundred and ninety-eight dwellings, four warehouses, twenty-nine dry-goods stores, five hardware stores, three drug stores, nineteen grocery and provision stores, ten taverns, twenty-six "groceries" (liquor shops), seventeen lawyers' offices, and five churches.

THE TWO INCORPORATIONS

It must be remembered that there were two incorporations, that of the Town of Chicago in 1833, and that of the City of Chicago in 1837. Briefly rehearsed, for the benefit of the casual reader, it will be seen from the foregoing pages that the first plat, that is, "Thompson's Plat," was made and "published" on August 4, 1830. This did not, however, give any legal status to the place, although this date is regarded as that of the "founding of Chicago." The place

still continued to be a voting precinct of Peoria County, and so remained until the organization of Cook County on January 15, 1831, when it became the county seat of the new county, but still without any town or village organization.

The "Town of Chicago" was incorporated August 12th, 1833, a little over three years after the time when Thompson's Plat was made, under a general act of the legislature which had been passed on February 12, 1831, enabling communities of over one hundred and fifty inhabitants to incorporate as towns, the limits of which were not to exceed one square mile. The area comprised within the limits of the town at the time it was incorporated was about three-eighths of a square mile, though in 1835, by special act of the legislature, the area was increased to about two and two-fifths square miles.

The "City of Chicago" was incorporated March 4th, 1837, under a special charter passed by the legislature on that date, and entered upon its existence as a city, with an area of about ten square miles comprised within its limits.

CHART OF EVENTS

The following chart presents a view of the more important events occurring between the periods of making the first plat and the incorporation of the City of Chicago.

YEAR	GOVERNMENT	SUBDIVISION AND LIMITS	CONTEMPORARY EVENTS
1830	Chicago, Precinct of Peoria County, since January 13th, 1825.	Plat of Chicago made by Canal Commissioners (Thompson's Plat), August 4th, 1830.	Sale of Lots, September 27th, 1830.
1831	Chicago, County Seat of Cook County, January 15th, 1831.	No Change	Cook County Organized, January 15th, 1831. Chicago Post Office Established, March 31st, 1831.
1832	Continuation as above.	No Change	Black Hawk War Ended, August 3d, 1832.
1833	Town of Chicago Incorporated, August 12th, 1833.	Area of Town when incorporated, $\frac{3}{8}$ths of a square mile. Area enlarged to $\frac{4}{8}$ths of a square mile, Nov. 6th, 1833.	Harbor Works Begun, July 1st, 1833. Indian Treaty, September 26th, 1833.
1835	Continuation as above.	Area of Town again enlarged to $2\frac{5}{8}$ square miles, February 11th, 1835.	Speculative Mania. Indian Removal.
1836	Continuation as above.	No Change	Illinois and Michigan Canal Commenced, July 4th, 1836.
1837	City of Chicago Incorporated, March 4th, 1837.	Limits: North Ave., Wood St., Twenty-second St., and lake (excepting Military Reservation). Area, a little more than ten square miles.	Population, 4,170.

PURPOSES OF A CITY CHARTER

"Wherever there is a considerable gathering of people," says Greene, "the simple machinery of town and county government needs to be supplemented by that of the village or city. These municipal governments, unlike the towns, are intended largely to serve the special local needs of the community for which they were organized. When a city becomes large enough to include one or more townships, a large part of the purely local town business is transferred to the city, and the town becomes more than ever a mere agency of the county government."

In outlining the general purposes for which a city government is instituted, Greene says: "In the first place, the city council is responsible for good order. It therefore organizes the police and makes such other rules as are necessary to suppress disturbance. It also provides places of detention for petty offenders. In the second place, it has charge of the safety and health of the people. Under this head come provisions for the fire department and health regulations of various kinds. In the third place, the council makes provision for the proper care of streets, and regulates the use of them. . . . In the fourth place, the city regulates various kinds of business within its limits by requiring licenses from those engaged in them, as in the case of hackmen, peddlers, and liquor dealers.

"The proper management of all this business requires the spending of money. The council has therefore the right to lay taxes and to borrow money. These financial powers are, however, carefully limited and guarded by the constitution and laws of the state." Further details of the method of organizing a city, and its powers and duties after organization, may be found in chapter twenty-four of Hurd's "Revised Statutes."

EARLY SYSTEM OF SURVEYS

The old colonial system of surveys was crude and unsatisfactory as compared with the simplicity and precision of the system now in use. Lands, by the old system, were described by the rather cumbrous method of "metes and bounds;" and much difficulty and confusion between adjoining property owners, in deciding what were the actual boundaries and location of their lands even after surveys had been made, often resulted. People accustomed to the straight section lines used in our western country, look with curiosity at the irregular and apparently unaccountable shapes of tracts covered by surveys in the east.

The system of surveys, now in use throughout the west generally, was devised by Thomas Hutchins, the first surveyor-general of the United States, and it has been called "the simplest of all known modes of survey." This system, known as the "township system of surveys," was authorized by an Act of Congress in 1796, which is still in force, and which provides that all public lands shall be divided into townships six miles square, "as near as may be."

TOWNSHIP SYSTEM OF SURVEYS

As a starting point in the township system of surveys, some prominent geographical position is taken, as for instance the mouth of a river; and through this is drawn a meridian line, running, of course, north and south. This line is

known as the principal meridian, and through this line, at some point selected, another line is run at right angles to it. This is called the base line, and commencing at the intersection of these two lines the surveyor measures off distances of six miles on both. The result is squares of land containing thirty-six square miles, or sections, in each square of land thus laid out; and these squares are called townships. Of course, by reason of the converging of meridian lines a readjustment must be made at certain intervals, which an inspection of any township map of the state will readily show.

In Illinois, the Third Principal Meridian runs true north from the mouth of the Ohio River, thus nearly bisecting the state. The base line begins at the Third Principal Meridian near Centralia, Illinois, and is continued eastward through the state. "All the lands of Illinois north and east of the Illinois River . . . are surveyed from the Third Principal Meridian. Lands of Illinois west of the Illinois River are surveyed from the Fourth Principal Meridian. The two surveys are usually planned to meet at some natural division, as the Illinois River, which divides the two surveys between the Fourth and the Third Principal Meridians."

In numbering the sections of a township, the first number is given to the section at the northeast corner of the township, proceeding thence along the northern tier of sections, doubling back on the next tier south, and so on to the last one, that is, number thirty-six, situated in the southeast corner. Section Number Sixteen in every township is always reserved by law for the support of public schools, though in many townships the trustees have sold part or all of the land at low prices, and thus lost the advantage of the subsequent increase in values.

THE FIRST PLAT OF CHICAGO

The first survey and plat of the town of Chicago was made by James Thompson, in 1830. He was employed by the commissioners of the Illinois and Michigan Canal to survey and plat Section 9, Township 39, Range 14 east of the Third Principal Meridian, that being one of the sections which was granted to the state by the general government to aid in the construction of the canal. The entire section is bounded on the south by Madison street, on the west by Halsted street, on the north by Chicago avenue, and on the east by State street. Only part of this section, however, was platted, the map made by Thompson including the land no farther west than Desplaines street, nor farther north than Kinzie street, the other boundaries being those of the section as above described. It thus comprised about three-eighths of a square mile, or two hundred and forty acres, including the river surface, within that area.

This first plat of Chicago provided for a public levee along the banks of the river, upon the plan of our western river towns. It was found expedient in later years, however, to abandon this plan and the ground was eventually sold and built upon. We may note that at the present time there is an awakening desire that these river banks shall be restored to the public, and made into broad places which will "combine business uses with drives and promenades for traffic, and for the pleasure of the people." This is one of the suggestions contained in the Chicago Commercial Club's "Plan of Chicago." And this result must come to the Chicago River, says the writer, "when the city comes to give attention to other needs in addition to those of commerce and manufactures."

Thompson's plat bears the date of August 4, 1830, which may be taken as the date of the founding of Chicago, though it was not regularly incorporated into a village or town until three years later. It will be observed that no land east of State street was included in the first plat, as the government reservation, on which was situated Fort Dearborn and its surrounding grounds, covered a large portion of it. Just south of Section 9 was Section 16, known as the School Section. The School Section was not subdivided until some years later.

SALE OF LOTS IN THE NEW SUBDIVISION

It was decided by the Canal Commissioners to sell part of the land, which had been subdivided, at public auction. The sale occurred September 27, 1830, James Kinzie being the auctioneer. All the regularly shaped blocks on that part of the tract which was on the South Side were divided into eight lots in each block. Block Number One, bounded by North State street, Kinzie street, Dearborn avenue, and North Water street (using the names by which they are known at the present time), was sold to Alexander Wolcott, who was at that time the United States Indian Agent, for six hundred and eighty-five dollars; and also eighty acres of the tract just north of it to the same purchaser for one dollar and sixty-two and one-half cents an acre.

At that time no postoffice had yet been established at Chicago, the County of Cook had not yet been organized, and the population was less than two hundred outside of the garrison at the fort. An estimate of the population may be formed from the poll lists at an election held a short time previously to this sale. For July 24th a special election had been ordered by the commissioners of Peoria county, within which the "Chicago precinct" was then situated, for the purpose of electing a justice of the peace and a constable. The election was held at the house of James Kinzie, a son of the first settler, John Kinzie, who died in 1828. There were fifty-six votes cast, the names of the voters appearing in the records of Peoria county. These names were printed in the Fergus Historical Series, and in the list appear many of the well known names of that early period, such as James Kinzie, the Beaubiens, Wolcott, Laframboise, Galloway, Clybourn, Ouilmette, Scott, Bailey, Hunter, McKee, Heacock, and others. (Fergus No. 7, p. 54.)

The following list of sales is only a partial one, having been gathered from the lists printed by Bross and Andreas in their histories of Chicago; but the list serves to give a fair idea of values at the first sale of lots in Chicago. It will be seen that the partial list of sales given below is for fifty-nine lots only out of one hundred and twenty-seven which were sold by the Canal Commissioners.

The partial List of Sales of Lots in the "Original Town," included within Section 9, Township 39, Range 14, East of the Third Principal Meridian, on September 30, 1830, was as follows:

SALES OF LOTS ON SOUTH SIDE, IN BLOCKS NUMBERING, INCLUSIVELY, 16 TO 21; 30 TO 43; 52 TO 58; COMPRISING 197 LOTS

Block No. 16, Lot 1—Purchaser, Charles Dunn; boundaries of block, S. Water, Dearborn, Lake, State; price, $75.

Block No. 16, Lot 4—Purchaser, O. Newberry; boundaries of block, S. Water, Dearborn, Lake, State; price, $78.

Block No. 17, Lots 1 and 2—Purchaser, J. B. Beaubien; boundaries of block, S. Water, Clark, Lake, Dearborn; price per lot, $50; total, $100.

Block No. 17, Lot 4—Purchaser, O. Newberry; boundaries of block, S. Water, Clark, Lake, Dearborn; price, $100.

Block No. 18, Lot 1—Purchaser, Jonathan H. Pugh; boundaries of black, S. Water, La Salle, Lake, Clark; price, $25.

Block No. 18, Lot 2—Purchaser, Edmund Roberts; boundaries of block, S. Water, La Salle, Lake, Clark; price, $45.

Block No. 18, Lot 4—Purchaser, P. F. W. Peck; boundaries of block, S. Water, La Salle, Lake, Clark; price, $78.

Block No. 19, Lots 1 and 2—Purchaser, G. S. Hubbard; boundaries of block, S. Water, Wells, Lake, La Salle; price per lot, $37.50; total, $75.

Block No. 20, Lot 1—Purchaser, Thos. Hartzell; boundaries of block, S. Water, Franklin, Lake, Wells; price, $50.

Block No. 20, Lot 3—Purchaser, Jesse O. Browne; boundaries of block, S. Water, Franklin, Lake, Wells; price, $50.

Block No. 20, Lot 7—Purchaser, Paul Kingston; boundaries of block, S. Water, Franklin, Lake, Wells; price, $27.

Block No. 31, Lots 5 and 6—Purchaser, C. A. Finley; boundaries of block, Lake, Market, Randolph, Franklin; price per lot, $50.50; total, $101.

Block No. 34, Lots 4 and 5—Purchaser, W. A. Bell; boundaries of block, Lake, La Salle, Randolph, Clark; price per lot, $24; total, $48.

Block No. 36, Lots 5 and 6—Purchaser, Geo. Miller; boundaries of block, Lake, Dearborn, Randolph, State; price per lot, $31.50; total, $63.

Block No. 38, Lot 4—Purchaser, C. Rawley; boundaries of block, Randolph, Clark, Washington, Dearborn; price, $53.

Block No. 43, Lots 7 and 8—Purchaser, Stephen Mack; boundaries of block, Randolph, E. Water, Washington, Market; price per lot, $26.50; total, $53.

Block No. 56, Lot 1—Purchaser, John Noble; boundaries of block, Washington, La Salle, Madison, Clark; price, $60.

Block No. 56, Lot 2—Purchaser, O. Goss; boundaries of block, Washington, La Salle, Madison, Clark; price, $70.

Total Sales on South Side, $1,150.

The lots in the rectangular blocks on the South Side have 80 feet frontage, with a depth of 150 feet.

SALES OF LOTS ON WEST SIDE, IN BLOCKS NUMBERED, INCLUSIVELY, 8 TO 13; 22 TO 29; 44 TO 51; COMPRISING 197 LOTS

Block No. 8, Lots 5 and 6—Purchaser, Edward Keyes; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Clinton, Carroll, W. Water; price per lot, $23.50; total, $47.

Block No. 8, Lot 7—Purchaser, C. Hallenbeck; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Clinton, Carroll, W. Water; price, $11.

Block No. 8, Lot 11—Purchaser, James Kinzie; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Clinton, Carroll, W. Water; price, $34.

Block No. 9, Lot 5—Purchaser, T. J. V. Owen; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Jefferson, Carroll, Clinton; price, $39.

Block No. 10, Lot 4—Purchaser, James Walker; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Desplaines, Carroll, Jefferson; price, $20.

Block No. 12, Lots 5 to 8—Purchaser, James Kinzie; boundaries of block, Carroll, Jefferson, Fulton, Clinton; average price per lot, $19; total $76.

Block No. 28, Lots 5 and 6—Purchaser, Wm. Jewett; boundaries of block, Lake, Clinton, Randolph, Canal; price per lot, $10.50; total, $21.

Block No. 29, Lot 4—Purchaser, Edmund Roberts; boundaries of block, Lake Canal, Randolph, W. Water; price, $100.

Block No. 29, Lots 5 and 6—Purchaser, Wm. Belcher; boundaries of block, Lake, Canal, Randolph, W. Water; price per lot, $54.50; total, $109.

Block No. 29, Lot 7—Purchaser, Thos. Hartzell; boundaries of block, Lake, Canal, Randolph, W. Water; price, $35.

Block No. 44, Lots 1 and 2—Purchaser, L. Bourassa; boundaries of block, Randolph, Canal, Washington, W. Water; price per lot, $57; total, $114.

Block No. 44, Lot 9—Purchaser, J. Woolsey, Jr.; boundaries of block, Randolph, Canal, Washington, W. Water; price, $50.

Block No. 49, Lot 7—Purchaser, David McKee; boundaries of block, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Clinton; price, $130.

Total Sales on West Side, $786.

The lots in the rectangular blocks on the West Side have generally from 75 to 80 feet frontage, with a depth of 150 feet.

SALES OF LOTS ON NORTH SIDE, IN BLOCKS NUMBERED, INCLUSIVELY, 1 TO 7; 14 AND 15; COMPRISING 65 LOTS

Block No. 1, Lots 1 to 8—Purchaser, Alexander Wolcott; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Dearborn, Carroll, State; average price per lot, $85.62½; total, $685.

Block No. 2, Lot 2—Purchaser, John H. Kinzie; boundaries of block, Kinzie, Clark, Carroll, Dearborn; price, $37.

Block No. 14, Lots 1 and 2—Purchaser, J. Wellmaker; boundaries of block, Carroll, N. Water (two sides), Market; price per lot, $27; total, $54.

Block No. 14, Lots 3, 4, 7 and 8—Purchaser, Samuel Miller; boundaries of block, Carroll, N. Water (two sides), Market; average price per lot, $27.50; total, $110.

Total Sales on North Side, $886.

The lots in most of the blocks on the North Side have all 80 feet frontage, with irregular depths of from 124 to 250 feet, the lots fronting on Kinzie street, in Block One, having the greatest depth.

Names of streets are given as found on Thompson's Plat.

VALUES OF PROPERTY

The prices realized at this sale of lots and lands in the Canal Section was but a slight indication of the values soon to be placed upon Chicago property. The sale took place, as before mentioned, on the 27th of September, 1830; and out of a total of four hundred and fifty-nine lots included in the plat of the

"Original Town," only one hundred and twenty-seven were sold. Nearly all of the lots on the South Side had a frontage of eighty feet each, running back one hundred and eighty feet to an alley. Lots on the West and North Sides had varying dimensions, most of the blocks being divided into eight or ten lots each, the course of the river, however, causing some irregularities. As will be seen from an inspection of the sales, one lot on the West Side brought the highest price at the sale, this being lot seven in block forty-nine, fronting east on Clinton street, near Madison. This lot sold for one hundred and thirty dollars. The highest price paid for a single lot on the South Side was one hundred dollars, this lot being number four in block seventeen, bounded by South Water, Clark, Lake and Dearborn streets, afterwards bearing the numbers from 137 to 143 South Water street. Other lots on the South Side ranged from the above price down to twenty-four dollars, the latter being lot number one in block eighteen, bounded by South Water, La Salle, Lake and Clark streets. The highest price for lots on the North Side was that paid by Alexander Wolcott in block number one. Wolcott bought the entire block of eight lots for six hundred and eighty-five dollars, an average of about eighty-five dollars for each. This block is bounded by Kinzie street, Dearborn avenue, North Water street, and North State street, using the names by which they are at present known.

It will also be seen that the partial list of sales shown above amounted to $2,822.00, or an average, for the fifty-nine lots, of about $48.00 per lot. It will be remembered that Section Nine extended as far north as the line of what was later called Chicago avenue, although the subdivided portion, as shown in Thompson's Plat, extended no farther north than Kinzie street. From that portion of Section Nine, not included in the subdivision, were sold at about the same time several tracts containing in all some four hundred acres, the remainder of the secton in fact, which brought prices ranging from one dollar and a quarter to five dollars and ninety cents per acre, the average price being three dollars and thirty cents per acre.

EARLY STREET NAMES

The tract subdivided by Thompson, as before mentioned, comprised an area of about three-eighths of Section Number Nine. Thompson's map shows the names of the streets nearly as we know them now, except that the present North Water street bears the name of Carroll street. The name of North Water street was applied only to the river front of blocks fourteen and fifteen. Besides those streets named after the presidents, and those deriving their names from natural features, there were Dearborn street named after General Henry Dearborn, in honor of whom Fort Dearborn also had been named; Clark street, after George Rogers Clark, the conqueror of the Illinois Country; La Salle street, after the great explorer; Wells street, after Captain William Wells, who lost his life at the Chicago Massacre; Franklin street, after Benjamin Franklin, the philosopher and statesman; Clinton street, after De Witt Clinton, the famous New York governor; Randolph street, after John Randolph, of Roanoke, a prominent statesman of that period; Carroll street, after Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; Fulton street, after the inventor of the steamboat; and Kinzie street, after John Kinzie, Chicago's first settler.

Canal street, no doubt, was a name suggested by the Illinois and Michigan canal, then being surveyed; and Desplaines street was named from the river running its course a few miles westward. The names of State and Market streets were doubtless chosen from the general stock of names in use by cities in other parts of the country.

CONTEMPORARY EVENTS

When Cook County was organized January 15, 1831, Chicago was designated as the county seat. On February 12, 1831, the legislature passed a general law for the incorporation of towns, and under this law the town of Chicago was incorporated, two and a half years later, on August 12, 1833, thus entering upon its official existence as a town. It should be mentioned here that the word "town" at that time was used in nearly the same sense as the world "village" is used today, though not exclusively so. The word "town" was also often used in the same sense as the word "township." The Canal Commissioners granted twenty-four lots to the newly formed County of Cook on June 16, 1831, sixteen of which were sold soon after; and eight lots, comprising block thirty-nine, in the "Original Town," were retained. On this block now stands the County Court House and City Hall.

CANAL COMMISSIONERS AND CANAL TRUSTEES

Throughout this work it will be observed that in some places the expression "Canal Commissioners" is used, and in others "Canal Trustees." The reason for this is fully set forth in the chapter on the Illinois and Michigan canal. A brief mention here of the changes requiring the use of these different terms will doubtless be of assistance to the reader. In the early history of the canal its management was placed under a Board of Commissioners. When the canal was partly constructed its financial affairs were reorganized and its management was placed under a Board of Trustees. This was in June, 1845. The final report of the trustees was made April 30, 1871, after which it again came under the management of a Board of Commissioners, and has so continued until the present time.

WINTER OF THE DEEP SNOW

The winter of 1830-31 was known as the "Winter of the Deep Snow." In a package of sheets containing memoranda of weather observations, now in possession of the Chicago Historical Society, this winter is thus described, with an added note which says that the snow was four feet deep on the level, and for three weeks the thermometer stood at fifteen degrees below zero. It is stated in Snyder's "Illinois History" that the winter was the severest that had then been experienced by the settlers of Illinois, and that it is memorable in the annals of the state, as the "winter of the deep snow."

During the preceding fall the weather had been unusually mild until Christmas Eve of the year 1830, when snow began falling and continued to fall at intervals for nine weeks, attaining a uniform depth of three feet and four inches. It was drifted in many places to a much greater depth, burying beneath it log cabins and the buildings of the settlers. Deer, wild turkeys, and flocks of prairie

chickens invaded the corn fields, and other game like quails and rabbits perished in large numbers from cold and starvation. The deep snow and protracted cold caused much suffering and privation among many of the settlers, who were poorly prepared for such severe weather.

SUFFERINGS IN THE WINTER SEASON

The scantiness of shelter in the early times made very keen the suffering among the inhabitants whenever an unusually cold season occurred. Days and weeks of extreme cold may be experienced in these later days with but passing comment, and with comparatively little inconvenience; but there was scarcely a winter in the early days, that a great number of settlers arriving during the preceding months had been able to provide themselves with adequate protection against the inclemencies of the weather.

When in 1818, the father of Abraham Lincoln removed from Kentucky to Indiana, he built a "half-faced camp" of unhewn logs, enclosed on three sides, the open front protected only by skins. Such a rude shelter was sometimes called a "pole-shed," described by Dennis Hanks, a cousin of Lincoln, as "just a shack of poles, roofed over, but left open on one side, no floor, no fireplace, not much better than a tree." In his recollection of Lincoln, old Dennis Hanks said, in recalling the events of his boyhood, "We wasn't much better off than Injuns, except that we took an interest in religion and politics." It may well be imagined what hardships were endured in the winter season under such conditions.

Death by freezing was a common occurrence, and a tragedy of this kind is is recorded in the Chicago *Democrat,* in its issue dated January 28, 1834. The news item is as follows: "Mrs. Smith, wife of a Mr. Smith residing at Blue Island, who left this place on the second of January, which was the coldest day we have experienced this winter, for her home, when within a mile and a half of her dwelling, sank benumbed and exhausted, to rise no more. When found she was dreadfully mangled and torn to pieces by wolves. She has left a husband and five children to mourn her untimely end." A few days later a party in pursuit of wolves encountered a couple of officers from the fort, who were just returning from a mission of charity in visiting the half-starved orphans of this poor woman who had been frozen to death on the prairie. "One by one," writes Hoffman, in his book, "A Winter in the West," "our whole party collected around to make inquiries about the poor children."

One of the chief causes of freezing to death was the prevalence of whisky drinking, which was the reigning vice of the time. Whisky was on sale at the cabins and houses of many of the early settlers, and often very little or nothing else in the way of provisions or supplies could be obtained at these so called "groceries." Thus in the winter season many men of drinking habits would walk long distances to visit such places scattered along the country roads near Chicago. The result was that many persons came to their deaths by exposure to the cold while in an intoxicated condition. It was related by Mr. Benjamin F. Hill, an early settler of Gross Point, a dozen miles north of Chicago, that he recalled twenty-seven deaths from freezing during the early years of his residence there in the "thirties" and "forties." These mostly occurred among the transient

residents,— discharged soldiers, lake sailors out of employment between seasons, and hired men. "Freezing to death," said Mr. Hill, "was more common than any other form of fatality."

WINTER ADVENTURES

On one of his journeys to Chicago from the south, Gurdon S. Hubbard had a thrilling adventure during the winter season of 1825. In the spring of that year, he started on horseback from his trading post on the Iroquois River, accompanied by two Indians. All the streams had overflowed as a consequence of a recent period of warm weather but the day after starting it turned very cold. They encountered a small stream on the prairie upon which a new covering of ice had formed during the previous night leaving running water between two ice surfaces. "The upper ice was not strong enough for a man to walk on," relates Hubbard, "but the Indians laid down and slid themselves across with little difficulty. I rode my horse to the stream, and reaching forward with my tomahawk broke the ice ahead of me, he walking on the under ice until he reached the middle of the stream, when his hind feet broke through, the girth gave away, and the saddle slipped off behind carrying me with it. I fell into the water and was carried by the current rapidly down the stream between the upper and lower coverings of ice.

"I made two attempts to gain my feet, but the current was so swift and the space so narrow I could not break through the ice. I had about given up all hope, when my hand struck a willow bush near the bank and thus arrested my rapid progress. At the same time I stood up and bumping the ice with my head broke through. The Indians were much astonished to see me come up through the ice, and gave utterance to their surprise by a peculiar exclamation. I recovered my horse and saddle and returned to my trading house, with no worse result than wet clothing and a slightly bruised head."

HOFFMAN'S VISIT TO CHICAGO

It is always interesting to read the accounts of transient visitors when written with intelligence and sympathy. Early in the year 1834, such a visitor, a man of superior education and literary accomplishments, spent a fortnight in Chicago, and we owe to him a most entertaining narrative of events and descriptions of scenes during his brief sojourn. This man was Charles Fenno Hoffman, who, after making a tour through the western country, published a book entitled, "A Winter in the West." Of this work an eminent critic has said, that "it will continue to be admired so long as graphic delineations of nature, spirited sketches of men and manners, and richness and purity of style, are appreciated."

Mr. Hoffman arrived in Chicago on an extremely cold morning in winter by way of the lake shore from La Porte, Indiana, thus called, he says, because "it forms a door opening upon an arm of the Grand Prairie which runs through the states of Indiana and Illinois." On this journey, made part of the way in a conveyance and the latter part on horseback, he and some fellow travelers found an excellent road on the frozen sand close to the water's edge for the last

twenty-five miles of their journey. "We galloped at full speed," writes Hoffman, "every man choosing his own route along the beach, our horses' hoofs ringing the while as if it were a pavement of flint beneath them. The rough ice piled up on the coast prevented us from watering our beasts; and we did not draw a rein till the rushing current of the Calamine [Calumet], which debouches into Lake Michigan some ten miles from Chicago, stayed our course. A cabin on the bank gave us a moment's opportunity to warm; and then, being ferried over the wintry stream, we started with fresh vigor, and crossing about a mile of prairie in the neighborhood of Chicago, reached here in time for an early dinner." Hoffman's narrative is in the form of letters, and the one quoted from above is dated at Chicago, January 1, 1834, that being the day following his arrival. He writes, "'Our horses this morning seemed none the worse for this furious riding; their escape from ill consequences being readily attributable to the excellence of the road, and the extreme coldness of the weather while traveling it. For my own part, I never felt better than after this violent burst of exercise."

WINTER SPORTS IN CHICAGO

During Hoffman's visit to Chicago he witnessed a horse race on the frozen surface of the Chicago River. In his book he refers to the attentions he received from the officers of the garrison during his stay of two weeks in Chicago, and acknowledges his indebtedness to them in many passages of the book referred to. He says that he spent many agreeable hours with them and the ladies of their families, and describes one occasion when several officers stopped at the door of his tavern "with a train of carioles, in one of which I was offered a seat, to witness a pacing match on the ice. There were several ladies with the gentlemen in attendance already on the river, all muffled up, after the Canadian comfortable appearance.

"The horses from which the most sport was expected, were a black pony bred in the country, and a tall roan nag from the lower Mississippi. They paced at the rate of a mile in something less than three minutes. I rode behind the winning horse in one heat, and the velocity with which he made our cariole fly over the smooth ice was almost startling. The Southern horse won the race; but I was told that in nine cases out of ten, the nags from this part of the country could not stand against a French pony."

A WOLF HUNT

While the pacing match above described was going on the people in attendance were surprised to notice that a wolf, roused probably by the sound of sleigh-bells, had made his appearance on the river bank, calmly surveying the sport. The presence of this uninvited guest suggested to the gentlemen that a wolf-hunt on horseback be undertaken in the morning, and accordingly the proper arrangements were made.

"It was a fine bracing morning," continues Hoffman, "with the sun shining cheerily through the still cold atmosphere far over the snow-covered prairie, when the party assembled in front of my lodgings, to the number of ten horsemen, all well mounted and eager for the sport. The hunt was divided into two

squads, one of which was to follow the windings of the river on the ice, and the other to make a circuit on the prairie. A pack of dogs, consisting of a greyhound or two for running the game, with several of a heavier and fiercer breed for pulling it down, accompanied each party.

"I was attached to that which took the river; and it was a beautiful sight, as our friends trotted off in the prairie, to see their different colored capotes and gaily equipped horses contrasted with the bright carpet of spotless white over which they rode, while the sound of their voices was soon lost to our ears, as we descended to the channel of the river, and their lessening figures were hid from our view by the low brush which in some places skirted its banks. The brisk trot in which we now broke, brought us rapidly to the place of meeting, where, to the disappointment of each party, it was found that neither had started any game.

"We now spread ourselves into a broad line, about gunshot apart from each other, and began thus advancing into the prairie. We had not swept it thus more than a mile, when a shot on the extreme left, with the accelerated pace of the two furthermost riders in that direction, told that they had roused a wolf. 'The devil take the hindermost,' was now the motto of the company, and each one spurred for the spot with all eagerness. Unhappily, however, the land along the bank of the river, on the right, was so broken by ravines, choked up with snow, that it was impossible for us, who were half a mile from the game when started, to come up at all with the two or three horsemen who led the pursuit. Our horses sunk to their cruppers in the deep snow drift. Some were repeatedly thrown; and one or two, breaking their saddle-girths from the desperate struggles their horses made in the snow banks, were compelled to abandon the chase entirely. My stout roan carried me bravely through all; but when I emerged from the last ravine on the open plain, the two horsemen who led the chase, from some inequality in the surface of the prairie, were not visible; while the third, a fleet rider, whose tall figure and Indian head-dress had hitherto guided me, had been just unhorsed, and abandoning the game afoot, was now wheeling off apparently with some other object in view."

The party, not discouraged by the failure of the first run, gathered for a moment to consider the best course to pursue. It was not yet noon, though they had placed twelve miles of distance between themselves and their starting point at Chicago. Their horses were in good condition, and in the full flush of youthful spirits they at once determined to continue the hunt, and scattered themselves over the prairie with the hope of rousing more game.

"Not ten minutes elapsed," continues the writer, "before a wolf, breaking from the dead weeds which, shooting eight or ten feet above the level of the snow, indicated the banks of a deep ravine, dashed off into the prairie, pursued by a horseman on the right. He made instantly for the deep banks of the river, one of whose windings was within a few hundred yards. He had a bold rider behind him, however, in the gentleman who led the chase, a young educated half-blood of prepossessing manners and well connected in Chicago. [This is a reference to Madore Beaubien, a son of John B. Beaubien, who had then been a resident of Chicago some fifteen years.] The precipitous bank of the stream did not retard this hunter for a moment; but, dashing down to the bed of the river, he was hard upon the wolf before he could ascend the elevation on the opposite side.

Four of us only reached the open prairie beyond in time to take part in the chase.

"Nothing could be more beautiful. There was not an obstacle to oppose us in the open plain, and all our dogs having long since given out, nothing remained but to drive the wolf to death on horseback. Away then we went, shouting on his track, the hotly pursued beast gaining on us whenever the crust of a deep snow drift gave him an advantage over the horse; and we in our turn nearly riding over him when we came to ground comparatively bare.

"The sagacious animal became at last aware that his course would sóon be up at this rate, and turning rapidly in his tracks as we were scattered over the prairie, he passed through our line, and made at once again for the river. He was cut off and turned in a moment by a horseman on the left, who happened to be a little behind the rest; and now came the keenest part of the sport. The wolf would double every moment upon his tracks, while each horseman in succession would make a dash at and turn him in a different direction. Twice I was near enough to strike him with a horsewhip, and once he was under my horse's feet; while so furiously did each rider push at him, that as we brushed by each other and confronted horse to horse, while riding from different quarters at full speed, it required one somewhat used 'to turn and wind a fiery Pegasus' to maintain his seat at all.

"The rascal, who would now and then look over his shoulder and gnash his teeth, seemed at last as if he was about to succumb; when, after running a few hundred yards in an oblique direction from the river, he suddenly veered his course, at a moment when every one thought his strength was spent, and gaining the bank before he could be turned, he disappeared in an instant. The rider nearest to his heels became entangled in the low boughs of a tree which grew near the spot; while I, who followed next, was thrown out sufficiently to give the wolf time to get out of view by my horse bolting as he reached the sudden edge of the river. The rest of the hunt were consequently at fault when they came up to us; and after trying in vain to track our lost quarry over the smooth ice for half an hour, we were most vexatiously compelled to abandon the pursuit as fruitless, and proceed to join the other squad of our party, who could now be seen at some distance, apparently making for the same point to which our route was leading. A thicket on the bank soon hid them from our view; and we then moved more leisurely along in order to breathe our horses.

"But suddenly the distant cry of hounds gave intimation that new game was afoot; and, on topping a slight elevation, we discerned a party of horsemen far away, with three wolves running apparently about a pistol-shot ahead of them. Our squad was dispersed in an instant. Some struck off at once in the prairie, in a direct line for their object, and were soon brought to in the deep snow banks; others, taking a more circuitous course, proceeded to double the ravines that were filled with the treacherous drift; and some, more fortunate, took to the frozen river, where the clatter of their hoofs on the hard ice seemed to inspirit their horses anew. I chanced to be one of the latter, and was moreover the first to catch sight again of one of the animals we were pursuing, and find myself nearer to him than any of our party.

"The wolf was of the large gray kind. But one of the hunters had been able to keep up with him; and him I could distinguish far off in the prairie, turning

and winding his foaming horse as the wolf would double every moment upon his tracks while half a dozen dogs, embarrassed in the deep snow, were slowly coming up. I reached the spot just as the wolf first stood at bay. His bristling back, glaring eyes, and ferociously distended jaws might have appalled the dogs for a moment; when an impetuous greyhound, who had been for some time pushing through the snow drifts with unabated industry, having now attained a comparatively clear spot of ground, leaped with such force against the flank of the wolf as to upset him in an instant, while the greyhound shot far ahead of the quarry.

"He recovered himself instantly, but not before a fierce powerful hound, whose thick neck and broad muzzle indicated a cross of the bull-dog blood with that of a nobler strain, had struck him first upon the haunch, and was now trying to grapple him by the throat. Down again he went, rolling over and over in the deep snow, while the clicking of his jaws, as he snapped eagerly at each member of the pack that by turns beset him, was distinctly audible. The powerful dog, already mentioned, secured him at last by fixing his muzzle deeply into the breast of the prostrate animal. This, however, did not prevent the wolf giving some fearful wounds to the other dogs which beset him; and, accordingly, with the permission of the gentleman who had led the chase, I threw myself from my horse, and gave the game the *coup-de-grace* with a dirk-knife which I had about me.

"Two of our party soon after joined us, each with a prairie wolf hanging to his saddle bow; and the others gradually collecting, we returned to Chicago, contented at last with the result of our morning's sport."

It would seem that Hoffman had a prescience that his descriptions would have an interest for posterity, for, while writing for readers of his own time, he seems to have kept in mind the unborn generations who, living on the identical spot of which he is writing, and inhabiting to the number of many hundreds of thousands, the houses and structures erected on those very fields over which he rode, would peruse with absorbing interest the graphic narrative written by him three-quarters of a century ago. We look upon a scene as different from that which Hoffman depicted, as a crowded city thoroughfare is different from the wildness of a Northern Wisconsin forest.

And yet in the circumstantial detail which he gives us it seems as if he intended to leave a description of the locality that the people of later times could trace, and thus contemplate in wonder the contrasts which a little over two generations have brought about. Within five years from the time this writer came to Chicago and witnessed horse racing on the ice, and galloped over vast plains far to the southwest, the scene was changed as if by magic; the city had been formed, the new canal had been commenced, and commerce had taken possession of the river and streets of the rapidly advancing metropolis of the future.

A WOLF DRIVE

In one of his lectures on the early time in Chicago, John Wentworth described a wolf hunt which occurred a few years later than that described by Hoffman, and which was quite elaborately planned. The object was to form a line of mounted men far to the south, and drive as many wolves as could be "scared

up'' towards the ice on the lake, as near the mouth of the river as possible. There was to be no shooting until the wolves had got out upon the ice, and then no person was to fire unless his aim was entirely over ice and only to the eastward.

''Two parties started early in the morning,'' Wentworth relates, ''one following the lake shore south, and the other the river, to meet at a common center not far from Blue Island. Then they were to spread themselves out, cover as much territory as possible, and drive the wolves before them.'' About four o'clock in the afternoon, the wolves began to make their appearance in the outskirts of the town, trying to escape from the advancing line of horsemen, and terrified at the tumult, baying of hounds and outcries of the hunters,

''That thickened as the chase drew nigh.''

The people turned out in numbers, keeping along the margin of the river, so as to head the wolves towards the lake shore and out upon the ice. Soon the horsemen came into view and the sport became fast and furious. ''The number of wolves,'' said Wentworth, ''was about the same as that of Samson's foxes,'' and that, it will be remembered, was three hundred. The men were so eager to follow that their horses' hoofs broke the ice near the shore, and, the wind being rather brisk, the ice became loosened and drifted towards the northeast bearing the hunted beasts upon its surface.

Men, women and children lined the bank of the lake, expecting to see the ice break in pieces and the wolves swim ashore, but nothing of the kind occurred. The people watched the moving field of ice, and could see the bewildered creatures running from side to side vainly seeking some means of escape; until finally the whole scene faded from view in the gathering darkness.

''About two weeks afterwards,'' relates Wentworth, '' a letter appeared in a Detroit newspaper containing an account of some farm settlements, on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, being attacked by a large body of hungry wolves. They destroyed fowls and cattle, and for several days spread terror through the neighborhood.'' It was supposed by many that these were the wolves which had gone adrift from Chicago, but men who knew the lake, denied the possibility of their surviving such a perilous voyage, and, indeed there is no doubt the whole pack was drowned.

AMUSEMENTS

''But the amusement, par excellence, in those early days,'' says Moses, ''was horse racing. This was patronized by all classes, and turf meetings brought out the entire population. They were made in a great measure to serve the purpose of the modern county fairs.'' On these occasions ''trading of all kinds was transacted, contracts entered into, debts paid, and questions of the day discussed.'' Besides the running of horses, foot races among the men, wrestling, jumping and other athletic pastimes, took place, and were generally participated in by the active young men in attendance.

STIRRING TIMES IN THE '30'S

The fall of 1832 was a busy time in the affairs of the little settlement that began to flourish to the westward of the fort, and quite a rivalry sprang up

between this locality and that part of the village situated at the forks of the river. The "Sauganash," with Mark Beaubien as proprietor, was established at the site where the Wigwam was built in later times, on the southeast corner of Lake and Market streets; and across the river on the West Side was the "Wolf tavern" kept by Elijah Wentworth. Communication between the fort and adjoining settlement with that at "the Point" was usually by boat or canoe, as the roads between were heavy and often impassable.

Emigration set in during the fall of 1832 in a constantly increasing tide, emigrants arriving in every sort of conveyance; on horseback, in wagons, by lake vessels, and even on foot. The first point on their journeys westward was Chicago, beyond which the great majority pushed on to the fertile lands to the west. Thus it happened that for the succeeding four years Chicago was continually adding to her permanent residents from such as saw brighter prospects in the growing town than in the allurements of the country beyond. Many new buildings were erected, a ferry was established at Lake street, roads were laid out towards the west and southwest, vessels began arriving in increasing numbers (though not yet able to enter the river), and many possibilities of its commercial importance began to be realized.

INCREASE OF EMIGRATION

The settlement of the Indian troubles caused an increased rush of emigration in 1833. Lines of steamers and sailing vessels were established between Buffalo and Chicago, and "from that year may properly date the commencement of the mighty growth in population and wealth of Illinois," says John T. Kingston in his "Reminiscences," printed in the Wisconsin Historical Collections. "The great rush of emigration, however," says Kingston, "was to Northern Illinois, and no country could present greater inducements to the emigrant, the soil, climate, and other natural advantages were all that could be desired."

The original town of Chicago was laid out and platted by the Canal Commissioners in 1830, on lands donated to the State of Illinois by the general government, in aid of the proposed Illinois and Michigan canal. In the fall of the same year the first sale of lots took place. The few land speculators present supposed the center of business in the future town would be along the river, consequently the proximity of the lots to the stream increased the price bid. Lots on Lake street sold at from twenty to forty dollars; on Randolph street some lots sold as high as eighty dollars, while on State street, Michigan and Wabash avenues, the price was considerably less.

BEGINNING OF THE SPECULATIVE MANIA

For some years after the sales of lots and lands from the Canal Section in 1830 the prices of real estate showed no signs of advance, but by 1834 many of the first purchasers began to realize that there was a large profit in their holdings. Strangers from the East seeking investments in the new and growing town arrived in numbers, and it did not take long under these circumstances to develop a strong speculative fever. "Whatever might be the business of a Chicagoan," says Andreas, "or however profitable, it was not considered a full success except

it showed an outside profit on lots bought and sold." Speculators were attracted by the report of quick returns on land transactions. During the summer of 1835, the Government Land Office was opened, and auctions of lands all over the western country were held frequently.

"As the interior became settled the mania for land speculating spread throughout the newly-settled country, and Chicago became the mart where were sold and resold monthly an incredible number of acres of land and land-claims outside the city, purporting to be located in all parts of the Northwest. It embraced farming lands, timber lands, town sites, town lots, water lots, and every variety of landclaim or land title ever known to man. The location of the greater portion of property thus sold was, as a rule, except so far as it appeared in the deed unknown to the parties to the trade; and, in many cases, after the bubble had burst, the holders of real estate acquired during the excitement, on investigation failed to find the land in existence as described. Town lots were platted, often without any survey, all over Wisconsin and Illinois, wherever it was hoped that a town might eventually spring up, or wherever it was believed that the lots could be floated into the great tide of speculative trade."

"Between 1830 and 1835," says Professor Putnam, "the increasing probability of the early construction of the canal, and the widely disseminated opinion that its completion would greatly increase the value of all the land within a reasonable distance of the route, and develop the proposed cities and villages along its course, led to a steadily increasing demand for farms and town lots along the line of the projected waterway. This movement, slow at first, was accelerated as it became increasingly apparent that the construction would not be long delayed.

"By the beginning of the actual work of construction, in 1836, real estate speculation had become the chief industry of the canal region. Shrewd business men perceived that Chicago would necessarily become the transfer point for all passengers and commerce passing between the Great Lakes and the Canal, and that it was destined to be the emporium of western trade. A realization of these facts made the canal region, and particularly Chicago, a favorite place for the exercise of the speculative mania that swept over the country just prior to the panic of 1837."

CONDITIONS IN 1836

An interesting statement of conditions at Chicago, in 1836, appears in the Chicago *American*, in its weekly issue of December 31st, in that year. The Philadelphia *Commercial Herald* had requested information from postmasters and editors in various parts of the country relative to certain important towns. Accompanying the request was a list of questions which were replied to in full by the editor of the *American*. The growing fame of Chicago had reached the older cities of the East, and it had been included in the list of important towns of which more particular information was desired by the Philadelphia paper mentioned. The answers to some of the questions are given below:

"Question—What are its public buildings, its schools and its manufactories?

"Answer—Its public buildings are one Episcopal church of brick; one brick banking house, the Chicago Branch of the State Bank at Springfield; one brick

Courthouse or Clerk's office; one Jail; and a small Postoffice. There is one Baptist church of brick in the progress of building; one Presbyterian church of stone, about to be put under contract. . . . There are two select schools, and three or four district or common schools, supported out of an ample school fund, granted to the State by the general government. Of manufactories, there is one foundry, a steam grist mill, a steam sawmill, a brewery, and a soap and candle factory.

"Question—When was it settled?

"Answer—The town is very young. It may be said to have been settled in 1832, after the Sac or Black Hawk war. . . . Since the Sac war, Chicago has risen with wonderful rapidity, and the wild Indian trading post is this winter applying for its Mayor and Aldermen.

"Question—What is the country around it?

"Answer—The country around Chicago is principally prairie; the great center prairie of Illinois, stretching west of it through a great portion of the State. . . . The timber in the vicinity is principally oak. There is a small pine grove on the lake, near the little Calumet, about ten miles from Chicago. . . . The country is beautiful, and for fertility and aptness of soil, surpasses anything at the East.

"Question—Where do your merchants purchase their goods, chiefly, and by what route or conveyance do they receive them?

"Answer—The merchants purchase their goods chiefly in New York; the remainder principally comes from Boston and Philadelphia. They come from New York by the Hudson river, the Erie canal, and the lakes."

The speculative madness which took possession of the people of Chicago was described by Joseph N. Balestier, in a lecture before the Chicago Lyceum January 21, 1840, only four years after the events to which he refers. "The year 1836," he said, "is especially memorable in the annals of Chicago. An unregulated spirit of speculation had manifested itself very decidedly throughout the whole country in the year 1835, which, in the succeeding year, attained its acme. . . . The year 1835 found us just awakened to a sense of our own importance. A short time before, the price of the best lots did not exceed two or three hundred dollars, and the rise had been so rapid that property could not, from the nature of things, have acquired an ascertained value. In our case, therefore, the inducements to speculation were particularly strong; and as no fixed value could be assigned to property, so no price could, by any established standard, be deemed extravagant.

"Moreover, nearly all who came to the place expected to amass fortunes by speculating. The wonder then is, not that we speculated so much, but rather that we did not rush more madly into the vortex of ruin. Well indeed would it have been, had our wild speculation been confined to Chicago; here, at least, there was *something* received in exchange for the money of the purchaser. But the few square miles that composed Chicago formed but a small item among the subjects of speculation. So utterly reckless had the community grown, that they chased every bubble which floated in the speculative atmosphere, . . . the more absurd the project, the more remote the object, the more madly were they pursued. The prairies of Illinois, the forests of Wisconsin, and the sand-hills of

Michigan, presented an almost unbroken chain of supposititious villages and cities. The whole land seemed staked out and peopled on paper."

Men would besiege the land office and buy tracts at a dollar and a quarter an acre, and in a few days the buyers would have them platted into town sites in the most approved rectangular fashion, attractively colored, and exhibiting the public spirit and generosity of the proprietor in providing public squares, church sites, and schoolhouse reservations. "Often was a fictitious streamlet seen to wind its romantic course through the heart of an ideal city, thus creating water lots and water privileges. But where a real stream, however diminutive," continues Balestier, "did find its way to the shores of the lake, no matter what was the character of the surrounding country, some wary operator would ride night and day until the place was secured at the government price. Then the miserable waste of sand and fens, which lay unconscious of its glory on the shore of the lake, was suddenly elevated into a mighty city, with a projected harbor and lighthouse, railroads and canals, and in a short time the circumjacent lands were sold in lots. Not the puniest brook on the shore of Lake Michigan was suffered to remain without a city at its mouth, and whoever will travel around that lake shall find many a mighty mart staked out in spots suitable only for the habitations of wild beasts."

This address of Balestier was printed in the form of a pamphlet immediately after its delivery, and reprinted in later years by the Fergus Printing Company in their series of historical pamphlets. The lecturer was a lawyer, a kinsman of the Kinzie family, who had opened an office in Chicago; but who soon after the delivery of this lecture, though an enthusiastic believer in the destiny of the young city, had returned to his former home in New York City. In later years he wrote that the reason of his return was "not that he loved Chicago less, but his family more," and that his heart "has ever been with the home of his earliest manhood," and that "he has always rejoiced in its immense prosperity and gloried in its marvelous achievements."

The Chicago *Tribune*, in its issue of November 25, 1872, contains a review of the address, as reprinted by the Fergus Company, and says: "Balestier took Chicago as he found it, a neighborhood only recently disturbed and depressed by the heaviest cart-wheels of misfortune in the crash of 1837. He makes a capital and wise review of the great speculative era of 1835, when he was happiest who was able to get deepest in debt; when money was printed like handbills, when paper towns and cities abounded throughout the West, when a future great lake port was confidently located and staked out at the mouth of every creek and streamlet that emptied into Lake Michigan."

CHECKS TO GROWTH

In the year that Chicago was incorporated as a city, 1837, the total amount of taxes collected was $5,905.15. The panic of that year caused great distress to the people of the newly incorporated city, and seriously checked the growth of the place; and in the following two years there was even a slight diminution in its population. The canal improvement, however, sustained and encouraged the hopes of the people, and, had it not been for the disastrous reaction from the exorbitant values of 1835 and 1836, there would have been stability enough

based on the legitimate advantages and prospects of the city, to have withstood, without much injury, the widespread effects of the panic in other parts of the country.

WILD CAT CURRENCY

The money in circulation at that time consisted chiefly of the issues of the western banks of the variety known as "wild cat currency," which were generally at a discount for eastern exchange of from ten to twenty per cent. But little coin was in circulation; occasionally would be seen pieces from the United States or Mexican mints, or a little gold and silver brought by immigrants from foreign parts. But the specie, scarce as it was, soon disappeared from circulation. "Nearly every man in Chicago doing business," says Wentworth, "was issuing his individual scrip, and the city abounded with little tickets, such as 'Good at our store for ten cents,' 'Good for a loaf of bread,' 'Good for a shave,' 'Good for a drink,' etc. When you went out to trade, the trader would look over your tickets, and select such as he could use." But confidence was soon shaken, some declined to redeem their outstanding tickets, and some absconded. Most of the traders failed, charging the trouble to President Jackson for having issued his famous "specie circular," which it was generally believed had brought on the panic. Wentworth relates that some years after these events he asked an old settler, who was a great growler, what effect time had had upon his views of General Jackson's circular. His reply was that General Jackson had spoiled his being a great man. Said he, "I came to Chicago with nothing, failed for one hundred thousand dollars, and could have failed for a million, if he had let the bubble burst in the natural way."

VARIOUS SCHEMES OF INFLATION

About this time the Michigan legislators conceived a brilliant idea which it was believed would relieve the evils caused by the specie famine; they passed what is known as the "Real Estate Banking Law." Real estate, they contended, was plentiful, and what could be better than land on which to base an issue of currency? Michigan bankers were authorized to make issues based on land mortgages, and the country soon became flooded with this new variety of wild cat currency. This bubble soon burst, however, and the people looked to other schemes of financial relief, which were soon promptly supplied. "Some of the speculators of Illinois," says Wentworth, "thought they would try the Michigan system, with state bonds substituted for lands. . . . Money was borrowed, and state bonds were purchased. The most inaccessible places in our state were sought out for the location of banks, and bills were extensively issued. . . . The consequences of this system were quite as disastrous as those of the real estate system of Michigan.

"Considering its age," continues Wentworth, in his lecture on "Early Chicago," delivered in 1876, "Chicago has been the greatest sufferer of any place in the world from an irredeemable paper money system. Its losses in this respect will nearly approximate those from the Great Fire. And when you talk to one of the early settlers of Chicago about the advantages accruing from an irredeemable money system, you waste your labor. He has been there!"

CAUSES OF THE PANIC

The causes of the panic of 1837 may be traced, as usual in the case of financial and industrial panics, to a previous period of great prosperity and over-confidence in the future on the part of people engaged in business of all kinds. In 1836, the United States was out of debt, and had a surplus of nearly forty millions of dollars, largely derived from the sales of public lands. These sales had been increasing at a tremendous rate for some years previously, and as payment was accepted by the government in the currency of the time, it began to be feared that the banks, which were the sources of issue of the paper money, would not be able to redeem their bills. The surplus had been largely deposited with the banks throughout the country, and the banks soon came to regard these deposits by the government as sufficiently permanent to make use of the funds in an unwise expansion of loans.

About this time a proposal was made in Congress to distribute the surplus as "loans" among the states, and accordingly a bill was passed on the 23d of June, 1836, to that effect. The spirit of speculation had by this time almost reached its climax, and President Jackson, "in his own inconsiderate and thoroughgoing manner," as Von Holst expresses it, endeavored to check the speculative rage. On his own responsibility, Jackson issued his famous "Specie circular" under date of July 11, 1836, in which he forbade the acceptance by the agents of the United States of anything but gold and silver in payment for public lands. After this circular had been issued it was but a question of time when the bubble would burst. "It was barely deferred," says Larned, "till Jackson went out of office, in the spring of 1837."

THE BURSTING OF THE BUBBLE

Scarcely had Jackson's successor, President Van Buren, taken office before the country found itself in the midst of the worst financial panic it has ever passed through. In the following May the banks began to suspend payments of their obligations in specie. Failures among mercantile houses rapidly followed, and became widespread. Trade relations were almost suspended, bankruptcies came in avalanches, and factories were closed, throwing thousands out of employment.

Thus within two months after Chicago had become an incorporated city, its people found themselves in the midst of the financial storm. The rapid and unprecedented rise in the values of real estate in the form of land tracts, town lots and water privileges had brought about wild speculation, which had been participated in by all classes of the people. "The farmer, the manufacturer and merchant, instead of paying their debts, bought lands. The country merchant bought lands and paid the city merchant, as well for his old debts as for his new purchases in this new currency, upon the strength of valuation, which deceived himself as well as his creditors."

"In Chicago, lots which had sold for a thousand dollars on the fictitious balloon basis," says Moses, "would not bring in specie one hundred. Those whose profits had made them apparently rich, and whose assets, on paper, aggregated many thousands of dollars, suddenly found themselves reduced to poverty. Their de-

preciated lots and lands were unsalable, and their unpaid obligations stared them in the face. About the only consolation to be found, in the contemplation of their broken fortunes and blasted hopes, lay in the fact that the ruin had been a common one, in which all shared alike."

The people, however, began to take an account of their assets, and the situation was confronted with brave hearts. "The city with its few substantial improvements, was not gone; its site and natural facilities for commercial growth could not be obliterated from the map of the world; its stout-hearted citizens, with their abiding faith in the future and their undaunted courage, remained. Neither had the canal succumbed to the general collapse, the work of construction, though retarded and slow, thanks to the sales of valuable real estate, which could yet find purchasers, being continued for several years."

EXTERNAL ASPECT OF THE CITY

At this time the inhabited portions of the city lay along North and South Water streets, and those parts of La Salle, Clark and Dearborn streets, which intersected them. Buildings on Lake street extended continuously from Dearborn to La Salle streets, those on South Water street a little farther west. The buildings, mostly constructed of wood, were generally one or two stories in height. The Saloon Building, on the southeast corner of Lake and Clark streets, was built of brick, as were also the Courthouse, which stood on the public square, the State Bank Building, at the southwest corner of South Water and La Salle streets, the City Hotel, on the northwest corner of Clark and Randolph streets, on the present site of the Sherman House, and the Lake House, at the corner of Rush and Michigan streets.

"There were about a dozen hotels," says Moses, "the best patronized of which were the City Hotel, on Clark street, the Tremont, at the corner of Lake and Dearborn streets, and the Lake House, at the intersection of Rush and Michigan streets. The Tremont first stood on the northwest corner of the streets named, but was consumed by fire on October 27, 1839, together with most of the block." It was rebuilt on the southeast corner, diagonally opposite to its former location, and, though having been burned three times afterwards, it continued in the first rank of hotels until quite recent years. It is now the property of Northwestern University of Evanston, and is known as the Northwestern University Building, having been remodeled to adapt it to the purposes of that institution.

THE LAKE HOUSE

It was an important event when the Lake House was completed on the North Side on the corner of Rush and Michigan streets. An article is quoted by Hurlbut from the Chicago *Tribune,* without mentioning its date of issue, which is substantially as follows:

The Lake House enterprise was inaugurated in the palmy days of the North Side. It was a great day for the North Side when ground was broken, in 1835, for the beginning of the Lake House, at a convenient distance from the river bank, confronting the neatly kept and brilliantly whitewashed buildings and stockade of Fort Dearborn on the other side of the river. There were associated

in this undertaking Gurdon S. Hubbard, John H. Kinzie, Captain David Hunter, and Major James B. Campbell. The plans called for an outlay of ninety thousand dollars. It was built of brick in an exceeding good style for the time.

When the Lake House was erected there was nothing between it and the shore of Lake Michigan, distant only a few hundred feet, excepting the great cotton-wood trees that had sheltered the pioneer Kinzie House. From three sides the Lake House looked out on the blue expanse, north, east and south. It was finished early in the fall of 1836. The opening was a festive event; it took place during the flush times preceding the crash of 1837, money was plenty, and its prospects for success were excellent. It was resorted to by the officers of the garrison, judges on their circuit, canal contractors, lake captains, politicians, speculators and travelers. It was taken in charge after its opening by Jacob Russell, who came from Connecticut. Russell afterwards went across the river and took charge of the City Hotel, and the Lake House then came into the hands of George E. Shelley of Baltimore. Shelley was soon succeeded by Daniel S. Griswold, also a Baltimore man, who remained in charge one year. Then Thomas Dyer bought the whole establishment for ten thousand dollars, and William Rickcords of Buffalo took charge in September, 1844.

"But nothing could save the Lake House," says the writer of the article which we have quoted from above. "It was out of the way, almost inaccessible, and was sure death to a landlord, and grew worse year by year;" and, in 1852, it was said of it that it looked like some old deserted castle. In its time it had been regarded as the "crack hotel" of the West. The building was at last converted into residence apartments, and used as such until it was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1871.

Among the celebrities entertained there were Daniel Webster, General Winfield Scott, and Governor Lewis Cass. "It was built at a time when there was sharp rivalry for supremacy," says Frederick F. Cook, in his recent book on Chicago, "Bygone Days," "between the north and south divisions, and its promoters entertained the hope that this piece of enterprise would effectually stop the exodus to the south division."

TREMONT HOUSE

The Tremont House and the lot on which it stood also had a checkered career. A man, who is quoted by Andreas as having spent some time here in the early "thirties" wrote a letter to the Chicago *Times* under date of March 15, 1876, a portion of which is quoted as follows: "The most historic lot in Chicago undoubtedly is the one occupied by the Tremont House [evidently referring to its later location]. It has been in the 'raffle-box,' swapped for ponies, refused for a barrel of whisky, and when an old settler wants to give you an idea of the city when he first planted his feet in the mud here, he will somehow associate the price of the Tremont House lot with it; and any old settler will tell the year of your arrival by giving him the value of the lot at that particular time.

"One old codger will tell you, 'when I came here I could have bought the lot the Tremont House stands on for a cord of wood; that means 1831. Another puts the value, with the preliminary remark, at 'a pair of boots;' that means 1832. A third fixes the price at 'a barrel of whiskey;' that means 1833. A fourth adds 'a

yoke of steers and a barrel of flour;' that means 1834. A fifth talks about 'five hundred dollars;' that means 1835. A year or two afterwards it was worth five thousand dollars, and is now [1876] worth five hundred thousand dollars."

THE FIRE OF 1839

The first "great" fire which Chicago suffered occurred on October 27, 1839, starting on Lake street, near Dearborn. The fire was checked by blowing up a building in its course, but not before the Tremont House and seventeen other buildings were destroyed, with a total loss of about $60,000 or $70,000, a large amount in those days. The list of those who were burned out included most of the "merchant princes" of the city. The fire department at that time consisted of a chief, the Chicago Fire Guards Bucket Company, an engine company, and a hook and ladder company. The equipment included two engines, two sixteen-foot ladders, one thousand feet of hose, two fire hooks with chains and ropes, four axes and four hand saws.

The ordinance of November, 1835, establishing the "bucket brigade" directed every occupant of a store or dwelling "to have one good painted leathern fire bucket, with the initials of the owner's name painted thereon." There must be one bucket for each stove or fire place in the building, the buckets to be hung in conspicuous places. A fine was imposed for neglecting to provide the proper number of buckets, as well as for the failure of a bucket-owner to go immediately to the fire with his bucket.

Later, in 1857, there were two large fires in Chicago, one happening in March, another in October. The former occurred at the corner of South Water and State streets, burning a five-story brick block and the adjacent buildings. The latter was the most destructive of any fire that had visited the city, starting in South Water street and spreading rapidly in all directions. Not only was the loss of property great, in the destruction of some of the finest business blocks of the city, but twenty-three lives were lost in this fire. By a sad irony of circumstance the engines and hose were in poor condition to cope with fire, having been seriously damaged in a series of contests held a few days before, to test the efficiency of the department.

STAGE ROADS TO THE EAST

"Previous to 1837" says A. D. Field, in his "Recollections," "the stage road from Chicago to Michigan City ran around the head of the lake. All wagons ploughed the deep sand along the sandy ridges that skirted the lake. But in 1837 the road was changed, and at the Calumet it swerved off and took a circle over the black oak ridges going eight or ten miles south of the end of the lake. Through all that country the land lay in swales and ridges like waves, the ridges being about four or five rods wide. South of the Calumet River, at what is now Hammond, Indiana, the ridges were covered with huckleberries and winter-greens. Previous to 1837 the Calumet River at Calumet, now South Chicago, was crossed by a rope scow ferry. But in that year a floating plank toll-bridge was built at Calumet, and over the Calumet River eight miles on from Calumet, at Hammond, a pile bridge was built. From this point on, all travel went

that way. The only inhabitants, except Indians, along this route were the tavern keepers, but at Calumet (South Chicago) there were only some three families in the years 1837 to 1839.

"Three miles from Chicago was Myrick's tavern; three miles farther was the Half-way House; three miles farther was Nyrum Hurd's tavern; three miles farther was Calumet, where old man Jefferson kept the plank toll bridge, and his son Hiram Jefferson and Mr. Garland kept the tavern. Four miles farther, near the present Hegewisch, was Isaac Hale's tavern. This tavern-keeper was my stepfather. Mr. Hale left the Pinery on the lake, twenty miles from Chicago, in the spring of 1837, and set up tavern-keeping in a two-room house with chamber, built of hewed pine logs. Hale's tavern was sixteen miles from Chicago. Four miles farther David Pierce kept a stage tavern. As at present known, Hammond was three miles farther, and Lemuel Mulkins' place was twelve miles beyond. Thus the entire distance from Chicago to Ainsworth was thirty-five miles.

"The stages were open stage-wagons drawn by four horses. A four-horse team came from Chicago to Calumet, twelve miles, in the morning, and went back to Chicago in the afternoon. A four-horse team drove to Pierce's eight miles farther, in the forenoon, and returned to Calumet in the afternoon. The stages met at Pierce's. Two four-horse teams ran between Pierce's and Ainsworth. In 1837 the travel and stage business along this route was endless, but in 1838 travel nearly ceased, and the stages were reduced to two-horse hacks. I presume the steamboat lines across the lakes had cut off the stage custom, and the travel by land was thus greatly diminished.

"In those days, 1837 and 1838, wagons and men on horseback frequently passed our doors, having travelled all the way from New York. I know that Rev. Richard A. Blanchard, afterward a prominent Methodist preacher, came that way from the 'Genesee Country' in New York in a 'gig'—a two-wheeled concern."

Many travelers from the East reached the lake shore near the point where the Riviere du Chemin empties into the lake (Michigan City), and continued along the water's edge to Chicago, like the demon horseman in Burger's "Leonore;"

> "Tramp, tramp, across the land they rode,
> Splash, splash, along the sea."

STAGE ROADS TO THE NORTH

"When we lived on the west side in 1836," continues Field, "the Milwaukee stage coach passed our door every day. I remember this, for the leaders were 'John' and 'Nance,' the team my father had driven to a two-horse wagon from Chautauqua County, New York, to Chicago, in the fall of 1834, the year before he brought his family. Just where the stage road went from our house I do not know, but there was hardly any passage along the lake shore to the north. In after years I was told that the road swung west to Libertyville by Dutchman's Point, where John Plank kept a tavern in the early days.

STAGE ROADS TO THE WEST

"In 1840 and 1843 there were two routes striking west from Chicago to Elgin and other Fox River points. One crossed the Desplaines near Riverside; the other, an earlier road, turned northwest. The first tavern, three or four miles from Chicago, was Lytle's. Then across the Desplaines was young man Hoyt's, or Buckhorn tavern; then old man Hoyt's at Bloomingdale; then Leatherman's about four miles from Elgin."

THE ROUTE FROM THE EAST

Travelers who found their way to Chicago by way of Detroit in the years from 1832 to 1834, had to go in primitive fashion by mail-coach, by flat boats with Indian guides, by schooner, or whatever conveyance they could get for any part of the way. A volume entitled "The Story of the Great Lakes," by Professor Edward Channing of Harvard University, recalls these early modes of travel in an interesting manner. For the traveler of the early forties, he says "there were three regular and established routes by any one of which he would be reasonably comfortable. One was by steamer through the lakes, but this he more commonly took on his return trip. A second was by railroad to Ypsilanti, thirty-three miles away, [opened in 1842] from which a regular line of stages ran to St. Joseph on Lake Michigan, one hundred and seventy miles across the state, and thence by steamer the remaining sixty miles to Chicago. . . .

"At Chicago the visitor stopped to wonder, as men have stopped to wonder ever since. The splendid location of the town as a commercial thoroughfare between the lakes and the Mississippi had made it an easy victim to the land-boom of 1834 and 1835, and Mr. Buckingham, visiting there in 1840, was told by persons who had been present at the time that building lots on streets only marked out on paper had been sold over and over again in a day, with an advance of price each time until the evening purchaser was likely, at the very least, to pay ten times as much as the morning buyer of the same lot.

"Chicago had, however, been able to survive the succeeding panic in 1837, which swamped for the time being several smaller towns. It was now a prosperous trading center of six thousand people. The town was planned with the symmetry of all these newly built cities, and the streets were of good width with rows of trees separating the plank sidewalks from the main road. None of the streets were as yet paved; and indeed many of them had still the green turf of the prairie grass in the center. So scarce was stone and so high was labor that a small piece of flagstone pavement around the Lake House had cost nine hundred dollars,—an extravagance which no one else had yet committed. On the south side of the river were the stores, many of them built of brick, and the main street was a busy trading mart. There were in the city six churches, four hotels, banks, and insurance offices, and along the water front stretched a growing line of warehouses. The fashionable residential district was on the north side of the river, where were avenues of large villas surrounded by gardens. Between the two parts ran a ferry boat, drawn across the river by a rope, and passing and repassing every five minutes. This was maintained by subscription among the inhabitants, and no fee was therefore charged for crossing."

SOCIETY OF THE EARLY DAYS

"In most new settlements there can always be pointed out some particular class," said John Wentworth, "who give tone to the early society; such as the Pilgrims and Puritans of New England, the Knickerbockers of New York, the Huguenots of South Carolina, the Creoles of New Orleans, and, in later days, men identified with manufacturing interests, mining interests, railroad interests, or with seminaries of learning. But here in Chicago, in early times, we had not any one prevailing class or interest; nor was there any sufficient number of people from any particular locality to exercise a controlling influence in moulding public sentiment.

"We had people from almost every clime, and of almost every opinion. We had Jews and Christians, Protestants, Catholics, and infidels; among Protestants there were Calvinists and Armenians. Nearly every language was represented here. Some people had seen much of the world, and some very little. Some were quite learned, and some very ignorant. We had every variety of people, and out of these we had to construct what is called society. The winters were long; no railroads, no telegraphs, no canal, and all we had to rely upon for news were our weekly newspapers. We had no libraries, no lectures, no theatres or other places of amusement."

CHAPTER VI

ERA OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

EARLY RAILROAD BUILDING—RAPID INCREASE IN POPULATION—PEOPLE ENTHUSIASTIC OVER INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—LEGISLATURE OF 1836—THE PERSONNEL OF THE LEGISLATURE—LEGISLATIVE TACTICS—THE "LONG NINE"—AN IMMENSE DEBT INCURRED—DISTURBED FINANCIAL CONDITIONS—THE CHICAGO HARBOR—THE FORERUNNER OF THE CHICAGO & NORTHWESTERN RAILWAY—THE GALENA & CHICAGO UNION RAILROAD—STRAP RAILS USED—THE "PIONEER"—DEPOT ON THE WEST SIDE—IMPROVEMENTS AND EXTENSIONS—DEPOT ON THE NORTH SIDE—EXTENSIONS TO THE MISSOURI RIVER—THROUGH TRAINS TO MILWAUKEE—SUBURBAN SERVICE—THE GREAT CONSOLIDATION—END OF THE GALENA & CHICAGO UNION—NAME OF CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN ADOPTED—PRIVILEGES OF COMMON AND PREFERRED STOCK—VARIOUS EXTENSIONS—CHANGES IN THE PRESIDENCY—PROGRESS DURING TEN YEARS—FURTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS—LATER IMPROVEMENTS—REVIEW OF GROWTH IN LATER YEARS—THE NEW TERMINAL—ADMINISTRATION OF THE ROAD.

The state of Illinois, in 1837, entered upon an extensive system of internal improvements which resulted in a complete failure and left a heavy debt which the people were many years in liquidating. There was an unusual longing of the people for increased facilities of transportation. The eastern states had set the example of extensive improvements in canal and railroad building. The Erie canal had been completed by New York state in 1825, and the people of that state were wrought up to a high pitch of expectation, and all through the seaboard states the spirit of internal improvement became especially active. As early as 1826, Ohio began the construction of a canal to join the waters of Lake Erie and the Ohio river. Indiana launched an extensive system of improvements, and our own state had begun the building of the Illinois and Michigan canal.

At this time a few railroads had been built in the eastern states, several lines being in operation. The opening of the first railroad in England had taken place in September, 1825, when George Stephenson ran a train of a dozen or more cars, some loaded with coal, and others with passengers from Stockton to Darlington. Descriptions of this event filled the newspapers of the day. "People in large numbers," says one account, "had gathered for the occasion, and when the train started, many in doubt of its promised speed, tried to keep up with it on foot, gentry on horseback cut across fields to head it off, and a stagecoach on the turnpike, loaded with passengers, waited for an even start. On the track, in front of the engine, a man was mounted on a fleet charger to keep ahead of it, carrying a flag and decorated with many derisive insignia. Such were some of

the manifestations of the doubting Briton. The train started amid cheers from the people. The locomotive soon showed its power under the guiding hand of Stephenson. He shouted to the man with the flag to clear the track, and, opening the throttle valve, the train shot ahead at the rate of fifteen miles an hour, leaving people, horses and stage-coach far behind, and reaching Darlington in safety."

RAILROAD BUILDING

The news of the successful operation of railroads in England was the inspiration of railroad building in this country. The people everywhere saw in the railroad the promise of better conditions in transportation, and became possessed with the desire to see them built throughout the land. Steam navigation on the larger rivers and lakes was already established and steadily increasing. Canals were enormously popular wherever the country was adapted for their construction. But railroads could be built throughout the length and breadth of the land without regard to water courses and lakes, and thus render markets more readily accessible for extensive regions.

By 1830 a railroad had been built between Albany and Schenectady, a distance of thirty-six miles. The news of the success of this enterprise spread throughout the West, and along with the early movements for a canal in Illinois, there sprang up a demand for railroad construction. "Internal Improvements" became the chief issue in the politics of the state. In 1834, Governor Duncan recommended the formation of the State Bank with a capital of $1,500,000, with six branches. This was sanctioned by the legislature. Other banks were started in great numbers all over the country; their issues were current everywhere; indeed it was the only paper money the people had. The government was also distributing its surplus revenue among the states, amounting to many millions, money was plentiful and times were good, and western immigration was greatly stimulated.

RAPID INCREASE IN POPULATION

"The state census of 1835," says Stuvé, "revealed an astounding increase in population during the last five years, it being 157,445 in 1830, and 269,974 in 1835. The increase was mainly in the central and northern parts of the state. This was also largely due to the Black Hawk war, which had advertised these fertile regions all over the country, and as the Indians were now finally expelled therefrom, the settlers felt secure, and the influx of immigrants was redoubled." The fever for public improvements became steadily more pronounced among the people, and was especially stimulated by the governor. He convened the legislature in a special session December 7th, 1835, and in his message he advocated a comprehensive system of internal improvements, concluding with the following inspiring words:

"When we look abroad and see the extensive lines of intercommunication penetrating almost every section of our sister states—when we see the canal boat and locomotive bearing, with seeming triumph, the rich productions of the interior to the rivers, lakes and ocean, almost annihilating burthen and space, what patriotic bosom does not beat high with a laudable ambition to give to Illinois her full share of those advantages which are adorning her sister states,

and which a munificent Providence seems to invite by the wonderful adaptation of our country to such improvements."

AMBITION OF THE PEOPLE

The legislature, however, did not rise to the level of the governor's enthusiasm, and failed to respond to most of his recommendations; but the people were fired by his glowing words, and speedily took the matter into their own hands. At the next election internal improvements was again the main issue. Other states had led the way and the people were eager to enter upon vast enterprises, which the press and political orators pointed out as practicable, and the anticipated results they painted in glowing colors. The digging of canals, building of railroads and river improvements were under full headway in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana; and the people had read the vivid accounts of these wonderful operations, and were fired with the determination not to be left behind in the race. "They not only craved relief in their remote situation," says Stuvé, "but were animated by a sentiment of pride and emulation. What others could afford they might. As to the mode and manner of accomplishing the desired object they took little concern. The ways and means were entrusted to their representatives to be chosen. The feasibility, safety, and the details of the scheme, and the plans and methods of procedure, were for them to devise."

THE LEGISLATURE OF 1836

At the election in August, 1836, a majority of the members elected to the General Assembly were committed to a forward policy in the matter of internal improvements. Meetings were held in many counties of the state and delegates named to meet in convention at the state capital simultaneously with the legislature to further the cause of internal improvements. Although this convention was wholly irresponsible it claimed that its membership was "fresh from the people," and one of its committees, called a "lobby committee," was instructed to see that members of the legislature should not shrink in their support of a bill which had been prepared for introduction into that body. Many of the members of the convention were also members of the legislature.

An editorial in the Chicago *American* printed in its issue of December 10th, 1836, showed that its editor fully shared the sentiments of the people in other parts of the state. "It is time," says the editor, "that this state should take a high and commanding position in the general field of internal improvements. Her resources, her great natural advantages, her increasing wealth and population, suggest and require it."

Delegates were sent to the convention to represent the County of Cook. The *American,* in the same issue as the one quoted from above, gives an account of the meeting, and the names of the delegates appointed by the chairman. They were T. W. Smith, W. L. Newberry, Giles Spring, Henry Moore, C. V. Dyer, William B. Egan, R. K. Richards, John Blackstone, J. D. Caton, J. B. Beaubien, Peter Cohen, H. G. Loomis, J. M. Strode, L. T. James, John H. Kinzie, E. D. Taylor, J. N. Balestier, E. W. Casey, and James H. Collins. These men constituted a formidable array of character and talent to take part in the proceedings

of the forthcoming assemblage called to promote the cause of internal improvements.

The convention met at Vandalia, then the capital of the state, on December 5th, 1836, on the same day of the meeting of the General Assembly, and continued in session two days. The convention was wildly enthusiastic for railroads at any cost, although the members knew little except hearsay of the amount of money necessary to build them, and were devoid of any practical knowledge of the requirements for their construction or their operation. It finally embodied its sentiments in a memorial which was to accompany the bill already prepared. This memorial demanded the construction of a system of railroads and improvements to river navigation, the estimate cost of which was $7,450,000. The Illinois and Michigan canal was not included in the list of works demanded, as that had been provided for the previous year and work on it had already commenced.

After the bill and memorial had been introduced into the legislature they were referred to a committee on internal improvements, which made a report with a list of additions amounting to $2,800,000 more than the original bill, making a total of $10,250,000. The committee in its report urged that owing to the level surface of the state the cost of railroad building would not exceed $8,000 per mile, that as soon as sections were completed the earnings would pay interest on the cost, that immigration would increase, which would mean increased entries of public lands and increased revenue, that public expectation would be disappointed if some system of improvements was not adopted, and that it was a legislator's duty to calm the apprehensions of the timorous and meet the attacks of the opposition that might arise against measures which would multiply the wealth and population of the state.

THE PERSONNEL OF THE LEGISLATURE

"No previous general assembly of our state, and very few since," says Snyder, "have comprised such an array of brainy, talented men, or as many who subsequently gained such conspicuous eminence in the annals of the state and nation." Among them were Orville H. Browning, who was a friend of Lincoln's, and in later years a United States senator and a member of President Johnson's cabinet; Cyrus Edwards, a younger brother of Ninian Edwards; Edward D. Baker, who afterwards removed to Oregon, and was a United States Senator from that state; later he was a general in the civil war, and was killed in battle; Richard M. Cullom, father of the late Senator Shelby M. Cullom; Stephen A. Douglas, afterwards United States Senator, and candidate for the Presidency in 1860; William L. D. Ewing, who was afterwards United States Senator; Augustus C. French, governor of the state from 1846 to 1852; John J. Hardin, who was colonel of the First Regiment of Illinois Volunteers in the Mexican war, and was killed at the battle of Buena Vista; Abraham Lincoln, then only twenty-eight years old, and just entering upon his wonderful career; Usher F. Linder, afterwards a well-known lawyer of Chicago; John A. McClernand, afterwards a general in the civil war; and many others who in later years held exalted positions in the state or nation. The representatives from Cook County in this legislature were Peter Pruyne, in the Senate, and Joseph Walker, Joseph Naper, and A. G. Leary, in the House of Representatives.

But while the people and their representatives had entered deeply into these visionary and doubtful plans of improvement, Governor Duncan had modified his views since the previous year when he sent his message to the legislature recommending these measures. He now thought it wiser for the governing body to confine itself to issuing charters under which independent corporations might undertake the construction of railroads, and not burden the state with a heavy bonded indebtedness. "The gravest menace of the measure," writes Stuvé, "consisted of its being made a state undertaking." The conduct of public affairs at that time was of such a character that the men in the offices were not adapted by training or experience to carrying on enterprises of a practical kind. The public service was mainly filled with politicians, a class to whom the management of state railroads would be unfamiliar, and who in fact were not fitted for such responsibilities. Although Governor Duncan, in his message, extolled the grand system proposed, he now advocated that the state take only a third or a half interest in the works instead of the whole. But the legislature gave no heed to his advice and speedily passed the measure and it was sent to the governor for his approval. The governor returned the bill without his approval, but it was passed by the legislature by a constitutional majority and became a law February 27, 1837.

The legislature then elected a board of Fund Commissioners who were authorized to negotiate the loans for the grand system of internal improvements; and a board of Commissioners of Public Works, composed of one member from each judicial district, few of whom had ever seen a railroad or a canal, to superintend construction of the works proposed. "And as a crowning act of folly," we read in Ford's history of Illinois, "it was provided that the work should commence simultaneously on all the roads at each end, and from the crossings of all the rivers." No surveys had been made or estimates of cost secured, no one knew where the necessary material for their construction could be obtained, or where the money was to come from with which to make the payments.

In this condition of bewildering uncertainty the legislature adjourned on the 6th of March, 1837, at a time when the country was on the eve of the great monetary panic of that year. Commenting on the passage of the law the editor of the *American,* in its issue of April 22d, said: "A ball has been set in motion which, we hope, is destined to roll on till our vast country is crossed in every direction by railroads and canals, and our noble rivers are freed from obstructions to commerce. Then we shall indeed be a great people."

PROVISIONS OF THE LAW

As finally passed the Act authorized the construction of a railroad from Galena to Cairo, usualy referred to as the First Illinois Central Railroad, estimated to cost $3,500,000; the Northern Cross Railroad, $1,850,000; the Southern Cross Railroad, $1,600,000; five other railroads to be built from one interior point to another, $2,450,000; improvements of various rivers in the central and southern parts of the state, $400,000; Great Western Mail Route, $250,000; and $200,000 to be distributed among those counties through which no improvements were projected. But this appalling total of $10,250,000 was not

the limit of expenditures proposed. Other appropriations beside those required for the "Grand System" had been made. The state capital was that year removed from Vandalia to Springfield, and $150,000 for a new State House was provided, and a subscription of $100,000 previously made to the stock of the State Bank, was increased to $3,000,000. We have then a grand total of $13,400,000, as the liability of the state under these several acts of the legislature.

LEGISLATIVE TACTICS

"The means used in the legislature to pass the system," writes Governor Thomas Ford, "deserve some notice for the instruction of posterity. First, a large portion of the people were interested in the success of the canal, which was threatened, if other sections of the state were denied the improvements demanded by them; and thus the friends of the canal were forced to 'log-roll' for that work by supporting others which were to be ruinous to the country. Roads and improvements were proposed everywhere, to enlist [the support of] every section of the state. Three or four efforts were made to pass a smaller system, and when defeated, the bill would be amended by the addition of other roads, until a majority was obtained for it. Those counties which could not thus be accommodated were to share in the fund of two hundred thousand dollars. Three roads were appointed to terminate at Alton, before the Alton interest would agree to the system. The seat of government was to be removed to Springfield. Sangamon county, in which Springfield was situated, was then represented by two senators and seven representatives, called the 'Long Nine,' all whigs but one. Amongst them were some dexterous jugglers and managers in politics, whose whole object was to obtain the seat of government for Springfield. This delegation from the beginning of the session, threw itself as a unit in support of, or opposition to, every local measure of interest, but never without a bargain for votes in return on the seat of government question.

"Most of the other counties were small, having but one representative, and many of them with but one for a whole district; and this gave Sangamon County a decided preponderance in the 'log-rolling' system of those days. It is worthy of examination whether any just and equal legislation can ever be obtained where some of the counties are great and powerful and others feeble. But by such means 'the Long Nine' rolled along like a snow-ball, gathering accessions of strength at every turn, until they swelled up a considerable part for Springfield, which party they managed to take almost as a unit in favor of the internal improvement system, in return for which the active supporters of that system were to vote for Springfield to be the seat of government. Thus it was made to cost the state about six millions of dollars to remove the seat of government from Vandalia to Springfield, half of which sum would have purchased all the real estate in that town at three prices; and thus, by 'log-rolling' on the canal measure, by multiplying railroads, by terminating three railroads at Alton, that Alton might become a great city in opposition to St. Louis, by distributing money to some of the counties, to be wasted by the county commissioners, and by giving the seat of government to Springfield, was the whole state bought up and bribed, to approve the most senseless and disastrous policy which ever crippled the energies of a growing country."

THE "LONG NINE"

The two senators and seven representatives from Sanagmon County in the legislature, which enacted the Internal Improvement laws, known as the "Long Nine," were so called because they averaged six feet in height, some more and some less, there being precisely fifty-four feet in the sum of their statures. Abraham Lincoln was one of the representatives. Other members of the delegation were Archer G. Herndon, Job Fletcher, Ninian W. Edwards, William F. Elkins, Daniel Stone, John Dawson, Andrew McCormick, and Robert L. Wilson. "They were astute and influential men," says Snyder, "united in their efforts to secure the removal of the capital to Springfield, the object for which they were elected. They succeeded in having their bill passed, on the 25th of February, 1837, 'log-rolling' with the friends of every other measure presented; or threatening to withhold their support from the same, the canal and other internal improvements especially; and by the practice of all arts of persuasion and coercion known to influence recalcitrant or indifferent members."

There was an excellent reason, however, for the removal of the capital, and whatever the methods of accomplishing it were, the success of the project was much to the advantage of the state as a whole. "The marvelous growth of Chicago," says Snyder, "and rapid settling of the northern counties after the Black Hawk war, began to demand a permanent central location of the seat of government at, or near, the geographical center of the state." Then, again, the State House in Vandalia was in such a dilapidated condition as to be scarcely tenable, and a bill providing for the erection of a new one in place of it could not be passed. This opened the way for the introduction of the bill to remove the capital with an appropriation of $50,000, for a State House, "conditioned on the donation of an equal sum by the citizens of the town in which it was decided the capital would be fixed."

THE IMMENSE DEBT INCURRED

To fully comprehend the stupendous liability which the state had been placed under, a comparison of resources and population will be necessary. The population of Illinois in 1837 may be estimated at 300,000. The census returns for 1900 give the population of the state as 4,821,550; that is about sixteen times greater than in the former period. The assessed wealth of the state in 1837 was about $50,000,000, and it is now, according to the "Blue Book" of Illinois for 1909, $1,263,500,000, that is, about twenty-five times greater. And if we should take the true valuation of the wealth of the state at the last date mentioned, instead of the valuation as above given, which was reduced to about one-fifth by "equalization," it would be more than a hundred times greater than it was in 1837. If this state were now burdened with a debt in the same proportion as the liabilities incurred in 1837 were to its population then, it would amount to some 215 millions of dollars; or, if in proportion to its taxable wealth, as between that period and the present, it would be over 1,300 millions. We may thus form some idea of the burden the people had assumed in embarking upon the grand projects known as Internal Improvements.

"And when we consider," writes Stuvé, "that money in 1837 was much

dearer, or had a greater purchasing capacity, than now; that it required double the labor to earn a dollar it does now; that the products of the field and farm brought scarce half they average now;" we may form some idea of the burden that the people staggered under at that time.

Still the people remained sanguine, and steadily looked forward to great results, their hopes sustained by the assurances of stump orators and press writers. The arguments in favor of the system which had been inaugurated "were of a character most difficult to refute," says Governor Ford, "composed as they were partly of fact, but mostly of prediction. In this way," continues the Governor, in his caustic review of these events, "I have heard it proved to general satisfaction by an ingenious orator that the state could well afford to borrow a hundred million of dollars, and expend it in making internal improvements. The orators in favor of the system all aimed to argue their way logically, and the end has showed that the counsels of a sound judgment, guided by common sense jumping at conclusions, are to be preferrred to ingenious speculation. Nothing is more delusive in public affairs than a series of ingenious reasonings."

Compare this criticism of Governor Ford's, written previously to 1850, with a recent review of a book in an English weekly, and we can see how the conclusions of thinking men, separated by more than half a century in their writings, and in a totally different environment, agree in their expressions regarding "logical" conclusions in the conduct of public affairs. The English reviewer, in commenting upon a book recently published, entitled "Britain at Bay," by the well known military writer, Spenser Wilkinson, says: "His logical mind can barely tolerate a system that persistently divides the kingdom into two camps, when both camps in reality belong to the same national army. . . . Of course this is displeasing to logic; but politics are not logic, and the only way to come to a fair decision in a world necessarily conducted by a series of second-best courses is to ask overselves what the alternative to existing systems would be. This question always resolves one's doubts."

As we have seen, even in recent years, the same "logical" reasoning, as opposed to plain common sense, was employed by the advocates of financial and political heresies, persuading large numbers of citizens to support causes whose manifest tendency was toward "the way that madness lies." When public discussions of affairs and measures begin to take the form of arguments built up with premises, and postulates, and "logical conclusions," the truth is quickly lost sight of and error triumphs. "The gods punish the wicked and fools, the fools first."

DISTURBED FINANCIAL CONDITIONS

In the spring of 1837, as described in several passages in the previous pages of this work, a financial and business panic broke out and spread over the country. Many banks suspended and there was widespread business disaster, causing great distress to thousands of people engaged in every branch of trade and industry. But strange as it may seem, notwithstanding the disturbed financial condition of the country, the Fund Commissioners were able to dispose of nearly five million dollars worth of the state securities authorized for the purpose of building railroads under the Internal Improvement act. Such

was the credit of the state that the bonds were sold at a premium in New York and other financial centers. With the funds thus provided work was begun at many different points in the state before the end of the year. Money paid out on account of work and materials, and the consequent stimulation to trade and manufactures, made the times good in spite of the troubles elsewhere. "Credit became easy, and with advancing prices a spirit of wild and reckless speculation seized the people," says Stuvé, whose account of this episode in our history is printed in the volume of the Illinois State Historical Library Publication for 1902. "Lands were entered, often with borrowed money, towns laid out, lots sold and houses built largely on promises. Merchants, confident that the era of good times and prosperity had come to stay, bought excessively of goods on time and sold them without stint to the people on time. Extravagance was engendered, false hopes stimulated and debts contracted needlessly."

THE CHICAGO HARBOR

A plan for "improving the mouth of the Chicago river" was submitted to the Canal Commissioners in 1830 by William Howard, the chief engineer of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, the route of which was then in the course of being surveyed. It will be remembered that the natural outlet of the river was far south of its present mouth, a peninsula of sand extending from the north bank of the present river's mouth a half mile to the south, where the river water then found an opening into the lake. Engineer Howard's plan was to close the original outlet and cut a channel through the sandy peninsula, so that the river would be forced to flow directly east into the open lake; and trust to the current of the river, with some help from dredging, to keep the channel open and deep enough for navigation. In outlining the course that the river should take across the obstructing sand he proposed to carry two lines of piling or piers parallel with each other two hundred feet apart.

This plan was brought to the attention of Congress, but nothing was done until three years later, lake vessels meantime being obliged to anchor some distance off shore and handle their cargoes by means of lighters. In 1833, an appropriation of $25,000 was made by Congress, and work began. Between four hundred and five hundred feet of the south pier was completed that season; and in the next two years, an additional appropriation having been secured, the north pier was extended beyond the south pier and reached a total length of one thousand, two hundred and sixty feet where a depth of twelve feet of water was found.

The work had now progressed far enough to enter upon the dredging necessary to clear out the sand and gravel from the newly created channel, and this was partly accomplished when it was discovered that a bar had begun to form off the end of the north pier, and thus threaten the entrance. Having now nearly exhausted the allowances made by the government the engineer in charge was obliged to devote the remaining funds towards keeping the water at a sufficient depth to admit vessels to the river. The current in the river had up to this time made no great impression upon the sand in the channel.

With further appropriations the piers were extended in the hope of reaching a point in the open waters of the lake beyond the influence of the currents

which deposited the sand at the end of the north pier. At the same time the direction of the north pier was changed twenty-five degrees more to the north; but, after having carried it out four hundred and five feet in the new direction, it was found that matters had not been improved. The bar continued to form, and vessels entering the river were obliged to make a long detour to the southward to pass around the constantly encroaching bar. These discouraging conditions continued for some years, as Congress did not seem disposed to add further appropriations.

The claims of the Chicago harbor, however, continued to be pressed upon Congress, until in 1843 the sum of $25,000 was obtained for work on the harbor. With this sum a series of repairs and some new work was effected, the engineer in charge being Captain George B. McClellan, afterwards a major-general and commander-in-chief of the Army of the Potomac. Further appropriations were made, but it began to be realized that the enterprise was too vast to be carried out in an effective manner with the small allowances heretofore received from the government. And as if to still further embarrass the prospects of ever completing the work, appropriations ceased altogether, and it was not until 1852 that the needs of the Chicago harbor were again recognized by Congress.

In the following year work on the harbor dragged slowly on, and by 1854 it had at length become possible for a vessel drawing over nine feet of water to pass directly into the new channel from the open lake.

While he was President, from 1845 to 1849, James K. Polk kept a diary of such events as he deemed worthy of recording. This diary has been recently printed in four volumes by the Chicago Historical Society in whose possession are the original manuscripts. Under date of November 4th, 1847, the President notes in his diary, as follows: "After night Senator Douglas of Illinois called. I had a long conversation with him upon public affairs. He agreed with me in my full policy, except in relation to the River and Harbor improvements. He said, however, that he felt no great interest on the subject, and should oppose my views on that subject only by a silent vote." It will be remembered that President Polk did not actually veto the River and Harbor bill, which Congress soon after passed. He simply held it in his possession unsigned until the expiration of the session, and thus it failed to become a law.

PREDECESSOR OF THE CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY

The account of this organization is based on the work entitled "Yesterday and To-day," which is a history of the Chicago & North-Western Railway System, issued in 1905. The preparation of this work, the writer informs us in the preface to his work, involved extensive research among the laws and session journals of the legislatures of many of the northwestern states, covering a period from the year 1836 to the date of the publication of his work.

"In the nearly sixty-nine years," he says, "that have intervened since the first charter was granted by the legislature of Illinois, more than one generation of men have lived and passed away, and with them have gone most of the records of their words and deeds. Documents, that were to them trivial and valueless, but that would have been above price to the compiler of this history, were destroyed, lost or so scattered that much time and minute search has been used in

digging out a very small part of them from their almost absolute oblivion. Other documents passed out of existence when the roads they referred to had died, become bankrupt, were sold, consolidated, or otherwise vanished. Then came the great Chicago fire and wiped out a vast majority of the preserved, and till then supposed to be safe, public and private records and documents."

That part of the present Chicago & North-Western Railway running directly west from Chicago, and commonly called the Galena Division, is to the present gigantic steam transportation lines radiating from Chicago in all directions, what the Mayflower was to the colonization and settlement of New England.

THE GALENA & CHICAGO RAILROAD

On January 10th, 1836, the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad was incorporated by special charter by the legislature of Illinois. It is worthy of notice that the initial name of the corporation was taken from the larger and at that time more important city of Galena. The charter provided for a railroad from Galena and Jo Daviess County to the town of Chicago, and fixed the capital stock at one hundred thousand dollars. It also provided that "if at any time, after the passage of this act, it shall be deemed advisable by the directors of the said corporation to make and construct a good and permanent turnpike road upon any portion of the route of the railroad, then said directors are hereby authorized and empowered to construct a turnpike, and erect as many toll gates as should be deemed necessary thereon." The financial panic of 1837 prevented anything being accomplished.

The charter was kept alive, Judge Theophilus W. Smith being president from July 3rd, 1836, to November 29th, 1837, and Elijah K. Hubbard from November, 1837, to February 17th, 1846, when William B. Ogden was made president. Ogden put new life into the project, and stock books for subscriptions to the capital stock of the company were opened on August 10th, 1847, at Chicago, and at various points along the line of the projected road.

STRAP RAILS USED

The real survey for the railroad was begun in September, 1847, and construction work began. The road was completed by December 15th, 1848, to a point near the Desplaines River, ten miles west of Chicago. This portion of the road and the line to Elgin was laid with what was known as a strap rail. This rail was an iron plate, two and a half inches wide by three-fourths or seven-eighths of an inch in thickness, laid on an oak ribbon, which in turn, was laid flatwise on longitudinal timbers six inches square, firmly secured to cross ties by spikes. A better form of rail was already coming into use called the "edge-rail," one of the earlier forms in the development of the T-rail; but the new company was not able to stand the greater cost of these. On that point the president, in his report regarding the plans of construction, said that owing to the condition of the money market the company was prevented "from getting iron and engines east or to purchase edge-rail for their road, and that hence it has been decided that strap rail (flat or plate rail) would have to be used."

THE "PIONEER"

The first locomotive to run out of Chicago was called the "Pioneer," and was placed on the road October 24th, 1848. It was built by the Baldwin Locomotive Works of Philadelphia, and weighed ten tons. The next year saw the motive power of the road increased by the addition of the engine "Chicago" (July, 1849), and by the "Elgin" in November of the same year, each weighing twenty-four tons. This practice of naming the engines was continued until 1872 or 1873, when the custom was abandoned and numbers only were used. January 22d, 1850, the road was completed and opened to Elgin, Illinois, forty-two and a half miles from Chicago.

DEPOT ON THE WEST SIDE

The first railroad depot in Chicago was built by the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad, in the fall of 1848. It was a one-story frame building located on the now vacant triangular piece of ground south of Kinzie street, and west of Canal street, which is at present passed daily by hundreds of trains. Of the thousands of passengers on these trains how few stop to realize what wonderful changes have taken place in the sixty-two years which have elapsed since the erection of Chicago's first railroad station. In 1849, this building was enlarged and a portion of it was set aside for freight purposes, while the original east end of the building was still used for passengers. A second story was added to the structure and that was surmounted with a sort of observatory. West of the depot was practically an open prairie, and from the observatory Mr. John B. Turner, the president of the road, who succeeded William B. Ogden in 1851, often watched for the coming of the trains with the aid of a long old-fashioned marine telescope, and thus could announce the approach of a train while it was as far away as Austin, six miles distant. This old building was standing in 1881, and the Galena Division suburban trains stopped there to load and unload passengers. The Young Men's Christian Association had a branch reading room upstairs, prior to its removal, which occurred in 1881.

The following is a copy of an early time-table of the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad, which appeared in the Chicago *Daily Democrat:*

> "On and after Tuesday, October 22d, 1850, Passenger Trains will run as follows:
>
> Leave Chicago for Elgin, St. Charles and Aurora at 8:00 A. M. and 3:00 P. M.
>
> Leave Elgin, St. Charles and Aurora for Chicago at 3:00 P. M. daily. (Sundays excepted.)
>
> Stages will connect daily at Aurora for Peru, Peoria, Springfield, and St. Louis. JOHN B. TURNER, *Acting Director.*"

During the fiscal year ending June 4th, 1851, Block Number One of the "original town" of Chicago was bought for depot purposes for $60,513, and a drawbridge over the North Branch of the Chicago river was arranged for. The boundaries of this block, using the street names as at present known, were, Kinzie street, Dearborn avenue, North Water and North State streets.

By December, 1851, the road was opened to Belvidere, Illinois, seventy-eight miles from Chicago; to Rockford in August, 1852; to Freeport, 1853; and to Beloit, Wisconsin, in the same year. The line from Turner, or what is now West Chicago, to Dixon, Illinois, was opened in December, 1854; to Sterling, in July, 1855; to Morrison, in September; and to Fulton in December of the same year.

IMPROVEMENTS AND EXTENSIONS

In May, 1852, Mr. Turner, then president, proposed to the stockholders that he should be permitted to substitute T-rails for the strap-rails that were in use between Chicago and Elgin. The needed authority was granted, and in due course of time the strap-rails disappeared from the road. In 1855 a telegraph line was built along the right of way between Chicago and Freeport, and the trains operated by it. In 1862 the Chicago, Iowa & Nebraska Railroad, and the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River Railroad, were leased by the Galena & Chicago Union, and their operation began on August 1st of that year. The construction of a bridge over the east channel of the Mississippi river to an island between the present cities of Fulton, Illinois, and Clinton, Iowa, was completed in 1860, and in 1865 the west end of the bridge was completed to the Iowa side; in the interval cars were ferried over on boats.

DEPOT ON THE NORTH SIDE

The second passenger depot in Chicago was erected in 1852 and 1853. It was built of brick and was two stories in height. It was situated on the southwest corner of Kinzie and Wells streets, with the passenger entrance on Wells street. This depot was destroyed in the great fire of 1871. The burnt building was replaced by a wooden building facing south with an entrance from Wells street.

In 1854 the Illinois & Wisconsin Railroad, which is now the Wisconsin Division of the Chicago & North-Western Railway, was constructed as far as what is known as Deer Grove, which is twenty-eight miles northwest of Chicago in Cook County, and the operation of trains was begun October 1st, 1854. The service consisted of one passenger train in each direction daily, the depot being located on West Kinzie street, and north of the old Galena & Chicago Union Depot on the West Side. The next year, 1855, the name of this road was changed to the Chicago, St. Paul and Fond du Lac Railroad.

EXTENSIONS TO MISSOURI RIVER AND MINNESOTA

The Iowa Division of the Chicago & North-Western Railway running directly west from Clinton was constructed by the Chicago, Iowa & Nebraska Railroad. Track laying started at Clinton, Iowa, in 1856, and was completed to Cedar Rapids in 1859. The Cedar Rapids & Missouri River Railroad was organized for the purpose of securing a land grant, and construction was begun in 1861, when the forty-one miles from Cedar Rapids to Chelsea, Iowa, was completed, and an extension was completed as far west as Nevada, Iowa, in 1864. In July of that year Congress made an additional grant of land to the Cedar Rapids & Missouri River Railroad, and authorized it to construct a line to Council Bluffs

which was completed in 1867, when one passenger train each way daily covered the distance of four hundred and eighty-nine miles between Chicago and Council Bluffs in twenty-eight hours, and supplied ample accommodation for the travel of that time. This was the first railroad connection with the Union Pacific Railroad.

In 1854, that part of the present Chicago & North-Western Railway, extending from Minnesota Junction, Wisconsin, to Fond du Lac, was built by the Rock River Valley Union Railroad. The next year, 1855, the Illinois & Wisconsin Railroad and the Rock River Valley Union Railroad were consolidated under the corporate name of the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad, but the gap between Cary, Illinois, and Minnesota Junction was not completed until 1859. The financial panic of 1857 stopped further extension and the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad became bankrupt.

THE CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY

During 1859 the legislatures of Illinois and Wisconsin authorized the reorganization of the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad, and a new company was formed called the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company, which secured all the rights and privileges of the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac. This, then, was the first corporate existence of the road which is the subject of this chapter. By 1862 the line was completed to Green Bay, Wisconsin, two hundred and forty-two miles from Chicago, via Janesville. The road at this time owned thirty-three engines and six hundred and seventy-four cars. In 1864 the line running west from Kenosha, Wisconsin, to Rockford, Illinois, was purchased by the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company.

HISTORY OF THE LINE TO MILWAUKEE

That portion of the present Milwaukee Division of the Chicago & North-Western Railway, in Illinois, was built by the Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad, and trains commenced running as far as Waukegan, December 19th, 1854. A time table published in the Chicago *Daily Journal* of Saturday, February 10th, 1855, shows one passenger train in each direction between Chicago and Waukegan, and time consumed two hours.

The road south from Milwaukee to the State Line was a part of the Green Bay, Milwaukee & Chicago Railroad, chartered by the Wisconsin legislature March 13th, 1851. The name of this road was changed, on March 6th, 1857, to the Milwaukee & Chicago Railroad, and, on June 5th, 1863, it was consolidated with the Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad. The Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad in turn was leased to the Chicago & North-Western Railway May 2nd, 1866. It was finally consolidated with the latter road on June 7th, 1883.

We have seen that the newly built Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad ran its first train, after its completion, from Chicago to Waukegan, December 19th, 1854. Soon afterwards through trains to Milwaukee commenced running, as will appear from a notice published in the *Daily Democratic Press* of Chicago, under date of June 9th, 1855, as follows:

"Chicago & Milwaukee Railroad Opened to Milwaukee.

"Two trains daily each way leaving Chicago Station on West Side at 9 A. M. and 4 P. M."

SUBURBAN SERVICE

A local train service, for the convenience of residents on the North Shore, was inaugurated on this line on November 13th, 1856, when the first train made its initial trip from Chicago to Waukegan. The trains in this service did not run through to Milwaukee, but ended the run at Waukegan.

The present Chicago & North-Western Railway system is in general the result of a great number of mergers and consolidations. The oldest corporation among its various components was the Galena & Chicago Union Railroad. This name disappeared at the time of the "Great Consolidation" in 1864, and was replaced by that of the Chicago & North-Western, though the name of the latter had been in use only from June 6th, 1859, as previously stated. During that year the legislatures of Illinois and Wisconsin had authorized the organization of a company under this name, and its first official act was the purchase of the bankrupt Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac Railroad Company for $10,849,938. William B. Ogden was the leading spirit in the affairs of the North-Western at this period, as he had been in those of the Galena & Chicago Union, and became the first president of the newly formed company.

The Galena & Chicago Union in the course of its career had absorbed a number of lines as we have seen, as had also the Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac. The latter company with all its components had passed into the hands of the North-Western in 1859, and these two great corporations became rivals in the territory west and north from Chicago. It was therefore a wise policy on the part of the managers of these two companies to work for a consolidation. Ogden had been at the head of affairs in the older organization, and now having become the leader in the newer one, possessed the necessary weight and influence to bring about this most desirable result.

THE END OF THE GALENA & CHICAGO UNION

"We have now reached a point," says the author of "Yesterday and To-Day," "where we have to part company with the 'Pioneer Line.' In the future it has not only to share the fortunes of another corporation, but is to exist, be maintained and operated under another corporation's legal title. We have, in the preceding pages, seen it grow from a mere name on paper until at last it became a fact, and soon the leading railroad of the west. It was *the* leader in nearly everything that belonged to railroad operation. In financial standing and credit it was without a peer.

"It had the best, largest, and most modern locomotive engines. Its cars were inferior to those of no other road. It built the first and had the best passenger depot in Chicago, and better facilities for handling freight than any other road there. It had built and adopted the first railroad mail-car that was placed in service. It also had the first contract for the use of Pullman sleeping cars that was made by the Pullman Company. Its friends were legion and all of them saw with regret the extinction of its name."

THE GREAT CONSOLIDATION

It was on June 3d, 1864, that the Galena & Chicago Union, and the Chicago & North-Western, became united in one great corporation under the name of the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company. "The union of the Galena corporation with that of the North-Western was much more than a seven-days' wonder. It was talked about from the Atlantic to the slopes of the Missouri river, and opinions were as varied about it as were the people that gave them. It is believed that this was the first really important railroad consolidation that had taken place in the United States."

Upon the completion of the consolidation the directors of the new company issued an explanatory circular from which the following is quoted:

"Among the reasons which influenced those who, on account of their large interests in these roads, have given more particular attention to the subject and advised this course are the following: Much of the territory traversed by these roads was so situated as to induce injurious competition between them. The union of both gives greater strength and power, favoring more advantageous and extended connections, and better relations with other railroads built and to be built; and will aid to prevent the construction of such roads as would only serve to create injurious competition, without any adequate increase of the aggregate earnings of the roads competing.

"Decided economy, material reduction of expenses, and increased and more profitable service of engines and cars will also be the result of cooperation in the place of competition, and of one management for both roads. The basis and terms of this consolidation are substantially as follows: For each share of Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company's stock the holder will receive one share of the preferred stock and one share of the common stock of the consolidated Chicago & North-Western Railway Company, and three dollars in money.

PRIVILEGES OF PREFERRED AND COMMON STOCK

"The preferred stock of this company to be issued in exchange for the stock of the Galena company is entitled to preferences to the aggregate extent of ten per cent in the dividends which may be declared in any one year, out of the net earnings in such year, in the manner following, to-wit. First to a preference of seven per cent; and after, dividends of seven per cent on the common stock; then secondly, to a further preference of three per cent; after, a further dividend of three per cent on the common stock; both classes of stock shall be entitled to equal rates per share in any further dividends.

ADOPTION OF THE NEW NAME

"The principal reason for dropping the pioneer name of Galena & Chicago Union Railroad Company in the consolidation," continues the circular above referred to, "will be apparent when it is observed that no portion of either of the consolidated roads touched Galena; and to retain the name of the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company involved no change of books or blanks, and is sufficiently comprehensive to include the large territory now penetrated by the united roads."

Thus the Galena & Chicago Union, with its main line between Chicago and Freeport, and its leased lines into Wisconsin, Iowa and points farther distant, having a total mileage of five hundred and forty-five miles, were joined to the Chicago and North-Western, with its main line between Chicago and Green Bay and its leased lines in connection therewith, having a total mileage of three hundred and fifteen miles; making a grand total of eight hundred and sixty miles after the Great Consolidation of 1864 had taken place. The following is a list of the officers of the Chicago & North-Western Railway after the consolidation: W. B. Ogden, President; Perry H. Smith, Vice President; Jas. R. Young, Secretary; J. B. Redfield, Assistant Secretary; Geo. P. Lee, Treasurer; G. L. Dunlap, Superintendent; J. H. Howe, General Solicitor; C. B. Talcott, Chief Engineer; C. S. Tappan, General Freight Agent; B. F. Patrick, General Passenger Agent.

VARIOUS EXTENSIONS

The Winona & St. Peter Railroad, which began construction of a railroad west of Winona in 1864, built as far as Rochester, Minnesota, that year received a valuable grant of land from the State of Minnesota. On October 31st, 1867, this corporation passed into the control of the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company, and the same year the line was extended to Waseca, Minnesota, one hundred and five miles west of the Mississippi river in Minnesota.

CHANGES IN THE PRESIDENCY

William B. Ogden, the first Mayor of Chicago in 1837, who had been president of the Chicago & North-Western Railway and some of its predecessors from 1859, was on June 4th, 1868, succeeded by Henry Keep, who held the office until his death, which occurred in July, 1869. Alexander Mitchell was elected president, September 1st, 1869, and he held that office until June 3rd, 1870. He was followed by John F. Tracy, who held the office from June 3rd, 1870, until June 19th, 1873, when Albert Keep was elected president.

In the report for the ninth fiscal year ending May 31, 1868, the president reports the purchase from D. N. Barney and his associates of all their interests in the Winona & St. Peter Railroad and the La Crosse, Trempeleau & Prescott Railroad. These roads were operated separately by the Chicago & North-Western Railway, from the date of their purchase in 1868 until the completion of the Baraboo Air Line Railroad from Madison, Wisconsin, to Winona Junction, a distance of one hundred and twenty-nine miles, in 1873, thus making a continuous line from Chicago to Watertown, South Dakota.

In the tenth fiscal year ending May 31, 1869, the equipment of the Chicago & North-Western Railway consisted of two hundred and fifty-five locomotives, one hundred and fifty-five passenger coaches, and five thousand, four hundred and fifty-eight cars of all kinds. The earnings from all sources were in round numbers, $13,941,000.

During the fiscal year ending May 31, 1871, the line running from Geneva to St. Charles, Illinois, a distance of two and one-half miles, was completed. During this same period the purchase by the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company of the Iowa Midland Railroad, extending from Lyons, Iowa, seventy-

five miles west to Anamosa, was effected. The line from Richmond, Illinois, to Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, was completed in the fall of 1871.

The year ending May 31st, 1872, witnessed the completion of the line to Marinette, Wisconsin, on the Menominee river. Operation of this part of the line commenced in February, 1872. On March 31st, 1872, John C. Gault resigned as general superintendent, and was succeeded by Mr. Marvin Hughitt. The year 1872 witnessed the building of the line from Geneva, Illinois, south to Batavia, a distance of three and one-fifth miles.

THE MAYFAIR "CUT OFF"

During the fiscal year ending May 31st, 1873, the Mayfair "cut off" was completed which connects the Wisconsin Division and the Galena Division, starting at a point between Mayfair and Irving Park in the twenty-seventh ward, and connecting with the Galena Division five miles west of the Chicago station. This saved the hauling to the Chicago yards of all live-stock destined for the Union Stock Yards, and all freight going east and south.

The general office at 323 West Kinzie street (as at present numbered) was completed and first occupied December 1st, 1873. Trains commenced running regularly between Fort Howard, Wisconsin and Escanaba, Michigan, during December, 1872; the completion of this line secured to the Railway Company a land grant of a little more than one million acres, most of it well timbered, which in later years furnished a large tonnage for transportation. Two hundred and forty acres, five miles from Wells street depot, west of the western city limits, was purchased for the erection of new shops for the Company. Mr. Albert Keep was elected president June 19th, 1873.

The Baraboo Air Line Railroad, or the Madison extension, was completed to Winona Junction, and opened for business September 14th, 1873, thus completing the line through to Winona, Minnesota. The North-Western Union, extending from Milwaukee to Fond du Lac, a distance of nearly sixty-three miles, was completed on September 7, 1873. This year witnessed the "Granger Legislation" in the various states, and the financial panic of 1873.

ASTOUNDING PROGRESS IN TEN YEARS

At the close of the fiscal year, May 31st, 1874, the total mileage of the Chicago & North-Western Railway and proprietary roads was nineteen hundred and fifty-two miles, and the gross earnings $15,631,000, being an increase in ten years of nearly eleven hundred miles, that is, since the great consolidation of 1864. The next few years show a steady increase in mileage as well as tonnage.

On May 23rd, 1881, trains commenced running into the new passenger station located on the site of the old Galena depot at the corner of Wells and Kinzie streets. This station when completed was considered the largest and finest passenger station in Chicago, and allowed all the passengers from the three divisions of the road to arrive at and depart from the same station.

PURCHASE OF THE CHICAGO, ST. PAUL, MINNEAPOLIS & OMAHA RAILWAY

In November, 1882, the Chicago & North-Western Railway Company purchased a majority of the capital stock of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis &

Omaha Railway, which consisted of eleven hundred and forty-seven miles of first class railroad and equipment, extending in a northwesterly direction from Elroy, Wisconsin, to St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth, Minnesota, and to Superior, Wisconsin, on Lake Superior; and extending from Minneapolis southwest to Omaha, Nebraska, besides many important branch lines.

During the fiscal year ending May 31st, 1882, the construction of a second track from Clybourn Junction to Montrose (now Mayfair), and from Clybourn Junction to Evanston, was begun. The year closing May 31st, 1884, saw the work on the second track on the Wisconsin Division continued towards Des Plaines, Illinois.

In July, 1884, the Chicago & North-Western assumed control of the Sioux City & Pacific Railroad which owned one hundred and seven miles extending from Missouri Valley to Sioux City, Iowa, and from California Junction to Fremont, Nebraska, also the control of the Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley Railroad, which consisted of three hundred and eleven miles of railroad running west from Fremont, Nebraska, including branches. The gross earnings of the Chicago & North-Western Railway for the year ending May 31, 1884, amounted to $25,000,000, and the total miles operated three thousand, seven hundred and sixty-three, being an increase of nearly $10,000,000, in earnings, and an increase of nearly one hundred per cent in miles operated over that for the fiscal year ending May 31st, 1874.

OTHER IMPORTANT EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ROAD

During the year ending May 31st, 1885, the grade crossing at Chicago avenue and Halsted street was eliminated by the erection of viaducts. January 1st, 1887, the general offices of the Company were moved from Kinzie street to a remodeled building on the northwest corner of Lake street and Fifth avenue. On June 2nd of the same year Mr. Marvin Hughitt was elected president of the Company. During the year ending May 31st, 1887, a new iron double-track drawbridge was built over the north branch of the Chicago river near Deering station, replacing a single-track wooden one. The construction of a connecting link between the Wisconsin Division at Mayfair and the Milwaukee Division at North Evanston, now Central street, Evanston, was commenced during 1889. During the year ending May 31st, 1890, the present commodious passenger station at Milwaukee was completed. The year ending May 31st, 1891, saw the completion of the second track between Chicago and the Mississippi river. On September 1st, 1893, the Chicago & North-Western Railway absorbed by purchase the Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western Railway, consisting of seven hundred and fifty-seven miles of well constructed and equipped railway, extending in a northerly direction from Milwaukee, through Wisconsin and into the upper peninsula of Michigan. The report of the year ending May 31st, 1894, showed a total mileage of five thousand and thirty miles, gross earnings of $31,986,000, and the number of engines one thousand and ten. These figures do not include mileage and earnings of lines west of the Missouri river.

Track elevation was begun in Chicago, May, 1895, on the Galena Division, which was one of the greatest and most expensive improvements ever begun, both for the Railway Company and for the public. During the year ending May 31st,

1898, a new riveted-steel, lattice-truss, double-track, center-pier swing bridge, two hundred feet in length, operated by electricity, was erected over the North Branch of the Chicago river at the Wells street terminal, replacing a double-track steel truss bridge one hundred and seventy feet in length. During the year ending May 31st, 1900, the present commodious brick and stone passenger station was completed at Clybourn Junction, Chicago. On December 12th, 1900, the directors inaugurated a pension system which retired all employes who had reached the age of seventy years, and who had been employed in the service at least twenty years or more, on a pension. This became effective January 1st, 1901. In the report for the year ending May 31st, 1902, the president reports the completion of the double track of the main line from Chicago to Council Bluffs Transfer, Iowa, on the Missouri river, a distance of four hundred and ninety miles, being the first road out of Chicago to complete this important improvement.

LATER IMPROVEMENTS

On December 4th, 1902, the Annex to the Wells street passenger station was opened for the accommodation of suburban traffic. During the year ending June 30, 1904, the construction of third and fourth tracks between Chicago and Milwaukee was commenced at a point on the Mayfair-Evanston "cut off," north of the crossing of the North Branch of the Chicago river. These tracks are now used by through passenger and freight trains. In June, 1905, the general offices of the Company were moved into a splendid office building on the northeast corner of Jackson boulevard and Franklin street. This is the finest building in Chicago devoted entirely to the general office use of a railway company.

Forty years had now elapsed since the great consolidation of the Galena & Chicago Union and the Chicago & North-Western Railway, in 1864. The eight hundred and sixty miles had increased to seven thousand, four hundred and eleven miles operated during the year ending June 30, 1904; and the total gross earnings to $53,334,000. The total number of engines was now thirteen hundred and seven, and the total number of cars fifty-two thousand, eight hundred and seven.

In the annual report for the year ending June 30th, 1907, mention is made of the new passenger terminal which was completed four years later, on the West Side between Lake street on the north, and Madison street on the south, and between Canal street on the east and Clinton street on the west. This station, in completed form, is the most imposing and commodious railway station in Chicago, and is used exclusively by the Chicago & North-Western Railway. Trains enter the station on elevation, and the train-shed contains sixteen tracks. The cost of the new right of way, land for the station, and the station itself approximated twenty-five millions of dollars.

A new double track, single-leaf, bascule bridge was completed over the North Branch of the Chicago river at Kinzie street in September, 1909; and was opened for use of trains Monday morning, on the 21st of that month. This is the longest single-leaf, double-track, bascule bridge in America.

The year ending June 30th, 1909, witnessed the completion of the new double-track bridge across the Mississippi river between East Clinton, Illinois,

and Clinton, Iowa, a distance between abutments on the Illinois and Iowa sides of four thousand eight hundred and twelve feet.

The total number of locomotive engines owned by the Company was 1520, and the total number of cars of all descriptions 65,971. Of the latter number 1078 were passenger cars, including parlor and dining cars, 63,828 freight cars, and 1065 caboose and baggage cars.

As stated above, the engines in use by the predecessors of the Chicago & North-Western Railway bore names just as vessels do. In the book "Yesterday and To-day," the names of many of the engines are given, among which are "Pioneer," "Shawbeney," "Waubansee," "Winnebago," "Wabashaw," "Black Hawk," "Sauganash," "Pecatonica," and others having historical significance. The old chief Shabbona, whose name was also spelled Shawbeney or Shaubena, was a familiar sight to early residents of Chicago, proudly standing by the engine which bore his name as it stood in the depot, pointing it out to people while they were passing and occasionally exclaiming, "Shabbona—Me!"

A summary of the leading facts in regard to the Chicago & North-Western Railway, as shown by the annual report issued on June 30, 1916, is as follows: The total number of miles operated by the road on that date was 8,107. Its rolling stock consisted of 1842 locomotive engines, 1968 passenger cars, 65,986 freight cars, and 3,712 service cars

PRESIDENTS OF THE GALENA & CHICAGO UNION

The names of the presidents of the old Galena & Chicago Union, and the dates of their elections, are as follows: Theophilus W. Smith, elected July 3, 1836; Elijah K. Hubbard, elected November 29, 1837; William B. Ogden, elected February 17, 1846; J. Young Scammon (*pro tem*), elected June 2, 1848; John B. Turner, elected June 5, 1851; Walter L. Newberry, elected June 1, 1859; William H. Brown, elected June 4, 1862; John B. Turner, elected June 1, 1864. The Galena & Chicago Union was consolidated with the Chicago & North-Western Railway on June 3d, 1864, under the name of the latter, the former name afterwards being no longer in existence.

PRESIDENTS OF THE CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN

The names of the presidents of the Chicago & North-Western Railway, and the dates of their elections, are as follows: William B. Ogden, elected June 7, 1859; Henry Keep, elected June 4, 1868, (Henry Keep died in July, 1869); Alexander Mitchell, elected September 1, 1869; John F. Tracy, elected June 3, 1870; Albert Keep, elected June 19, 1873; Marvin Hughitt, elected June 2, 1887; Wm. A. Gardner, elected October 20, 1910; Richard H. Aishton, elected May 23, 1916.

In the early days of railroading it was not customary for the employes of the railroad to wear uniforms as is now the universal practice. Every one, conductor, brakeman and others at the stations, wore such clothes as pleased them best. If we should suddenly return to conditions in this respect as they existed in the sixties and seventies the sight of "plain clothes" men on duty would astonish the beholders. It is related that on the eastern roads it was not un-

common to see the conductor in a silk hat and a frock coat going through the train taking fares or collecting tickets, and at the stations giving the signals for starting with a red silk handkerchief. Indeed, the conductor of a train was the personage who, in the eyes of the public, represented the glory and dignity of the entire railroad system, and to whom due homage was rendered by the travelers and residents along the line. Trains were known to the regular patrons of the railroad by the name of the conductor, and commuters especially exchanged greetings with the conductor and his associates in the most intimate terms of neighborly regard.

CHICAGO AND NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY—THE NEW TERMINAL STATION

The new building for the terminal station of the Chicago & North-Western Railway, completed in the spring of 1911, is situated on West Madison street, between Canal and Clinton streets, facing to the south. It is a four story structure of the early Renaissance style of architecture, with an elevated Doric portico at the entrance, supported on a colonnade of six granite columns. Each of these columns is seven feet in diameter at the base and sixty-one feet high. Immediately back of this colonnade, entered by three great arches, is a vaulted vestibule, one hundred and thirty-two feet wide, twenty-two feet deep, and forty feet high. At the end of this vestibule are broad granite stairways to the main waiting room on the track level floor. Similar vestibules of simpler architectural treatment give entrance from Canal and Clinton streets. These vestibules lead directly to a large public space, two hundred feet by ninety-two feet, around which are arranged in a convenient manner the ticket office, baggage room, lunch room, news stand, telegraph offices, parcel check room, etc. From the center of this public space the public stairway leads to the concourse of the main waiting room on the track floor.

The large waiting room, which is the main architectural feature of the station, is treated as a Roman atrium with a barrel vault roof. The pilasters and entire order up to the spring of the vault are a dull finished light pink Tennessee marble. The columns standing free are of Greek Cippolino marble, whose dark green hue harmonizes perfectly with the greenish bronze of the metal work framing the glass between the pilasters. The vault is of ornamental tile construction with richly ornamental ribs of terra cotta, of a color to harmonize with the marble of the walls. This great waiting room is directly lighted with two semi-elliptical windows, sixty feet in diameter, at either end of the vault, and ten semi-circular lunettes piercing the vault five feet on each side. It is also arranged to be lighted artificially by reflected light, the latest method of illumination by electricity. Arranged conveniently around this main waiting room are the dining room, women's room, smoking room, barber shop, etc.

The exterior walls of the building are of gray Maine granite, and are continuous with the enclosing walls of the train shed, which are of mottled gray brick with granite trimmings. The roofs consist of narrow longitudinal sheds instead of one great arch roof covering a large space, as is usually found in constructions of this kind. The train shed walls rise to a height slightly greater than the roof of the train shed, which gives the entire station the external

appearance of one mammoth building. In beauty, dignity and grandeur, this building surpasses all other structures in the city.

COST OF THE TERMINAL

The total cost of the terminal station and approaches approximated twenty-five millions of dollars. The work of construction on the station building was begun in November, 1908. Work began on erecting the steel structure of the station February, 1909.

Ninety-three of the caissons for the foundations under the station building, and those under the chimney of the power station extend to rock, approximately one hundred and twenty feet below street level. All the other caissons are founded upon "hard pan," approximately eighty-five feet below the street level. There were used in the concrete work two hundred and sixty-five thousand cubic yards of cement; and of structural steel in the station and street viaducts, thirty-seven thousand tons. The various tracks approaching the station make a total length of eighteen miles.

AREA AND DIMENSIONS OF THE TERMINAL STATION

The area of the station building proper is three hundred and twenty by two hundred and eighteen feet; that of the train shed roof two hundred and sixty- with the terminal station is thirty-seven acres, of which the buildings of the station cover twenty acres of surface. There are eight passenger platforms, each sixteen feet and nine inches in width. These platforms aggregate a total five thousand, eight hundred square feet; the area of the right of way connected length of seven thousand, one hundred and sixty feet.

The station is equipped with a power plant provided with turbine engines, and with interlocking signals of the latest design. A total of seven hundred and eighty horse power in motors for various service throughout the terminal station power plant was installed.

In a paper read before the Western Society of Engineers in 1911, the engineer in charge had this to say: "This brief account of the Terminal Improvement would be very incomplete if it did not specifically name the controlling mind that conceived and directed the entire project. I refer to Mr. Marvin Hughitt who for twenty-four years was president of the Chicago and North-Western Railroad Company, and is now Chairman of the Board of Directors. To the wisdom and foresight which he brought to bear on the many questions involved is due the success of the accomplished fact. Every feature of the plans, whether relating to architectural treatment, economy of construction and operation, or the comfort and convenience of patrons was analyzed and carefully studied by him. A great deal of his personal attention was given to the minor details. The diligence, zeal and tireless energy with which he pursued every phase of the work was an inspiration to those upon whom the execution of the work devolved."

CHAPTER VII

PROPHECIES AND REALITY

PROPHECIES OF THE COMMERCIAL GREATNESS OF THE WEST—BALESTIER'S PROPHECY—JEREMIAH PORTER'S ADDRESS—A BOSTON PROPHECY OF CHICAGO'S POPULATION MADE IN 1868—POPULATION BY DECADES SINCE 1860—JUDGE SMITH'S PROPHECY OF POPULATION—MARGARET FULLER'S IMPRESSIONS—THE NEWBERRYS—OLIVER NEWBERRY—NEWBERRY & DOLE—WALTER L. NEWBERRY—A PATRON OF ART AND A LIBERAL CONTRIBUTOR TO BOOK COLLECTIONS—HIS DEATH AT SEA—HIS SPLENDID PROVISION FOR A "PUBLIC" LIBRARY—THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY—LAKE STREET IN THE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES—OLD TIME BUSINESS FIRMS—THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT—CHOLERA VISITATIONS—MORTALITY AMONG THE TROOPS OF GENERAL SCOTT'S ARMY—VISITATION OF 1849—THE "GREAT CHOLERA YEAR" OF 1854—LAST APPEARANCE IN 1866—SKETCHES OF CHARLES B. FARWELL AND JOHN V. FARWELL—THE TEXAS CAPITOL BUILT BY THE FARWELLS—THE TEXAS PANHANDLE LANDS—SKETCH OF MARSHALL FIELD—HIS GREAT SUCCESS AS A MERCHANT—A LETTER WRITTEN BY FIELD—HIS IMMENSE ESTATE—THE PROVISION FOR THE MUSEUM—LANGUAGE OF THE BEQUEST.

PROPHECIES

The editor the Niles *Register,* writing in August, 1814, while the war between Great Britain and the United States was still in progress, gives expression to his views on the internal commerce of the country, especially as it affected the West, in the following forcible manner: "I have spoken of the Western country as likely to become *commercial.* There is no word in the English language that more deceives a people than the word *commerce.* Englishmen and Americans, too much alike, alas! in many things, associate with it an idea of great ships, passing to all countries—whereas the rich commerce of every country is its *internal;* a communication of one part with other parts of same. The *foreign* commerce of Great Britain with all her colonies and dependencies, and all her singular advantages, is not one-fifth as important to her as her *home business,* and, in the United States, (were we at peace) our *foreign* trade would hardly exceed a fortieth or fiftieth part of the *whole commerce* of the people."

In the same issue of the *Register* occur some rather striking comments regarding the proposed canal, which even at that early period was the subject of discussion among thoughtful men. "By the Illinois River," says the editor, "it is probable that Buffalo in New York, may be united with New Orleans by inland navigation, through Lake Erie, Huron and Michigan and down that river [sic] to the Mississippi. What a route! How stupendous the idea! How dwindles

the importance of the artificial canals of Europe, compared with this water communication! If it should ever take place (and it is said the opening may be easily made), the territory [of Illinois] will become the seat of an immense commerce, and a market for the commodities of all regions."

Mr. C. C. Trowbridge, writing to the secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, said: "Even as late as 1834, I declined becoming a party to the purchase of one-fourth of the 'Kinzie Addition,' Chicago, located on the North Side, at five thousand dollars. Ten years prior to that I was in Chicago, and would not have given that sum for both sides of the river as far as the eye could extend."

Keen observers, however, were frequently making the discovery that the future of Chicago was full of possibilities, and in Peck's "Gazetteer of Illinois" (published in 1837), the author comments thus: "The natural position of the place, the enterprise and capital that will concentrate here, with favorable prospects for health, must soon make this place the emporium of trade and business for all the northern country."

BALESTIER'S PROPHECY OF POPULATION

In the year 1840, Joseph N. Balestier, then a young lawyer of Chicago, made an address before the Chicago Lyceum taking as his subject the "Annals of Chicago." This address was printed and in due time became a much sought for rarity, finally being republished by the Fergus Printing Company in 1876 as Number One of the Fergus Historical Series. The year following the delivery of this lecture Mr. Balestier returned to his old home in Vermont, and when the address referred to was about to be reprinted he wrote an introduction for it. He humorously refers to his pamphlet long since out of print, and indulges in a flight of fancy regarding the future of Chicago. "If, in the year 1911," he says, "the belated traveler, who has just missed the air-boat at Sitka, shall curiously look over the volumes in the Alaska State Library—warmly bound in seal-skin—he may chance to alight upon this modest pamphlet. He will be a Chicago man, and will have left behind him, a week before, a proud and opulent city of two million inhabitants; a city built of non-inflammable materials, partly within and partly without the forty miles of boulevards which the foresight of the present has wisely and liberally provided for the use of the future. Will it be too much to ask of him to telegraph a sprightly review of these then forgotten pages to the Chicago *Tribune*, by the new process? My heirs will cheerfully pay the expense."

In the year 1859, the Rev. Jeremiah Porter made an address before the Chicago Historical Society reviewing some of the events of the early thirties. "The report had gone through the land," he said, "that, in addition to the lighthouse, a pier was to be built, making the Chicago River a harbor, and that a canal would be dug, connecting Lake Michigan and the Illinois River; in that case, Illinois farmers would find an Eastern market, and corn would rise in price, from twelve cents and a half to half a dollar. This the farmer of interior Illinois could not credit, but Eastern capitalists and farmers guessed it might be so. DeWitt Clinton's Erie Canal had made the journey through New York easy, and a tide of population had begun to flow through it to the corn-bearing prairies of Illinois.

Black Hawk was gone, and fears of Indian massacres were subsiding. Eastern emigration began at once to reach Chicago, so that a gentleman who had come from Washington to make his home here, was so bold as to wager that 'in five years there would be five thousand inhabitants in this place.' An army officer replied to this assertion, 'That cannot be, for there is no back country to sustain a city.' But the most sanguine never dreamed of what we see today, in twenty-five years, one hundred thousand. The stream then setting towards our rich prairies has made a back country that well supports the present wondrous city."

OTHER PROPHECIES OF POPULATION

The Boston *Traveller,* early in March, 1868, published an estimate of Chicago, which was reprinted in one of the Chicago papers: "When it is considered that the present population is 220,000 to 250,000, and we give only the lowest estimate, it is fair to assume that the accelerated ratio of increase indicated in its past growth will make the population of Chicago in 1870, 370,000; in 1880, 600,000; in 1890, 1,000,000. If any think this estimate too large, let him traverse the immense and rapidly growing region tributary to that city, see the railroads extending from Chicago as a center in every direction, and remember that in 1870 people expect to take through cars for San Francisco, and pour the trade of Asia over the roads of which Chicago is the great western center."

A comparison of this prophecy with subsequent statistics of population will be of interest. In 1868, the year in which the Boston *Traveller's* estimate was made, the population of Chicago, as nearly as could be ascertained, was about 252,000. The United States census figures for 1860 were 109,206. Thus in eight years there had been an increase of nearly two and one-half times. And this was the more remarkable when it is remembered that within that period a war of four years' duration, with its great drain of men to supply the armies, had taken place. In spite of that the city continued to grow at a prodigious rate, while it was steadily nearing the time when its principal portion would be laid in ashes.

In the year 1870, the government census gave the population of Chicago as 298,977, which was considerably short of the Boston *Traveller's* estimate, but still a remarkable advance upon the figures of the previous decade. Again in 1880, the census showed a population of 503,298, which was still considerably below the *Traveler's* estimate; but in 1890, the actual census figures, namely, 1.099,850, quite surpass those of the *Traveller.* It will be a matter of general interest, while this subject is under review, to give the figures of population for each of the ten-year periods from 1860 to 1910, inclusive, given more fully on a previous page.

1860	109,206
1870	298,977
1880	503,298
1890	1,099,850
1900	1,698,575
1910	2,185,283

At the time of the formal beginning of work on the Illinois and Michigan Canal, in 1836, several speeches were made, among them one by Judge Theophilus W. Smith, at that time one of the judges of the Illinois Supreme Court. "While neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet," said he, "yet I feel the spirit of prophecy in me this day. Fellow citizens, in ten years from this time you will see a city on the borders of Lake Michigan containing ten thousand people. Yes, fellow citizens, in twenty years you will see twenty thousand, and in fifty years, you will see a city of fifty thousand people." An Irishman present called out, "Aye, aye, Judge, now, we won't be here, so we can't see how big a lie you are telling." But that didn't stop the Judge, and he continued again, "Yes, fellow citizens, in one hundred years from this time you will see a city of one hundred thousand people!"

This proved too much for his hearers, and as Mr. Fernando Jones relates it, they "took him off the barrel he was standing on and gave him a little something to drink, and scattered water in his face." Presently some one asked him how he felt, and he said that he felt better. "Arrah," said the Irishman, "if we had not stopped you, you would have made it a million!"

MARGARET FULLER IN CHICAGO

During the summer of 1843 Margaret Fuller, the famous writer and so-called "Priestess of Transcendentalism," made a journey on the lakes, and left a charming account of her impressions. Chicago she found rather commercial, "with no provision for the student or the idler," but she recognized its commanding position in the world of commerce. "There can be no two places in the world more completely thoroughfares," she wrote, "than this place and Buffalo." Quoting Professor Edward Channing's summary; "They were to her two correspondent valves that opened and shut all the time, as the life blood rushed from east to west and back again. Yet even in this business place, she saw for the first time in her drives along the lake shore the beautiful prairie flowers of the West. To her the most picturesque sight in all Chicago were the lines of Hoosier wagons, in which the rough farmers who had driven in from the country camped on the edge of the city, living on their own supplies of provisions, and seeming as they walked about the town like foreign peasantry put down among the 'active, inventive business people' of Chicago. With the characteristically sharp contrasts of this wonderful new land, the other sight which interested her especially was the arrival of the great lake steamers, magnificent floating palaces of six and eight hundred tons, which 'panted in from their rapid and marvelous journey' of a thousand miles from Buffalo. When she went out to watch the lights of these boats as they came in at night she heard as she walked along on one side the Hoosier dialect, on another, cultivated French, and the very next moment the sounds of German, Dutch, and Irish. Then as now Chicago was a cosmopolitan city."

THE NEWBERRYS—OLIVER NEWBERRY

In the publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, in the volume for 1902, there is mention of Oliver Newberry, who, it is stated, kept a grocery store in

Buffalo in the early twenties, and carried on a trade with the "natives," that is the Indians of that neighborhood. He was "prompt and honorable in his dealings," and was said to have been quite eccentric in his habits, wearing an "Indian blanket coat in winter," and his memory was so good that he did not find it necessary to keep books of account. "He built and put afloat quite a fleet of sail and steam vessels," it is said, and, taking a great interest in the life and campaigns of Napoleon, he named some of his vessels Napoleon, Marengo, Marshal Ney, Austerlitz and Lodi. Other steamers in his fleet were named the Michigan, the Illinois (first and second), the Oliver Newberry and the Nile.

About the year 1824 or 1825, Mr. Newberry located in Detroit, and in 1828 he came to Chicago in his own schooner Napoleon on a visit, and in 1834 he became a partner with George W. Dole in a forwarding business at Chicago under the firm name of Newberry & Dole, although continuing to reside at Detroit until his death. Oliver Newberry's brother, Walter L. Newberry, became a resident of Chicago in 1833; of him we shall speak in another paragraph.

WALTER L. NEWBERRY

A representative citizen of Chicago, of whom we shall here give some account, was Walter L. Newberry. He was a brother of Oliver Newberry previously spoken of, and came to Chicago in 1833, at the age of twenty-nine, having been born September 18th, 1804. In the directory of 1839 his name is given, and his occupation is indicated by the words "attorney and real estate." His office was with Newberry & Dole, the firm in which his brother, Oliver Newberry was a partner, at the corner of North Water and Rush Streets. Newberry & Dole were engaged in the forwarding and commission business.

That he was a public spirited citizen is shown by the fact that his name is constantly found in connection with the literary, educational and artistic movements and developments of the early days. In 1841 he joined with others in establishing the Young Men's Library Association of Chicago, the main object of which was the formation of a library of books and the maintenance of a reading room. It began with a membership of two hundred. Each of the members paid two dollars as an initiation fee, and agreed to pay the same amount every year. Walter L. Newberry presented a collection of books to the association, and other members also made generous donations. The association continued in existence until the fire of 1871, when its collection was destroyed. It was never revived because the Chicago Public Library supplied its place. The Young Men's Library Association should not be confused with the Young Men's Christian Association which was organized in 1852, the two associations having entirely different aims and purposes.

In 1855 Mr. Newberry was a member of the Board of Health under Mayor Augustus Garrett's administration. He cooperated in forming an Art Exposition in 1859, the object of which was to secure loans of art works for exhibition, a movement which proved highly successful. In 1862 he established the "Newberry Fund" of one thousand dollars, "the interest of which is to be applied for the benefit of the Newberry School, in procuring text books for indigent children, school apparatus and books for reference." Mr. Newberry became president of the Chicago Historical Society in 1863, and at the same time was a liberal bene-

factor of that institution. In the same year he with many others contributed to the success of the Northwestern Sanitary Fair by loaning works of art to the Art Gallery, which was a notable feature of the Fair. It will thus be seen that Mr. Newberry was a patron of art, education and literature, and the later endowment of the great library which bears his name is completely in harmony with the tastes and activities of his life.

Mr. Newberry died at sea, November 6th, 1868, under pathetic circumstances. His wife and two daughters were making a visit to Europe, and he was on his way to join them in France. The incidents of the voyage were printed in the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* some years after the events described, and are quoted, as follows:

"The evening before his death he was apparently as well as usual, and he ate supper with the other passengers. Opposite him at the table was a Catholic priest, with whom he spoke at some length in reference to his failing health, and of his wife and daughters, who were waiting for him at the port of destination in France, and the pleasant anticipations he entertained of meeting them on his arrival. He stated that he was from Chicago; and, as the clergyman was well acquainted there, it turned out in the course of subsequent conversation that they had a number of common friends in that place and vicinity.

"Mr. Newberry retired at the usual time complaining that he felt very ill and weak. Next morning he was missed from breakfast, and a little later the passengers were startled to learn that he had died during the night. A few hours afterwards the officers of the steamer began to make the customary preparations to commit the remains to the deep. Fortunately, however, the clergyman whose acquaintance he had made the evening before interposed, and very earnestly and warmly protested against any such proceedings. He said that the widow and daughters of the dead man were anxiously expecting his arrival at the port of destination, and that it would be cruel and shocking in the extreme—almost too much for human nature to endure—to deprive them even of the last poor privilege of looking again upon his face and laying away his remains with their own hands. He appealed to the physician, and the latter referred him to the captain. He then saw the captain, related such facts as seemed calculated to arouse sympathy, called attention to the age of the deceased, and represented that it could do no possible harm to take the body ashore and deliver it to the stricken family. The captain declared it to be an imperative rule to consign to the ocean the remains of all who die on shipboard, but, affected by the circumstances of Mr. Newberry's death, he said that he would yield to the clergyman's request if the physician could likewise be persuaded to do so. Then the physician, a most humane person, was seen, and after a brief interview he consented to keep the body on board till the arrival of the steamer in port, and said that he would personally deliver it to Mrs. Newberry.

"All this he faithfully did, and the clergyman, not being acquainted with the family, started for Rome. The physician, however, narrated all the facts to Mrs. Newberry, and even gave her the name of the clergyman through whose instrumentality the remains of her husband were brought into port.

"Some weeks later the clergyman in question, being still in Rome, was greatly surprised one day at being accosted by a young lady, who asked: 'Are you not the Rev. Father Sorin, of the University of Notre Dame, in Indiana?' 'Yes, that

is my name,' he said, for the clergyman referred to was no other than the Very Reverend E. Sorin, Superior-General of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. She then stated that she was Miss Newberry, that she had ascertained the facts in regard to the death of her father, that the physician stated that the remains would have been consigned to the deep but for the intervention of Father Sorin, and that she wanted to thank him for his kind offices on behalf of her mother, her sister, and herself. Father Sorin never met her afterwards, nor did he ever meet any other member of the family, but he felt deeply touched by her manifestations of filial devotion.''

Mr. Newberry had made his will two years before his death. In the will he directed that in case of the death of both of his daughters, without issue, then immediately after the death of his wife, if she survived them, the trustees named in the will should apply one-half of the estate to the founding of a ''free public library,'' to be located ''in that part of Chicago known as the North Division.'' Both daughters died unmarried, one in 1874, the other in 1876. Mrs. Newberry died in 1885, thus leaving the trustees free to establish the library as directed in the will. The value of the entire estate at the time of Mrs. Newberry's death was about $4,300,000, one half of which was to be devoted to the library, namely, $2,150,000. The larger part of this endowment being in real estate the value has materially increased since that time.

In contemplating this splendid monument of Mr. Newberry's generosity the strange succession of events by which it came into the possession of the people for their perpetual instruction and delight, is indeed very striking; and it must awaken the sympathetic interest of every one in the sad and touching circumstances by which it came into being. ''It is not improbable, in view of all the circumstances,'' says the writer above quoted, ''that the lamentable death of Mr. Newberry had much to do with accelerating the death of his daughters, who were so tenderly attached to him; and as for Mrs. Newberry, all know that to the last moment she was an example of patient resignation and silent melancholy —true to the obligations of a bereaved widow and faithful to the duties of a sorrowing mother.''

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

The origin of the funds available for the foundation of the great Newberry Library are described in the account given above concerning Mr. Walter L. Newberry, and the will under which the gift was provided. When the trustees entered upon the execution of their trust in establishing a library, they found that there was available the large sum of $2,150,000. The values representing this sum were in the form of real estate largely, which was rapidly increasing as time elapsed, so that when a location was decided upon and a new building started the amount of the original gift was very considerably increased.

Dr. William F. Poole, the eminent librarian who had been in charge of the Chicago Public Library since its formation, was induced to undertake the task of forming the collection of the ''Newberry Library,'' as it was decided to call it. The trustees also decided that it should be a library of reference, open to the use of the public on the premises. Temporary quarters were provided for a time, but in 1893, a new building, the one now in use, was completed, having a capacity

for one million volumes. The building occupies the site of the well known "Ogden Mansion" which so strangely survived the Chicago fire of 1871. It fronts on a short street called Walton Place, separated by that street from a small park known as Washington Square; it has a frontage of three hundred feet extending from North Clark street to Dearborn avenue, and is built of granite after a design by Henry Ives Cobb, who it will be remembered was the architect of the Fisheries Building at the World's Columbian Exposition. The plan of the library building contemplates an addition to the north which when built will more than double its capacity.

LAKE STREET IN THE FIFTIES AND SIXTIES

During the later fifties and earlier sixties Lake Street was without doubt the most attractive business street in the city. Its attractiveness was of course entirely due to its business improvements, in contrast, for example, with the unrivalled natural and artificial advantages possessed by Michigan avenue, often said to be "the finest street in the world," with its avenues of shade trees, its superb outlook upon Lake Michigan, and its beautiful residences ranged along its western side.

BUSINESS HOUSES ON LAKE STREET

It will be interesting to recall some of the better known wholesale and retail concerns doing business on Lake Street at that time. Of the dry goods stores there was the fine store of Potter Palmer, afterwards Field, Palmer & Leiter, at number 137; Bowen Brothers, at number 100; T. B. Carter & Co., at number 136; Downs & Van Wyck, afterwards A. G. Downs & Co., at number 150; W. M. Ross & Co., afterwards Ross & Gossage, at number 167; and Stryker & Co., at number 141. On the same street were also the wholesale dry goods house of Harmon, Aiken & Gale, at number 53; Savage, Keith & Co., at number 49; Davis, Sawyer & Co., at number 42; and Richards, Crumbaugh & Shaw, at number 22.

Other prominent firms doing business on Lake Street in those years were as follows: Drugs, Burnham & Smith, Lord & Smith, J. H. Reed & Co., Smith & Dwyer; Jewelry, A. H. Miller & Co., and Hoard & Hoes; Boots & Shoes, Doggett, Basset & Hills, C. M. Henderson & Co., and Bullock Brothers; Clothing, Field, Benedict & Co., Huntington, Wadsworth & Parks, A. D. Titsworth & Co., Edward Ely and H. H. Husted & Co.; Books, D. B. Cooke & Co., S. C. Griggs & Co., and Keen & Lee. There were also on Lake Street the following banks: The Marine Bank, on the northeast corner of Lake and La Salle Streets; The Merchants Savings Loan and Trust Company, at number 95, (where in 1862, Lyman J. Gage was a teller); and the bank of Greenebaum Brothers. The principal hotels on Lake Street were the American House, corner of Lake street and Wabash avenue; City Hotel, corner of Lake and State streets; and the Tremont House, on the south-east corner of Lake and Dearborn streets. No attempt is here made to give a comprehensive list of the business occupants of premises on Lake street, but merely to mention a few. The numbers referred to above were those in use before the new numbering system of 1912 went into effect.

THE PRINCE OF WALES' VISIT

The late king Edward VII was a visitor to Chicago in September, 1860. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, as he was then called, was a young man of nineteen, and was traveling under the name of Baron Renfrew, one of his titles of nobility. With his party he reached the city on a special train over the Michigan Central Railroad, coming from Canada, where he had landed some time previously. He was welcomed by a great crowd at the station, and the route taken to the Richmond House, situated at the northwest corner of Michigan avenue and South Water street, was lined with people, and thousands of them enjoyed a "fair view of the entire party," as one of the papers of the day described it.

"Soon after the appearance of the Prince," said a writer in the *Tribune*, "Mayor John Wentworth, William B. Ogden, William Bross, and E. W. McComas, composing a committee appointed for the occasion, presented an address of welcome to Lord Lyons, the British minister accompanying the Prince." During his brief stay he appeared on the balcony in view of the people, and took a drive on Michigan avenue as far as Twelfth street. He also visited one of the great grain elevators and witnessed the process of loading a vessel with grain. On this part of the trip he was accompanied by Mr. Fernando Jones to explain its workings, and presumably, to entertain him with a few stories. The party left here and went to Dwight, Illinois, where the Prince inspected a large grain farm and engaged in the sport of prairie chicken shooting.

VISITATIONS OF THE CHOLERA

When General Winfield Scott was on his way to Chicago in 1832 with an army of United States regulars, cholera broke out among the soldiers while the steamers in which they were being transported were passing the Detroit river. This, it will be remembered, was at the time of the Black Hawk War, and these troops were sent forward as reinforcements to the forces then operating in the northern part of Illinois. Four steamers had been chartered at Buffalo, the "Henry Clay," under command of Captain Walter Norton; the "William Penn," under command of Captain John F. Wight; the "Sheldon Thompson," under command of Captain Augustus Walker; and the "Superior," under command of Captain William T. Pease. They were comparatively small boats, averaging only about two hundred tons each in capacity. The steamers received $5,500 each for their services. Only one of these boats, however, reached its destination owing to the outbreak of the cholera.

The first two of these steamers started from Buffalo on the 2d of July, 1832, and on their arrival at Detroit two cases of cholera occurred on board of the "Henry Clay" while she was lying at the dock. "This created such alarm," said Captain Walker, in his account printed in the publication of the Buffalo Historical Society, for the year 1902, "that the authorities of the city prevailed upon the captain to leave the dock. On my arrival [a few hours later], I found she was lying at anchor near the foot of Hog Island, some two miles above the city. Up to that time no signs of cholera had appeared on board my boat [the 'Sheldon Thompson']. After remaining a short time at the wharf, taking on

board fuel, stores, etc., for the trip we got under way and went alongside of the 'Henry Clay.' At this time General Scott, who was in command of this expedition, came on board my boat, accompanied by his staff and a number of volunteer officers and cadets, numbering some forty, who had been passengers thus far on board the 'Henry Clay.' One company of some fifty soldiers, under command of Colonel Twiggs, also came on board from the Clay.

"Leaving her at anchor we sailed, touching at Fort Gratiot, where we landed the same fifty soldiers and their baggage, which had entirely overloaded our little steamer; and we then proceeded on the voyage. The next day the Clay arrived in the St. Clair River. The disease had become so violent and alarming on board of her that nothing like discipline could be observed. Everything in the way of subordination ceased. As soon as she came to the dock, each man sprang on shore, hoping to escape from a scene so terrifying and appalling: some fled to the fields, some to the woods, while others lay down in the streets and under the shelter of the river banks, where most of them died, unwept and alone."

ARRIVAL IN CHICAGO

The voyage of the "Henry Clay" having thus reached its termination it remains to follow the "Sheldon Thompson," the only one of the transports which arrived at its destination. It had been hoped that this steamer might reach Chicago without any cases of the disease developing on board. But at Mackinac Island two members of the ship's crew were found to be sick and were left ashore. At the Manitous three more were left. Some thirty hours before reaching Chicago the first death from cholera occurred, and as soon as life was extinct the body was wrapped in a blanket and committed to the deep. Even in the short time remaining to reach port twelve others sickened and died, and their bodies were thrown overboard. The steamer reached Chicago on the 10th of July, and anchored in the open lake as there was not sufficient depth of water at the mouth of the river to admit vessels of any considerable size. Many settlers had gathered at the fort for protection and had found shelter in the huts and cabins surrounding its walls. The arrival of soldiers, many of them already sick, spread consternation among the settlers and the garrison. The fort was converted into a hospital and the soldiers encamped in tents in the vicinity. The fort thus abandoned by the garrison was not reoccupied until the first of October following.

Even before the soldiers had left the steamer three more victims of the disease were committed to the lake, the water being so clear that their bodies could be distinctly seen at the bottom. This uncanny sight so worked upon the superstitious fears of the crew that it was necessary for the captain to change his anchorage. In the course of the day and night following eighteen others died and were interred at a spot not far from the lighthouse which then stood on the south bank of the river, near Rush street bridge. During the four days that the steamer remained at Chicago fifty-four more died making an aggregate of eighty-eight deaths from cholera. All were buried without coffins or shrouds, except their blankets which served as their winding sheets, and were left without sign of remembrance or a stone to mark their resting place.

The ravages of the disease seemed to have reached a climax in a short time

and thereafter the epidemic gradually grew less violent until a few weeks later it had disappeared entirely. One incident of that time of fear and dismay is mentioned in the Autobiography of General Scott. At the time of the appearance of the cholera three Sacs were confined in the military prison at Fort Armstrong (Rock Island) on a charge of complicity in the murder of the Menominees near Prairie du Chien the year before. When the epidemic had reached that point, to which General Scott had transferred his activities, he set these two Indians at liberty, taking their promise to return upon the display of a certain signal to be hung from a tree at an elevated point of the island when the epidemic should be over. The signal was in due time hung up, and true to their promise the Indians reported themselves. They were again paroled, however, and subsequently released altogether.

THE CHOLERA VISITATION OF 1849

Chicago was again visited by cholera during the spring of 1849, and for several years thereafter in succession. Hearing of its prevalence in other cities strenuous efforts were made by the health authorities to prevent its appearance, but a man arriving by way of the new Illinois and Michigan canal from New Orleans brought the disease with him. His death was followed by a general epidemic of the cholera throughout the city, and during the ensuing summer and fall there were six hundred and seventy-eight deaths from that cause. The proportion of fatalities was one in three of those attacked. Among the prominent citizens of Chicago who fell victims to the disease in 1849 were, Hon. Henry Brown, the author of a history of Illinois published in 1844; Rev. W. H. Rice; Henry B. Clarke; L. M. Boyce; Dr. J. E. O'Leary; James Knox; M. Kohn; W. N. Bentley; Samuel Jackson; Newell Stratton; A. J. Penny; E. Hitchcock; A. Calhoun; A. S. Robinson; and George Ayers.

A resident of Chicago at that time wrote an account of some of the cases with which he was acquainted. One case was as follows: "There was at that time an Englishman named Morrell, a blacksmith, who was just from England and but recently married, who was working for me. One Saturday night he came to me and said he wanted all the money that was due him, and that he would not be at work till the following Tuesday, as he had bought a lot from Mr. Elston, and he wanted on Monday to get lumber on the ground, and set carpenters at work on a little house which he had determined to build. Late Saturday night I saw him on his way home appearing unusually cheerful. On Sunday morning following I went over into town on the South Side, and did not return till after evening church service, when I was met with the information that Morrell was dead and buried. I was thunderstruck. Mrs. Morrell came to me in the morning to say that Mr. Elston had returned the money which had been paid on the lot, and that she was going back to her old home in England; and before night of that Monday she was on her sad and lonely journey thither.

"Another Englishman named Conn, a boiler-maker, was also at work, and with him was a boy of fourteen, who was at work also, as Conn was desirous of keeping the boy with him. The boy was attacked with cholera. We ministered to him, and chafed his limbs to promote circulation for two or three hours. When we found that all our efforts were in vain, Conn quietly arose from working

over him, and began silently to pace the floor, occasionally stopping to look down on the dying boy. . . . 'Here,' said he, 'I have brought the boy from his home, and I promised his mother that I would return him safely to her. And now, in this far-away country, the boy is dying. What am I going to say to his mother?''

A few physicians, and, as usual in such times of calamity, some Catholic priests and Sisters of Charity remained to care for those who would otherwise have been obliged to seek the rude and hastily built shelters provided by the authorities. The cholera scourge forced the conviction upon the public mind that a permanent city hospital should be provided, which eventually took practical form, and under the charge of Dr. Brock McVickar, the city physician, a hospital building costing $45,000 was erected in 1857 on La Salle Street, between Cross and Old Streets, the two, streets now known as Eighteenth and Sixteenth Streets respectively.

LATER VISITATIONS

The disease appeared again in July, 1850, though not so severe as in the previous year, the number of deaths reaching an aggregate of four hundred and twenty. During the year following, that is in 1851, there were still fewer cases of cholera, and the epidemic was not severe enough to cause much alarm. In 1852 there were six hundred and thirty deaths from cholera, which was three times greater than the previous year. The next year the number of deaths from this cause was only one hundred and thirteen.

In the year 1854 the disease broke out again with great fury and virulence, and deaths from cholera were very numerous. Until about the 5th of July the disease was generally confined to newly arrived immigrants. Quarantine arrangements were made, but nothing could check the ravages of the pestilence. During July there were often fifty and sixty deaths in a single day. Many people left the city and sought refuge in the country districts. A voluntary board of health was formed by Dr. Charles V. Dyer and others, and a warehouse was hired to be used as a hospital. Dr. Dyer related an incident which illustrated the futility of the ordinary measures taken in the treatment of cholera cases. ''Hearing that a steamboat was coming into port with eighteen cases of cholera on board,'' said the doctor not without a touch of humor, ''we went aboard the vessel and removed the patients to the improvised hospital. On viewing the sick nine were decided to be beyond medical assistance, and the remaining moiety were decreed to be favorable subjects for pathological skill. But, unfortunately, the nine upon whom were lavished all the resources of science died, and those who were esteemed to be almost *in articulo mortis* all got well.'' The deaths from cholera in this year were fourteen hundred and twenty-four. The year 1855 was the last of the seven-year-long epidemic of cholera, during which the disease had been a regular visitant each year; eleven years later, however, it returned again with a fury nearly equal to that of the ''great cholera year'' of 1854.

THE VISITATION OF 1866

The first case of cholera in 1866 was reported on July 21st, but there was no alarm until early in the following month, when the cases began to be numerous.

By the end of August one hundred and fifty-six deaths from the disease had occurred, and during September the number was somewhat increased. In October the number of deaths from this cause rose to nearly seven hundred, but in November the number rapidly diminished. The total number of deaths from cholera during 1866 was ten hundred and sixty-two.

The citizens of Chicago were now thoroughly resolved to organize a system of prevention so that no future epidemic of the kind could gain a foothold in the city. The Common Council had strangely enough abolished the Health Department in 1860, and now a strong movement was inaugurated to establish an efficient Board of Health with adequate powers and authority. An act was passed by the state legislature in cooperation with the Common Council of Chicago, and in March, 1867, under its provisions, a board was appointed consisting of the following members: Dr. Hosmer A. Johnson, Dr. John H. Rauch, Dr. William Wagner, Samuel Hoard, A. B. Reynolds, William Giles, and Mayor John B. Rice, ex officio. During the year the cholera again appeared, but owing to the measures adopted by the Board of Health there were but ten fatalities. Since that year no epidemic of cholera has visited Chicago.

CHARLES B. FARWELL

Charles B. Farwell's residence in Chicago began in January, 1844, when he arrived from Ogle County in Illinois, where his father was engaged as a farmer. He was born in New York State on July 1st, 1823, and obtained his education at the Elmira Academy in his native state. From 1849 to 1853 Mr. Farwell was a clerk in the banking house of George Smith, who afterwards became a multimillionaire, and in 1864 he became a partner in his younger brother's wholesale dry goods firm. Mr. Farwell became active in politics, and in 1870 was elected a member of Congress, serving thereafter three terms. In 1887 he was elected United States Senator to fill the remainder of the term of John A. Logan, who had died the previous year, thus serving four years in the Senate. He continued his connection with the house of John V. Farwell & Co. until his death on September 23d, 1903.

JOHN V. FARWELL

In the spring of 1845 John V. Farwell came to Chicago. He was born in New York State, July 29th, 1825. In 1838 the family of which he was a member settled in Ogle County, Illinois, and he obtained his education at the Mt. Morris Seminary. When he came to Chicago he "worked his passage on a load of wheat," and when he arrived in the city he had three dollars and seventy-five cents in his pocket. He found employment with the dry goods firm of Hamilton & White. Afterwards he engaged with Wadsworth & Phelps in the same line of business, and, in 1850, he became a partner in the firm. In 1857 his name appeared in the firm of Cooley, Farwell & Co., successors of Cooley, Wadsworth & Co.; and in 1860 the firm name became Farwell, Field & Co. In 1865 the name of the firm became John V. Farwell & Co., which is its incorporated name at the present time. Mr. Farwell was always interested in religious movements. He was a liberal patron of the Young Men's Christian Association, and to him the Association in a large measure owes its early prosperity. He was a friend

and a coworker with Dwight L. Moody in the early days of Mr. Moody's career. Mr. Farwell died on the 20th of August, 1908, at his home in Lake Forest.

A UNIQUE REAL ESTATE ENTERPRISE

An undertaking of a unique character was engaged in by the brothers, Charles B. and John V. Farwell, in 1883, which, although it was a gigantic transaction in Texas lands, was distinctly a Chicago enterprise, and is entitled to a place in this history. The state of Texas was the possessor of a vast tract of territory in the "Panhandle," which in the old geographies was described as the "Llano Estacado," or "Staked Plains." The lands thus designated on the maps of that period were considered of little value except for grazing purposes, where herds of longhorned cattle formed the chief product of the country.

"If we can get the man with the money to build our Capitol," it was said, "we will give him all the lands he wants up there," meaning the lands in the Panhandle. The man was found in John V. Farwell, one of Chicago's leading business men, who made the state of Texas a proposition to the effect that he would erect a Capitol building at Austin, the capital city of the state, and take in payment the lands in the Upper Panhandle, a proposition which the state gladly accepted. The land thus acquired by the Farwells, Charles B. Farwell having joined with his brother John V. Farwell in the enterprise, amounted to 3,500,000 acres, located in six counties. This was equivalent to an area larger than the state of Connecticut, and was appraised at an average of one dollar an acre, at that time considered a liberal valuation for the lands.

The Farwells entered into the contract, and the building was erected to the entire satisfaction of the state authorities, a building that was considered a fair equivalent to an outlay of five millions of dollars. The Capitol building at Austin, it is said, is the seventh largest building in the world, the third largest in the United States, and one of striking architectural beauty. It was honestly built and stands as a monument to the integrity as well as the shrewdness of the men who erected it, and no criticisms have ever been made in regard to it.

The proprietors of the lands thus acquired have profited by this transaction "beyond the dreams of avarice." Lands in the Panhandle began to be sought for and prices rose by degrees, though land was always for sale at a fair market value. The extensive tracts over which great herds of cattle formerly ranged were reduced in size and more limited areas were made use of to better purpose in the care of improved stock, and later still large sections of the lands were divided into farms which have since become highly productive.

Towns sprang up in numerous places, railroads were built to make an outlet for the products of the lands, and to-day, although more than two-thirds of the entire territory thus acquired by the Farwells has been disposed of at steadily rising prices there is still left a million or more acres, none of which can be obtained at less than fifteen dollars per acre.

People called the Farwells "visionary" when they closed the bargain for these lands and entered upon the construction of the great building that the state of Texas received in payment for them. "The building and completion of the State Capitol," says C. F. Drake, writing in the Manufacturers' Record, "was in itself an undertaking from which most men, even of Mr. Farwell's wealth, would have

shrunk, taking the chances to recover his money; and it is doubtless true that he never realized to what great figures his profits would run. It was the largest, perhaps the most unique real-estate deal ever consummated in the history of the United States, by which one man acquired title to so vast an area, and drawing so largely upon his imagination, took such immense speculative chances for financial returns."

Today there stand a large number of towns and cities on this extensive tract, some of them having a population of ten or fifteen thousand inhabitants; there are four railroad lines crossing it, which give transportation facilities to the products of the farms and cattle ranches of the territory within the original tract.

MARSHALL FIELD

The career of Marshall Field is typical of that of many others among the leading merchants of Chicago. Marshall Field came to this city in 1856, at the age of twenty-one, and immediately found employment in the wholesale dry goods house of Cooley, Wadsworth & Co., then located on South Water street. The panic of 1857 carried down a great number of the business houses of Chicago, but the firm of Cooley, Wadsworth & Co. survived the shock, though it was soon after reorganized under the name of Cooley, Farwell & Co. In this firm Field was taken in as a junior partner, and the location of the house was changed to Wabash avenue. In 1860 Mr. Cooley retired and the firm name was changed to Farwell, Field & Co., Mr. Levi Z. Leiter being also admitted as a partner. In 1865 Field and Leiter retired from the firm of Farwell, Field & Co., the latter firm then becoming known as John V. Farwell & Co. Field and Leiter then bought an interest in the dry goods business of Potter Palmer, which had been established in 1852, the firm style becoming Field, Palmer & Leiter, and the location of their store being at 110 and 112 Lake street. Two years later, namely in January, 1867, Mr. Palmer retired and the firm then became Field, Leiter & Co. In the fall of 1868 the firm removed from Lake street to the north-east corner of State and Washington streets where it remained until the fire of 1871.

Before the ruins of their establishment had had time to cool a place was found at the corner of State and Twentieth streets, in an old car barn, where business was resumed as soon as stocks could be procured from the East. The promptness with which the firm reestablished themselves after the fire greatly strengthened the courage of the merchants of Chicago, by whom they were recognized as leaders. A new building was begun on the old site, and in eighteen months it was completed and occupied. A year or two later another building exclusively for wholesale purposes was erected by the firm, at the northeast corner of Madison and Market streets, but the business grew so fast that further building operations were found necessary. The site chosen for the new structure was on Adams street between Fifth avenue and Franklin street. The building here erected was after a design by Richardson, the famous Boston architect and is in use at the present time. Mr. Leiter retired from the firm in 1881, since which time it has been known as Marshall Field & Co.

Marshall Field was a native of Conway, Massachusetts, where he was born on his father's farm, August 18th, 1835. At the age of seventeen his father procured a place for him in a country store in Pittsfield. His employer, Deacon

Davis, did not form a favorable opinion of the youth, and on one occasion, when the elder Field came into the store and asked how his son Marshall was getting along, he told him quite candidly that while the boy was steady and all right, "he would never make a merchant if he stayed here a thousand years," that "he wasn't cut out for a merchant," and ended by advising the father to take the lad back to the farm and "teach him how to milk cows."

The father of Marshall Field was John Field, a Yankee farmer descended from a long line of farmers. Marshall was the third child in a family of nine children. Two of his brothers, Joseph Nash Field and Henry Field, were well known in Chicago. Young Marshall was sent to school and assisted in the work of the farm during his boyhood. It was in consequence of his father's desire to place his boys in a position to earn their own living that he started him as a clerk in the country store. Notwithstanding the unfavorable opinion entertained by his employer the young man remained in Pittsfield four years, until he dropped down in Chicago just as he came of age.

In his later years Marshall Field did not forget his native town, and gave to it a beautiful memorial library, constructed and endowed at an outlay of over $200,000. He also gave a large amount of land adjoining the University of Chicago to that institution for an athletic field, which has been named "Marshall Field," the donor's name exactly answering the purpose for its designation. His chief and most enduring monument is probably the "Field Museum of Natural History," for which he has so handsomely provided.

Speaking in general of any large and successful business enterprise it may be said that the part that any one individual plays is something that defies the analysis of the historian. "A business organization," says a writer, "is a great and complicated machine, in which different elements work together for a common end. The activities are so interdependent that they cannot be adequately considered apart. Neither can there be drawn a distinct line between the work of owners, managers, superintendents, or individual workers all down the line. The ideas, energies, and personal efforts of all of them combine in wonderful complexity to make up the composite personality and vitality of the business. History has never dealt, in the most satisfactory manner, with all those whose achievements go to make up history. It can at best point out only the more conspicuous figures, speak of the work that has been jointly accomplished, and refer to the monuments which symbolize rather than express the things that have been done."

A paragraph appeared in the papers some years ago in which was reported a remark made by Marshall Field to a friend regarding his financial ventures, the substance of which was, that he always tried to be right fifty-one per cent of the time; that the man who makes the claim that he is right all the time will find himself left behind in the long run by the man who is right fifty-one per cent of the time. This recalls the well known saying of Mr. Roosevelt's: "The only man who never makes a mistake is the man who never does anything."

Mr. Field was little inclined to talk about his affairs, and preferred to maintain a modest silence in everything regarding himself. He was averse to any appearance in public, personally or through the press, confining himself to the usual channels of business advertising. The public have naturally always taken a deep interest in his personality, but his well known diffidence and reserve was

seldom penetrated. On one occasion, however, he was moved to write a letter in answer to the request of a clergyman, who had written him asking his views on what he regarded as the essential elements of true success. He wrote as follows: "Replying to your favor of November 20th, [1893] would say that I regard honesty, truthfulness, temperance, thrift, purity of character, faithfulness, perseverance, and thoroughness in whatever a person undertakes as the most essential elements of true success.

"It is too often the case in the present day that boys starting out in life rely too much on what they call chance to bring them success, and the haste to become rich by whatever method is becoming so prevalent that too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the importance of their starting in life with the one idea of winning success through patient and earnest endeavor to discharge faithfully and honestly every duty that my devolve upon them, be it ever so small. It is too often the custom to do little things in a careless manner because they are little, and that, as a rule, determines the character of the person doing it. If a matter is worth doing at all it is worth doing well, and by this I mean that they should be thorough in everything.

"The element of thrift is sadly neglected by young men of the present day, and the tendency to live beyond their income brings disaster to thousands continually. A young man should cultivate the habit of always saving something, however small the income; be particular in his choice of friends; have the courage to say no and mean it, when tempted to do what he knows to be wrong; aim to earn a character for candor, veracity, and strict integrity that will win the respect and confidence of all with whom he may have any dealings.

"Any young man in this country who carries out the foregoing ideas cannot fail in my opinion, of attaining success to a greater or less degree if possessed of good health, and while he may not become rich he is, I believe, reasonably certain of gaining a comfortable livelihood.

"I will close by giving an extract from an article recently published in the Baltimore *American* touching upon this subject, and which I heartily endorse: 'It is simply the question of the man himself. In this country he has the opportunity. If he uses it well, if he employs his purpose to high ends, if he determines that each day shall be to him an increase in knowledge or means, and that he will work honorably for success in life, he will succeed. There is no limit to the possibilities of honest sustained effort in a good cause.' "

On January 16, 1906, Marshall Field died. He had become the greatest dry goods merchant in the world, one of the richest men in the world, and seemed still in the prime of his life, though in his seventy-first year.

After his death the estate of Marshall Field was found to be the largest of any other resident of Chicago. Such of his property as was scheduled in this state amounted to upwards of seventy-nine millions of dollars. As he possessed a large amount of property in New York his total wealth has been estimated to be considerably in excess of one hundred millions of dollars.

THE PROVISION FOR THE MUSEUM BY MARSHALL FIELD

The will of Marshall Field is dated September 5th, 1905. The provisions for the Museum occupy the whole of Section Seventeen in that document. In its

printed form the will covers sixty-two pages, comprising twenty-three sections. As a matter of fact the main body of the will was executed on the 25th day of February, 1904, and a "First Codicil" was added June 14th of the same year. This codicil, however, did not change or modify the provision for the Museum, which indeed was not mentioned in it. A further and final addition to the will was made on the 5th of September, 1905, making a provision for Mr. Field's second wife, to whom he had been married subsequent to the making of the will on February 25th, 1904. It may also be mentioned that the official name of the Museum at that time was the "Field Columbian Museum." This name was changed in November, 1905, to the "Field Museum of Natural History."

The section making provision for the Museum is as follows: "Seventeenth. Subject to the condition hereinafter expressed, I give, devise and bequeath to the Field Columbian Museum, a corporation of the State of Illinois, Eight Million (8,000,000) Dollars to be held and applied by the Trustees thereof for the uses and purposes of that institution, as hereinafter provided; but any sums of money that I may hereafter in my lifetime, but subsequent to the date of the execution of this instrument, give to the Trustees of said corporation or pay for the use and on account of said corporation, shall be taken and deemed by my Executors as advancements on account of this bequest, and the amount of this bequest shall be paid by my Executors to the Trustees of said Museum lessened and reduced by the amount of each and all of such advancements: Each advancement shall be charged up against the particular fund, that is, endowment fund or building fund, to which it may have been made.

"It is my will and I direct that the lands, tenements and hereditaments hereinafter described and devised to said Field Columbian Museum shall be taken and reckoned as a part of said devise and bequest to the amount and valuation of Three Million, Two Hundred Thousand (3,200,000) Dollars. To that end and as a part of said devise and bequest I hereby give, devise and bequeath to said Field Columbian Museum all and singular the lands, tenements and hereditaments situated in the City of Chicago known and described as follows: [Here follows the legal description of the property at the southeast corner of State and Madison streets, in the City of Chicago, consisting of a number of lots with the improvements thereon.] I give, devise and bequeath to said Field Columbian Museum with the lands, tenements and hereditaments aforesaid, the said several leases and all of my interests therein and in the covenants therein contained and in the rents to accrue thereunder, and also the reversions in fee in the lands above described. It is my will that all the capital of this portion of the entire devise and bequest, and the further sum of Eight Hundred Thousand (800,000) Dollars, or so much of said further sum as shall be received from my estate by said Trustees of the Museum after any advancement hereafter made by me in my lifetime shall be deducted as hereinbefore provided, shall be kept intact as an endowment fund, and that the net income thereof shall be applied to the maintenance and extension of the collections of the Museum and to the expenses of its administration.

"In the event of my death before the first day of July, 1905, upon which date a net annual rental of One Hundred and Twelve Thousand (112,000) Dollars will begin to accrue under the lease last mentioned, covering the entire premises above described, it is my will and I direct that my Executors shall from my general estate pay over in convenient installments to the Trustees of said Museum,

such amount as shall equal the difference between the aggregate rental reserved by said present leases and a rental at the rate of One Hundred and Twelve Thousand (112,000) Dollars per annum, for the period from the date of my death until said first day of July, 1905, which amount, in such event, I give and bequeath to the Museum, to be received and applied by its said Trustees as income from said endowment fund. A net annual income of One Hundred and Twelve Thousand (112,000) Dollars, together with the further income to be expected from said Eight Hundred Thousand (800,000) Dollars forming a part of the entire endowment fund, ought, in my judgment, for some years at least, to be sufficient for the administration, maintenance and reasonable extension of the Museum, but if the net income from the entire endowment fund shall be found insufficient for said purpose in any year by said Trustees, then said Trustees shall be authorized in their discretion to use in that year for said purpose so much of the net income of the remaining Four Million (4,000,000) Dollars, hereinafter mentioned, as they shall find necessary and available.

THE BUILDING FUND

"Out of the said devise and bequest it is my will and I direct that the sum or fund of Four Million (4,000,000) Dollars, or so much thereof as shall be received from my estate by said Trustees of the Museum after any advancements hereafter made by me in my lifetime shall be deducted as hereinafter provided, shall be set aside, held and used by said Trustees so far as practicable as a building fund for the erection, either at one time or at different times as said Trustees shall think best, of a building or buildings to serve as a permanent home for the Museum. Said Trustees shall have full powers of management, control, investment and disposition of said building fund according to the charter and the by-laws of the Museum, except as herein otherwise expressly provided, and they may in accordance with the authorization above expressed hold and use, if in their discretion they shall think it necessary so to do, a portion of said building fund as an addition to the above mentioned endowment fund. In making investments of any part of said building fund, it is my desire that said Trustees shall have special regard to the security of the capital, and that preference be given to mortgages being a first lien upon improved and income yielding freehold real estate in the City of Chicago.

"It is my purpose and desire, in making the aggregate devise and bequest in this Article of my Will contained, to provide the said Museum with a building or buildings suitable and adequate for its permanent home, and with an endowment fund whose net income shall be sufficient for its proper administration, maintenance and extension; accordingly I direct that said building fund shall not be so exhausted or reduced by building operations at any time as to prevent or embarrass the accomplishment of my said purpose and desire in the reasonably near future, and that a part or the whole of the net annual income of said building fund shall in the discretion of said Trustees be allowed to accumulate for a time, and be added to the capital, or to the unused portion of the capital, as and to the extent judged by said Trustees to be necessary for the ultimate and effectual carrying out of my said purpose and desire.

"The entire devise and bequest herein made is, however, upon the express

condition that within six years from the date of my decease there shall be provided for said Museum and shall be given to it or devoted to its permanent use, without cost to it, lands and premises, which shall be acceptable and satisfactory to its said Trustees as a location and site for the building or buildings to be erected as its permanent home; and in the event that such lands and premises acceptable and satisfactory to its said Trustees shall not be given to it, or be devoted to its permanent use within said period, and without cost to it, then the entire capital of said entire devise and bequest, together with any accumulated and unexpended income thereon, shall upon the expiration of six years from the date of my decease, revert to and become a part of my residuary estate, and be conveyed, transferred and delivered by said Trustees of the Museum to my residuary Trustees."

Mr. Field's death occurred on the 16th of January, 1906, but a few months after the date of his will. The period of "six years from the date of my decease," as specified in the will, expired in 1912. Accordingly in that year a site was provided and the erection of the new building begun, on the lake shore south of Grant Park to face north on Twelfth street, at its intersection with South Park avenue extended, and overlooking Grant Park. It is now in course of erection.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RIVER AND HARBOR CONVENTION

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN 1847—NEEDS OF THE CHICAGO HARBOR—NATIONAL CONDITIONS—ENGINEERING DIFFICULTIES—COMMERCE OF CHICAGO IN THE FORTIES—FIRST STEPS IN PROMOTING THE CONVENTION—ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT GAINED—PRESIDENT POLK'S ACTION CONDEMNED—EDITORIAL VIEWS—CONVENTION DETAILS PLANNED—THE ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC—ASSEMBLING OF THE CONVENTION—HORACE GREELEY'S SPIRITED ACCOUNT—CONVENTION IN SESSION THREE DAYS—DEMANDS FORMULATED—DANIEL WEBSTER'S LETTER—GREELEY'S REFERENCE TO LINCOLN—MR. LINCOLN A DELEGATE—RESULTS OF THE CONVENTION—FLOOD OF 1849—ICE AND WRECKAGE IN THE RIVER—SCENES OF DESTRUCTION—CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS—ALL BRIDGES SWEPT AWAY—RAISING BUILDINGS AND GRADES—BOARD OF TRADE—FOREIGN EXPORT TRADE—CHICAGO'S GROWING ASCENDANCY—MATERIAL PROGRESS IN THE FORTIES—OPPORTUNITY OFFERED TO SKILLED LABOR—CHICAGO-MADE GOODS A NATIONAL FACTOR.

The River and Harbor Convention,'' says William Bross in his ''History of Chicago,'' ''which commenced its sessions in this city on the 5th day of July, 1847, gave the second great and permanent impulse to Chicago,'' the first being the inauguration of work on the Illinois and Michigan canal in 1836. After the disastrous speculative mania of 1836 and 1837, the population and prosperity of Chicago suffered a marked decline until 1842, when the lowest point was reached, and business began once more to revive.

When the River and Harbor Convention assembled in Chicago, beneath a spacious tent measuring a hundred feet in length and breadth, erected on the Court House Square, it was attended by delegates from nineteen states and by a large number of the prominent and able men of the nation. James K. Polk was then president of the United States, Augustus C. French was governor of Illinois, John Wentworth was a member of Congress from this district, and James Curtiss was mayor of Chicago. The proceedings of the convention were reported by Horace Greeley for the New York *Tribune*, and by Thurlow Weed for the Albany *Evening Journal*.

NEEDS OF THE CHICAGO HARBOR

The origin of the movement which resulted in the calling of the River and Harbor Convention is related in the Fergus' Historical Series, Number Eighteen, published in 1882, in which is also given a complete account of its proceedings and a list of the delegates. When, after years of waiting, no adequate provision

for the needs of the Chicago harbor had been made by Congress, the people of the West decided on a course of action by which the attention of the whole country should be drawn to the needs of this, the most important port on the Great Lakes. In the year 1846, President Polk had not approved the River and Harbor bill which had been passed by Congress in its closing days, and thus it failed to become a law. Although in previous years considerable work had been done on the Chicago harbor by the government, which had made the river accessible to lake craft for some distance up its channel, the southern sweep of the lake currents along the shore had gradually choked up the entrance until there was danger of an absolute cessation of navigation in the river, and a reversion to the primitive method of receiving and discharging cargoes by means of lighters from vessels anchored in the open lake.

The Chicago river and its branches, with the channel between the piers at its mouth, constitute the harbor of Chicago. In a report prepared by Jesse B. Thomas, in 1847, he gives the following description of the conditions which existed at that time: "The main portion of the river is three-fourths of a mile in length, sixty yards wide, and about twenty feet deep. The North and South Branches, which unite with the river from opposite directions in the heart of the city, are navigable, the former three, the latter five miles. The streams are, properly speaking, bayous, having very little or no current, and being on a level with the waters of the lake. . . . The principal difficulty in constructing harbors on the western shore of Lake Michigan proceeds from the deposition of sand at the entrances thereto. A strong and almost constant current . . . passes along the shore of the lake, from the north towards the south, carrying with it large quantities of sand which it deposits, forming bars wherever an obstacle, in the shape of a river, or piers, or any object of sufficient force to change, in any degree, the attraction of this current, is met with. The effect of this is observable in all the streams discharging into Lake Michigan on the west. The current along the shore coming in contact with the rivers passing out, the latter are diverted from a direct passage, and take a new direction for a longer or shorter distance along the shore, until the influence of the current ceases to operate, when they discharge, generally in a southwestern direction; and a long bar or peninsula of sand, beginning at the diverging point and terminating at the new point of entrance, is invariably formed between the lake and the river.

"Such was the Chicago river before the construction of the piers. It discharged half a mile below the present harbor. The harbor was commenced by cutting through this bar, and forcing the river straight through into the lake. No sooner was the north pier projected into the lake than the effect of the current coming in contact with it became apparent. It deposited sand along the shore of the lake north of the pier, extending the same farther and farther into the lake, and, passing around the end of the pier, formed a bar extending in a southwestern direction across the mouth of the harbor."

ENGINEERING DIFFICULTIES

This difficulty was met by extending the pier farther into the lake, but the next season, after the bars had formed again at the end of the later extension it was seen that this method of meeting the difficulty was ineffectual, and the

government resorted to dredging which, however, gave only partial relief. The engineers eventually abandoned further attempts to maintain the requisite depth of water for navigation purposes, and removed the dredging machines to other ports. "Such a state of things," continues the report, "demands a prompt and effectual remedy, particularly at a time when our canal is on the eve of completion, and a consequently great augmentation of our commercial interests about to take place. The completion of the canal will divert a large share of the carrying trade of the West in this direction, and a safe and commodious harbor at this place in 1848 will be a matter of most urgent necessity." The report closes with the statement: "Should the accumulation of sand in our harbor the coming winter equal the last, it is susceptible of the clearest demonstration that the spring of 1848 will find our harbor entirely closed, and Chicago cut off, entirely barred, from the general commerce of the country."

To show the rapidly increasing importance of Chicago's commerce it will be interesting to review the statistics of the exports and imports for a few years beginning with 1840. It should be remembered that in 1847, when the convention held its sessions, there were as yet no railroads entering the city, except the few miles built by the Galena and Chicago Union railroad, and that the canal between La Salle and the Chicago river was still uncompleted.

Chicago was made a port of entry by the act of July 16, 1846, and soon afterwards William B. Snowhook was appointed collector of the port. Before this time no accurate figures of imports and exports were kept, and such statistics as are obtainable were derived from inquiry among merchants by those engaged in making up reports, such as that from which we have quoted. The commerce of Chicago, from 1840 to 1847, inclusive, is embodied in Thomas' report, and is as follows:

COMMERCE OF CHICAGO FROM 1840 TO 1847

	Exports	Imports	Total
1840	228,635	562,106	790,741
1841	348,862	564,347	913,209
1842	659,305	664,347	1,323,652
1843	682,210	971,849	1,654,059
1844	785,504	1,686,416	2,471,920
1845	1,543,519	2,043,445	3,586,964
1846	1,813,468	2,027,150	3,840,618
1847	2,296,299	2,641,842	4,938,141

EARLY STEPS IN PROMOTING THE CONVENTION

The first steps towards bringing about the great River and Harbor Convention were taken by William Mosley Hall. In a letter written from Connecticut, in 1881, to Robert Fergus, Mr. Hall says: "From 1845 to 1848, the writer was the agent, in the South and West, with headquarters at St. Louis, of the Lake Steamboat Association, running lines of steamers between Buffalo and Chicago. Connection was made by Frink & Walker's stage line, and subsequently by packets on the Illinois and Michigan canal with Illinois river steamers to St. Louis.

Mr. Hall, finding that the press of St. Louis were taking a lively interest in the commerce of the Great Lakes, gave a dinner to the editors of a number of the leading papers. "During the repast," he continues, "the subject of river and harbor improvements was broached, and the convention previously held at Memphis, where Mr. Calhoun sought to make the Mississippi river an arm of the sea up to that place, was discussed; until finally Colonel Chambers [of the Missouri *Republican*] remarked that although the Democracy of the country was generally opposed to improvements of the kind desired in the West, he thought that if a properly directed effort was made, irrespective of politics, it would receive the endorsement of the press generally throughout the country, which would arouse Congress to favorable action. Furthermore, turning to me, he said, 'There is no one that I know of better qualified to move actively in the matter than yourself, and we of St. Louis will do all we can to aid in the movement.' "

The day following Mr. Hall started for New York, stopping on his way at Chicago, where he remained two or three days. While at Chicago he laid the proposition before R. L. Wilson, Dr. W. B. Egan, S. Lisle Smith, and several others who pledged Chicago to its support. Thus encouraged, he stopped at Detroit, Buffalo, Albany, Springfield and Boston, and at all these places he found those who sympathized with the proposal for a River and Harbor convention to be held in some western city. Arriving in New York, a meeting was held on the evening of September 28, 1846, which was reported at considerable length in the New York *Herald* the next day. Among those in attendance at this meeting were Robert Fergus of Chicago, William Duane Wilson of Milwaukee, William Mosley Hall, and many others. Press opinions from western papers were read, one of them being a quotation from the *Republican* of St. Louis, which proposed that a convention be held at St. Louis some time during the following spring. "If held in the spring," said the *Republican,* "after the navigation of the lakes and the rivers is fairly opened, the facilities for traveling would be greater, and the delegates from all quarters would have the means of seeing and forming some idea of the vastness of the commerce and interests involved. No one who has not seen something of the carrying trade of the lakes and of the Mississippi, in the full tide of the spring flood, can form a correct conclusion as to its extent."

ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT FOR THE CONVENTION

An article from the Chicago *Daily Journal* was also read at the meeting. "Its only aim should be," said the *Journal,* "not to obtain or secure political capital for either of the great political parties that divide our country, but fearlessly to set forth those cardinal principles of public policy, in reference to appropriations for our rivers and harbors, in support of which the united West will rally with ardent enthusiasm." The *Journal* also suggested that the 4th of July, 1847, was the best time; and "whilst we have no disposition to be captious about the place of holding the convention," it continued, "we think Chicago has claims that cannot with propriety be overlooked. Its central position at the head of the vast lake trade and its intimate connection with the lake and river interests seem to point it out as the most convenient and appropriate place.

It stands a connecting link between the different channels of communication, and we believe that more of the interests involved will be accommodated by the selection of Chicago than in the choice of any other place with which we are acquainted."

When one recalls that Chicago at that time had only a population of seventeen thousand souls, that the Illinois and Michigan Canal was still two years from completion, that there was not a mile of railroad or telegraph built in its vicinity, that its sole means of communication with the East was by steamers on the lake and by stage lines, that travel to the interior was all by horse-drawn vehicles, we may form some idea of the abounding confidence in its future that was felt by the inhabitants and leading men of Chicago, a confidence that was fast coming to be shared by multitudes in all parts of the country.

At the meeting in New York, above referred to, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas, the great and rapidly increasing trade and commerce of the Western Lakes and Rivers, which at the present moment are more than one-half of the foreign commerce of the country, and fully equal in amount to our coasting-trade, should command the protection of our National government; and

"Whereas, it is of the first importance to have a concert of action of the friends of this great interest in order to present it to our National legislature in a proper light; therefore

"Resolved, that we heartily approve of the recommendation of the Western press, for a Convention of all the interests involved in Lake and River navigation, proposed to be held in the summer of 1847.

"Resolved, that we recommend Chicago as the most suitable point for holding said Convention."

The recommendation to hold the Convention at Chicago, contained in the above resolutions, met with almost unanimous approval by the various commercial bodies and public assemblages which took action on the subject.

PRESIDENT POLK'S COURSE CONDEMNED

When President Polk vetoed the River and Harbor bill, August 3d, 1846, he little thought of the storm of adverse public opinion that would be raised in consequence. Of the items in that bill which affected the navigation interests of Lake Michigan, one was for an appropriation of eighty thousand dollars to improve the harbors at Racine, Little Fort, Southport, Milwaukee, and Chicago, all included. Michigan City was mentioned in a separate item of appropriation, the amount named being forty thousand dollars. "Some of the objects of the appropriation contained in this bill," said the president, "are local in their character, and lie within the limits of a single state; and though in the language of the bill they are called harbors, they are not connected with foreign commerce, nor are they places of refuge or of shelter for our navy or commercial marine on the ocean or lake shores."

The Chicago *Daily Journal,* in its issue of August 19th, 1846, was outspoken in its denunciation of the president. "His real hostility to the bill can not be

concealed by such shallow subterfuge," it said. "The objects of improvement lie north of the Mason and Dixon's line, and would benefit the North and West, whose growing prosperity is hateful to the slave-owners of the South. . . . Three times already has the whole policy of this government been changed at the command of the South, all its business broken up and deranged, because the slave-owner was jealous of the prosperity of the free states. They were rising in prosperity, growing rich in commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and great in intelligence, whilst the South, with the curse of slavery upon her, was standing still or going backward."

The *Journal* returned to the subject in its later issues. "The lakes, from their peculiar position, require not the presence of armed agents of government for the protection of the commerce that is borne upon their surfaces. All they require is a shelter for the mariner from the effects of the strife of the natural elements, not from the ill effects that too generally succeed a wrangling among nations. But even this boon has been denied by the enlightened (!) statesmanship of James K. Polk, who interposes his veto to the construction of that shelter, because he wants the money for the Mexican War!"

The editorial wrath of the *Journal* found an echo in many places. The movement soon became too general to be guided by any one man. William Mosley Hall, who had traveled from St. Louis to the East in September, 1846, holding many conferences in the cities he passed through, was undoubtedly a prime mover in the cause of River and Harbor improvements. The people took it up and called meetings at many points—Chicago, Buffalo, Cleveland, Michigan City, and in eastern cities,—passing resolutions and appointing committees. The press of the East and the West made a live issue of it, until it attracted the attention of the leading statesmen of the day. Some of those who expressed their sympathy with the movement were Daniel Webster, Thomas H. Benton, Silas Wright, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, and many others who attended the convention, whom we will mention further on.

CONVENTION PRELIMINARIES

On the 13th of November, 1846, a meeting was held at the Court House in Chicago, "to make preliminary arrangements for holding the convention in this city, the coming season." Mark Skinner was made president of the meeting. Several committees were appointed, one on the address, consisting of seven persons, of which John Wentworth was chairman; a committee of correspondence, consisting of the same number, of which Norman B. Judd was chairman; and a committee of arrangements, consisting of one hundred, William B. Ogden being the chairman of this committee. The address was prepared by John Wentworth, and is a forceful presentation of the entire subject. The address is printed in full in Fergus' Historical Series, number eighteen; also in Hurlbut's "Chicago Antiquities." Some portions of it are here given:

"The movers in this matter have been, from the first, like the undersigned, of entirely different politics, and, so far from there being, even in the remotest degree, any political design in the contemplated convention, one of the chief objects of it is to call together for a common object the men of all parties, and to convince the people everywhere that the improvements desired are not now,

never have been, and never should be, connected with party politics, in the ordinary use of that term.

"The construction of harbors upon our Northern Lakes, as well as upon the Atlantic, with the improvement of our great rivers, where commerce is of a national character, necessarily involves no question of party difference. . . . This subject has never entered into any presidential canvass, since each party has always taken it for granted that the candidate of the other was above suspicion upon a matter of such preeminent importance. The first congress that ever assembled under the present constitution, many of whose members helped to frame it, passed a law defraying all expenses which should accrue after the 15th of August, 1789, in the necessary support, maintenance, and repairs of all lighthouses, beacons, buoys, and public piers, erected, placed, or sunk, before the passage of this act, at the entrance of, or within any bay, inlet, harbor, or ports of the United States, for rendering the navigation thereof easy and safe. General Washington signed this bill; and bills for the continuance of such works were also successively signed by Presidents, the elder Adams, Jefferson, and Madison.

"The first Lake Harbor bill was signed by Mr. Monroe. He never raised the constitutional question, nor do the congressional debates of those days show that any members of either branch of Congress made any distinction between salt and fresh water improvements, or between foreign and domestic commerce. All were at that time acknowledged alike deserving of the fostering care of the general government, as they also were during the administration of the younger Adams, General Jackson, and Mr. Van Buren. . . .

"Is it necessary to protect our domestic as well as foreign commerce? Shall we protect the lesser and neglect the greater? For the past three years, petitions have been presented to Congress in vain. The present Secretary of War [William L. Marcy], in his official reports, has recommended in vain; and the whole topographical corps has estimated in vain. Our bills have invariably been vetoed, and we have been unable to secure two-thirds of the popular branch.

"Confident that there is wanting a knowledge of the necessity of these improvements among the people or their representatives, since all efforts at success have failed, it has been thought that a General Convention and consultation, with personal observation, might do much for us. There is not a state in the Confederacy but that touches the lakes, the ocean, or the great rivers of the West. The lakes line almost our entire northern frontier, and separate us from a foreign country; and the rivers, like arteries, run through the whole country, constituting an extent of navigation sufficient to reach round the globe.

"These great waters, for whose safe navigation this Convention is called, are soon to be united by the completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal. The commerce of Boston, of Philadelphia, of Baltimore, of New York, of New Orleans, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and, indeed, of the whole country, thence becomes in a great measure connected. . . . It is a notorious fact that statements, during the pendency of harbor and river bills before Congress, are made on the highest personal authority, which never would be made if the authors had any personal observation of the great inland waters of this country. . . . Delegates in attendance will not only have the advantages of their

own observation to take back with them, but they can profit others, meeting them here by a consultation, as to the best means of redressing existing wrongs. Having done this, they can impart the proper feelings to their neighbors, and thus aid in arousing the people to take this matter into their own hands, and see that their chief interests are no longer neglected. It is confidently hoped that a more intimate acquaintance with the claims of these great waters, formed by men congregated for their special purpose from all parts of the Union, will result in sufficiently convicting and awakening the public mind to secure the constitutional majority, should a harbor bill ever again be vetoed. . . .

"Although the construction of harbors and the improvement of rivers will be the prominent subject before the Convention, yet whatever matters appertain to the prosperity of the West, and to the development of its resources will come properly before it, and all plans and suggestions will be freely entertained. The Committee invite a general attendance from all sections of the Union, and tender in behalf of their fellow-citizens, the hospitalities of the City of Chicago to such as, impelled by a common interest, see fit to honor them by their presence on the occasion."

This address was signed by John Wentworth, George Manierre, J. Young Scammon, I. N. Arnold, and Grant Goodrich.

ASSEMBLING OF THE CONVENTION

In attendance upon the Convention were Horace Greeley, then editor of the New York *Tribune,* and Thurlow Weed, editor of the Albany *Evening Journal.* Both of these men sent long reports to their papers. Greeley's first letter was dated July 5th, 1847, and was printed in the *Tribune* issued on the 17th, thus showing that the time required for its transmission through the mails was twelve days. Chicago had been filling up with delegates for ten or fifteen days previously to the beginning of the sessions. "When we arrived on the 'Oregon,' at sunrise, yesterday morning," writes Greeley, "there was scarcely a spare inch of room in any public house. But the citizens had already thrown open their dwellings, welcoming strangers in thousands to their cordial and bounteous hospitality, the steamboats, as they came in, proffered their spacious accommodations and generous fare to their passengers during their stay. . . . At all events, the people of Chicago have earned a noble reputation for hospitality and public spirit.

"The grand parade took place this morning," continues the report, "and, though the route traversed was short, in deference to the heat of the weather, the spectacle was truly magnificent. The citizens of Chicago, of course, furnished the most imposing part of it—the music, the military, the ships on wheels, ornamented fire engines, etc. I never witnessed anything so superb as the appearance of some of the fire companies with their engines drawn by led horses, tastefully caparisoned. Our New York firemen must try again; they have certainly been outdone."

HORACE GREELEY'S REPORT IN THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE

After giving a general account of those who were present, mentioning the names of prominent men, he says: "A judicious estimate makes the number

present today twenty thousand men, of whom ten thousand are here as members of the Convention." Perhaps few persons in these later days of Chicago's history can appreciate the magnitude of this gathering, described by Thurlow Weed as "undoubtedly the largest deliberative body ever assembled," occurring as it did before Chicago had yet emerged from its condition as a frontier trading town, without other facilities of communication than those we have mentioned, with a population less than any one of sixteen cities of Illinois today, when twenty thousand people—more than its own entire population,—from all parts of the East, South and West, assembled here to deliberate upon the subject of the improvement of rivers and harbors. It is one of the greatest events of our history. It was an epoch in the city's commercial growth, a great wave wash of the fast rising tide, which has carried Chicago forward to its destiny, and, within fifty years from the time that convention was held, has made her the Metropolis of the West, a city of two and a half million inhabitants, and the second city in the Union.

The people of Chicago had provided a spacious tent, about one hundred feet square, in which some four thousand persons could find seats. "The rest of the gathering," says Greeley, "were constrained to look in over the heads of those seated. At the close of one of the speeches on the first day, a very general call," says Greeley, "was made for Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, which could not be stilled. Mr. Corwin was finally sought out in the body of the convention, and conducted to the stand by Hon. John Wentworth. Although coming to the stand reluctantly, Mr. Corwin addressed the convention for nearly an hour in his own inimitable manner." He spoke of the wants and just demands of the West—the absurd folly of considering harbor improvements on salt water constitutional and on fresh water not so, a contention that had been effective in preventing improvements on the lakes by the government. He also spoke of "the mighty strides of the West to greatness and dominion, and the certainty that she who now implores will soon be in a condition to command."

In Greeley's report is not mentioned a most interesting episode immediately following Corwin's speech. As we have seen, Thurlow Weed, an admirer though often an adversary of Greeley, was also present and sending reports to his paper. Weed says that "When Mr. Corwin closed, there was a general call for 'Greeley,' whom Mr. Wentworth introduced to the convention. Mr. Greeley remarked that he had hoped that his reputation as a bad speaker would have saved him from the embarrassment of addressing so vast an assemblage.

"Mr. Greeley then spoke for half an hour with much effect in favor of the objects of the meeting. He was listened to with great attention, and warmly cheered in concluding. Every word that Mr. Greeley uttered was full of truth and wisdom."

Many speeches were made and the interest of the convention was maintained throughout the proceedings, which lasted three days. "Up to the last hour," says Thurlow Weed, "the crowd was a dense one, and every delegate stayed to the end."

DEMANDS FORMULATED BY THE CONVENTION

The resolutions adopted by the convention consisted mainly of an argument to show that internal navigation and trade was of as much national concern as foreign commerce; that the power granted to Congress by the Constitution "to

regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the States'' was applicable to the improving of rivers and harbors; that, in consequence of the peculiar dangers to the navigation of the lakes arising from want of harbors, and of the rivers from obstructions, the prompt and continued care of the Government to diminish these dangers is demanded; and that the appropriations heretofore made for the interior rivers and lakes have not been in a just and fair proportion to those made for the benefit of the Atlantic coast.

A letter from Daniel Webster, intended to be read at the convention, was received by the Committee of Correspondence on the day after the adjournment of that body. Had the Committee on Resolutions been in possession of this letter of Mr. Webster's, it would have had the benefit of its clear cut statements and forcible reasoning on the Constitutional question, to add strength to the resolutions recommended by them and adopted by the convention.

''A great majority of the people,'' said Mr. Webster, in the letter referred to, ''are satisfied that the power to make these improvements does exist in the government of the United States, and that it is the bounden duty of the government to exercise that power.

''You have been pleased, gentlemen, to call a convention without regard to the distinctions of party. . . . I am glad to find that it is believed that persons belonging to a party which heretofore, as a party, has strenuously opposed Harbor Improvements, are now ready to join in measures for their support. I have no doubt, especially, that among the younger part of our fellow-citizens, who have not been, in times past, hopelessly committed on these subjects, a just and unprejudiced opinion is fast making its way. The truth is that of the two great parties which have divided the country, one has been for Internal Improvements, and one against them; but in this latter party individuals have been found, principally, I believe, from the Western and Northwestern states, who have voted for such improvements, and thereby created a majority in their favor in the House of Representatives, against the general voice of their party, and against the wishes and vetoes of the executive government.

''Broad and deep as has been the division of parties, yet these individuals have felt constrained, by a sense of duty and a clear conviction of what the public good requires, to reject the force of party ties, and vote with their opponents. This conduct is patriotic and honorable, and, I hope, will be imitated by others. Indeed, I should rejoice to see that which has so long been a party question become a national question, and a question which shall have but one side to it. I should rejoice to see no difference of opinion on a topic of such vital and general interest. This, however, I may perhaps not see; but I shall see, I am sure, the cause of Internal Improvements triumph by decided majorities. I shall see the Lake Harbors improved, and new ones constructed; I shall see the noble rivers of the West cleared of their obstructions; I shall see the great internal interests of the country protected and advanced by a wise, liberal, and constitutional exercise of the powers of government.''

MR. LINCOLN AN ATTENDANT OF THE SESSIONS

Mr. Lincoln was present and attracted some attention. The Chicago *Daily Journal*, in its issue of July 6th, says: ''Abraham Lincoln, the only Whig

representative to Congress from this state, we are happy to see, is in attendance upon the Convention. This is his first visit to the commercial emporium of the state, and we have no doubt his visit will impress him more deeply, if possible, with the importance, and inspire a higher zeal for the great interest of River and Harbor improvements. We expect much from him as a representative in Congress, and we have no doubt our expectations will be more than realized, for never was reliance placed in a nobler heart and a sounder judgment. We know the banner he bears will never be soiled."

The quotation from the Journal's account contains an error of fact in the statement that this was Abraham Lincoln's first visit to Chicago. In his "Autobiography," the late Judge Henery W. Blodgett describes a visit made by Mr. Lincoln to J. Y. Scammon's law office in Chicago in June, 1844, while Blodgett was a law student in Scammon's office.

In the course of his correspondence Mr. Greeley mentions the future great Emancipator. "In the afternoon, Hon. Abraham Lincoln, a tall specimen of an Illinoisan, just elected to Congress from the only Whig district in the state, was called out, and spoke briefly and happily in reply to Mr. Field." This refers to a speech made by David Dudley Field, of New York, who had taken the stand that a strict construction of the Constitution would not be consistent with improving rivers within the limits of a state, and denying "the right of the Federal Government to improve the navigation of the Illinois river, since that river runs through a single state only, or of the Hudson above a port of entry."

RESULTS OF THE CONVENTION REVIEWED

The results of the River and Harbor Convention, held at Chicago, July 5th, 6th and 7th, 1847, did not realize the hopes and expectations of its friends and promoters. The resolutions which were adopted at the close of its sessions were, in effect, an appeal to Congress for the improvement of the harbors of the Great Lakes, and for the clearing of the channels of navigable rivers. The River and Harbor bill before Congress in 1851, appropriating two million, three hundred thousand dollars for a great number of improvements, and which would have carried out the purposes of the convention, was strongly supported by Henry Clay, the greatest among the Southern senators, and by Daniel Webster, the greatest among Northern senators. But the jealousy manifested by the Southern statesmen of the period toward the rapid commercial development of the North and the West had, by this time, reached an acute stage, and by means of dilatory proceedings while the bill was under consideration they were able to defeat the strongly expressed will of the people, and the bill failed entirely.

The holding of the convention at Chicago, however, served the purpose of attracting the attention of the country to the advantages possessed by this city, the large number of delegates and visitors assembled on that occasion giving evidence of the wide interest already felt, and being the means of extending the fame and reputation of the city far and wide throughout the Union. While there was no immediate action taken by Congress on the demands formulated in the convention resolutions, the ultimate influence was invaluable in directing

the public opinion of the country towards the great subject of river and harbor improvements; and the resulting discussions, then and thereafter occurring, contributed to the ultimate settlement of its status under the constitution, which before had been uncertain. Calhoun and others were opposed to "internal improvements" at the expense of the general government, "unless three or more states were benefited," a distinction which Webster argued was absurd; but in later years the improvement of rivers and harbors without such a restriction came to be fully recognized as within the power of Congress to provide for.

FLOOD OF 1849

A flood occurred in the Chicago river on March 12th, 1849, which caused more serious damage to shipping, bridges and other property, than any event of a like nature in the history of the city. At that time the Desplaines river, in seasons of high water, flowed over the divide, and mingled its waters with those of the Chicago river, a condition, happily, no longer possible since the construction of the great Drainage Channel, and the diversion and control of that previously intractable stream. The following account is condensed from Blanchard's description of the event.

After two or three days of heavy rain, which had been preceded by heavy snow storms, the citizens were alarmed by reports that the ice in the Desplaines river had broken up, that its channel had become gorged with it, that this had dammed up its waters, causing them to flow into Mud Lake, and thence into the Chicago river. The ice in the latter river now began breaking up, and soon the main channel was blocked at various points, seriously threatening the vessels and steamers tied up along the wharves. Each owner or person in charge at once sought the safety of his vessel, strengthening the lines by which they were moored, and all waited with anxiety the result of the breaking of the ice-jam.

The river soon began to rise, the water lifting the ice to within two or three feet of the top of the wharves, when, between nine and ten o'clock in the forenoon, loud reports as of distant artillery were heard towards the southern extremity of the town, indicating that the ice was breaking up. Soon, to these sounds were added those proceeding from crashing timbers and snapping hawsers. In quick succession were heard the voices of men calling to the crews of vessels and canal boats to escape before it would be too late, while crowds of people hurried to the banks of the river to witness the destruction going on. It was not long before the craft of all descriptions in the river, except a few which had been secured in the one or two little creeks which then connected with the main channel, were swept with resistless force towards the lake.

JAMS OF ICE AND WRECKAGE

As fast as the channel at one spot became jammed with masses of ice and vessels intermingled, the whole mass would dam the flood, which, rising in the rear of the obstruction, would propel vessels and ice forward with the force of an enormous catapult. Every lightly constructed vessel would at once be crushed like an egg-shell, canal boats would disappear from sight under the mass of ships and ice, and come into view below in small pieces, strewing the surface of the

boiling flood. At length a number of vessels were violently precipitated against the bridge at Randolph street, then a comparatively frail structure, which was torn from its place in a few seconds and forced into the channel of the river. The gorged mass of natural and artificial materials, of ice and general debris, kept on its resistless way to the principal and last remaining bridge in the city, at Clark street. This structure had been constructed on piles, and it was supposed would prevent the vessels already caught up by the ice from being swept out into the lake. But the momentum already attained by the great mass of ice and wreckage, which had even lifted some of the vessels bodily out of the water, was too great for any ordinary structure of wood, or even of stone or iron, to resist; and the moment this accumulated material struck the bridge, it was swept to utter destruction. The crash could be heard all over the city.

SCENES OF DESTRUCTION

The scene below the bridge at Clark street after the mass of material had swept by was terrific. The cries and shouts of the people, the crash of timbers, the toppling over of vessel masts, the terror-stricken crowds of people assembled in the adjoining streets, were sights and sounds never to be forgotten by those who witnessed them. At State street, where the river bends, the mass of material was again brought to a stand, the ice below resisting for a time the accumulated pressure. Some of the stronger vessels still withstood destruction, while around them smaller craft were breaking up and adding numerous fragments to the general ruin.

Beyond this gorged mass the open river and lake appeared in view, and it was then that the efforts of some of the bolder spirits among the citizens began to be effective in an effort to relieve the pressure. Arming themselves with axes, a number of men sprang upon the vessels thus jammed together, and at the risk of their lives, succeeded in detaching the vessels at the lower end of the mass of wreckage and ice, so that one by one some ten or twelve of the larger vessels floated free towards the open lake. Among those who were foremost and most fearless in this dangerous service the following names of citizens are mentioned: Alvin Calhoun, brother of John Calhoun, founder of the Chicago *Democrat,* R. C. Bristol, of the forwarding house of Bristol & Porter, Cyrus P. Bradley, subsequently sheriff and chief of police, and Darius Knights. Their successful efforts were greeted with loud cheers from the crowds on shore. Once in the lake the vessels were secured, in some cases by dropping the anchors, and in others by being brought up at the piers with the aid of hawsers.

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS

"Yesterday morning," said the *Democrat,* "the scenes in the river, between Haddock's warehouse and Fort Dearborn, were most melancholy. Piled indiscriminately, in some places lay vessels, most of them as fine craft as float upon the lake, a mass of entangled wreck. Between them lay pieces of canal boats a bow sticking out here and a stern there, and a mass of wreck in other places, ground up into pieces small enough for kindling wood. Tall spars here and there lay across the decks, and ropes, chains etc., in inextricable entanglement,

lay knotted and twisted in all directions. Some forty crafts of various kinds were wrecked or injured, and formed one of the most costly bridges ever constructed in the West, and the only one that Chicago now boasts of. Crowds of people were at the wrecks yesterday, and crowded the decks of the various vessels. Many ladies were not afraid to venture over the novel causeway, beneath which the water roared, falling in cascades from one obstruction to another, the whole forming the most exciting scene, perhaps ever witnessed. We understand several daguerreotype views of the vessels in their present position were taken."

This allusion to the new art of taking views with a camera, which has since had so wonderful a development, is an interesting one. The host of photographers, amateur and professional, who would have flocked to the scene of such a disaster, if it were to occur in these days, may well be imagined.

The following additional particulars are gathered from the files of the *Journal* as printed in Andreas' history. "At about ten o'clock the mass of ice in the South Branch gave way, carrying with it the bridges at Madison, Randolph, and Wells streets—in fact, sweeping off every bridge over the Chicago river, and also many of the wharves. There were in port four steamers, six propellers, twenty-four brigs, two sloops, and fifty-seven canal boats, many of which have been either totally destroyed or damaged seriously. The moving mass of ice, canal boats, propellers, and vessels was stopped at the foot of Clark street, but withstood the pressure only a moment, crashing vessels and falling spars soon giving evidence of the ruin which was about to follow. A short distance below, the river was again choked, opposite Kinzie's warehouse; vessels, propellers, and steamers were piled together in most indescribable confusion. A number of vessels are total wrecks, and were carried out into the lake a mass of debris.

"A boy was crushed to death at the Randolph street bridge, a little girl was killed by the falling of a topmast, and a number of men are reported lost upon canal boats which have been sunk, and upon the ice and bridges as the jam broke up. The bridge over the lock at Bridgeport is gone. The wharves all along the river have sustained serious injury. A son of Mr. Coombs was lost at Madison street bridge, and James L. Millard had his leg badly fractured while on board his vessel. One poor fellow on a canal boat waved his handkerchief as a signal of distress, a long distance out in the lake, during the afternoon; but there was no boat which could be sent to his assistance. The vessels were without their riggings, and the engines of the steamers were out of order."

ALL THE BRIDGES SWEPT AWAY

The city authorities went to work vigorously to replace the bridges, not one of which remained in existence. Present relief was obtained by means of ferries. A ferry was at once established at Randolph street, and in one place a canal boat lay across the river, which was made available for crossing on foot. A schooner was used at Clark street, and at other streets farther down the river ferries were installed. In the following June, Madison street bridge was opened to travel, and soon after a new bridge at Clark street was ready for use. Within a couple of months thereafter new bridges had replaced all those swept away by the flood.

In the year 1849, when the flood occurred, Chicago had been incorporated as a city twelve years. Its population was twenty-three thousand, and the city was growing by leaps and bounds. The Illinois and Michigan Canal had been completed the year before and was entering upon a prosperous career. Communication with the East was mainly by way of the lakes, as it was yet some years before the advent of the railroads. Lake steamers were doing an enormous business in the transportation of passengers, and the lake vessels were the carriers of western products to the eastern markets.

RAISING BUILDINGS AND GRADES

When it began to be evident that the grades of the streets must be raised in order to secure a system of drainage in 1857, it was stated in the Chicago Tribune that every building in the city would have to be raised to the newly adopted grade six and a half feet above that already in use. It was a serious problem how this should be done in the case of the large and heavy buildings that had already been constructed. In the case of the Tremont House, a five-story brick structure, the prospect seemed hopeless, until one day in 1859 a young man from New York state who had for several years been engaged in the raising of buildings in the towns along the Erie Canal happened to be stopping at the hotel, and learning of the problem to be solved offered to raise the Tremont House without disturbing the guests and without any interruption to business during the process. The young man was George M. Pullman who had recently taken up his residence in Chicago, and who afterwards became famous as the founder of the Pullman's Palace Car Company, and builder of the town of Pullman.

When the proposal was made to the proprietors they asked him the question, "How do we know that you can do it?" Pullman promptly replied that he had experience in that kind of work, and if he could have 5000 jackscrews he would undertake the task. The proprietors were satisfied with his offer and gave him the contract. He proceeded at once to lay heavy timbers on the floor of the basement, and on these he placed the jackscrews with one man in charge of each set of four screws. At a signal every man gave the four screws in his charge a half turn. The building parted from its foundations and inch by inch it rose in the air while the foundations were laid layer by layer beneath the rising structure. The business of the hotel went on without any one being aware of the slightest movement and the massive building rose to the required grade without further incident. The story of this unheard of feat of engineering spread Chicago's fame abroad as well as that of the young man who had carried it through successfully.

THE CHICAGO BOARD OF TRADE

"The prodigious wealth which finds expression in bank reports and clearing house statistics in these Western commonwealths," says George M. Reynolds, President of the Continental and Commercial National Bank in 1917, "represents the tribute of a fertile soil to human industry and its legitimate employment in the fields of commerce and manufacture, gives profitable employment to millions of workers. The most potent factor in the development of this great city and its

financial importance is its intimate relation to the grain trade, both as a trading and distributing center. Its geographical location makes Chicago the natural clearing house and distributing point of the products of the soil, and this position, by Nature's decree, will be hers for generations to come."

The first steps toward the organization of the Chicago Board of Trade were taken on the 18th of March, 1848. The call issued for a meeting of the business men of the city for the formation of a Board of Trade was signed by the following firms and individuals: Wadsworth, Dyer & Chapin; George Steele; I. Burch & Co.; Gurnee, Hayden & Co.; H. H. Magie & Co.; Neff & Church; John H. Kinzie; Norton, Walker & Co.; De Wolf & Co.; Charles Walker; Thomas Hale; Thomas Richmond; and Raymond, Gibbs & Co.

The meeting was held, a constitution was adopted and a committee appointed to prepare by-laws. A second meeting was held early in the following April, the report of the committee was adopted, and a general invitation was extended to the merchants of the city to meet daily in the rooms engaged for the purpose. The objects of the Association thus formed were stated to be:—"To maintain a Commercial Exchange; to promote uniformity in the customs and usages of merchants; to inculcate the principles of justice and equity in trade; to facilitate the speedy adjustment of business disputes; to acquire and to disseminate valuable and economic information; and generally to secure to its members the benefit of cooperation in the furtherance of their legitimate pursuits."

"After an experience of more than half a century," said George F. Stone in 1910, "it is impossible to change this excellent declaration of principles without marring it." In fact this terse statement of the objects in view, made when the Chicago Board of Trade was formed, has always been regarded with special pride by Chicago business men as striking the key-note of its commercial dealings, and of itself goes far to account for the unexampled prosperity and fame to which this well known body has attained. The first president of the board was Thomas Dyer, with two vice-presidents, Charles Walker and John P. Chapin. At that time the city had a population of about twenty thousand. For many years the Board had its abode in rented quarters, but outgrowing these an exchange building was erected at the southeast corner of La Salle and Washington streets in 1865, only to be destroyed by the Great Fire six years later. In 1872, it was rebuilt and the Board continued to use it until 1885, when the present building was completed and occupied.

CHICAGO'S PRE-EMINENCE OVER ST. LOUIS

In the early fifties Chicago passed St. Louis in the contest for superiority as a grain market. The receipts at St. Louis in 1853 were 5,081,468 bushels; in Chicago the receipts were 6,473,089 bushels of grain of all kinds Colbert tells us in his history, and that although the commerce of the city took such rapid strides, the Board of Trade was little better than a figure head during the whole of this period. In 1853, the secretary was instructed to provide a daily set-out of crackers, cheese and ale, as an inducement to the members to attend." The members, however, preferred to transact their business direct with their customers in their own places of business.

Colbert further remarks: We find the Board very useful, however, in another

capacity, "it was great on resolutions." In 1853 it advocated the establishment of a monster bank, with a capital of five millions of dollars, to accommodate the trade of Chicago. In 1854, it took action on the improvement of the Illinois river, the dredging of the harbor, building additional piers, erecting a light-house, and it instituted a most important reform in the selling of grain by weight, instead of by the half bushel measure, as formerly. In 1855, action was taken in reference to the Georgian Bay Canal, and the reciprocity treaty with Canada. In 1856, the Board provided standards for the inspection of grain and lumber into different grades, and had increased in membership so much that it was found necessary to rent rooms on the corner of South Water and La Salle streets.

"The year 1856," says Colbert, "was memorable as the one in which the 'Dean Richmond,' a vessel of 387 tons burden, arrived at Liverpool, direct from Chicago." Her cargo consisted of wheat which was discharged into the warehouses at Liverpool. Great anticipations were built upon the successful completion of this voyage. Bross says in his review of that year that other vessels would follow in the track of the "Dean Richmond;" and "in the judgment of those who have most carefully studied the subject, a very few years will render the departure of vessels for the grain-consuming countries of Europe so common as scarcely to excite remark."

CHICAGO'S GROWING ASCENDANCY

During the early years of its existence, that is, between 1830 and 1850, Chicago's development "must be called wonderful rather than typical," says a writer in reviewing this period. While it was passing through the "log cabin" stage of development its growth may be safely called typical as compared with other regions in the West. "Slowly the settlers came at first," says Professor William V. Pooley in his volume, "The Settlement of Illinois," "and in the accounts of travelers can be found the incidents which prove the frontier characteristics of the village. The years of booming and speculation came during the period from 1833 to 1837; steam navigation upon the lakes made the village a port of importance; the land fever gave aid to an unnatural growth, but Chicago still remained a village for the lack of substantial support. The financial revulsion of 1837 checked the growth of the town as well as the state, but with the return of confidence in the early forties Chicago again came to life, this time to enjoy a steady growth in numbers and in prosperity and to take advantage of its location.

"At this date it appears that no longer can Chicago be taken as a type of western frontier towns but from this time on one must look to physiographic conditions for an explanation of its wonderful growth. As yet railroads had not penetrated the great agricultural fields of the West, but there was nevertheless a demand for markets for produce and these markets were in the East. During the decade from 1841 to 1850 the prairies of Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin were filling up rapidly and ever increasing fields of wheat, oats and corn ripened with each autumn. The increased number of settlers meant an increased demand for lumber and supplies of all kinds, and Chicago, situated at the terminus of the navigation routes to the East, naturally attracted farmers by

thousands, who came to exchange their farm products for the products of the East.

"Chicago's growth was now substantial and normal because of its situation at the gateway of commerce. The great West, with its ever increasing wealth of agricultural products, was its storehouse; the East was its market and the city, being the favored point of collection and distribution, the connecting link between East and West, was destined to grow in wealth and power with the increasing demands of producer and consumer. Still greater possibilities were to open up when during the fifties the railroads were to radiate from the city to various points of the rich farming lands around the lakes, greatly increasing the area of influence of the rapidly growing metropolis. Primarily a commercial city, for a time, to commerce must be attributed the development, but soon manufactures grew up to add to wealth and industry and in this departure may be seen still another cause for growth. . . .

"In a word, it appears that Chicago is the result of physiographic influences, its favorable location allowing it to profit by the influences of the interaction of the agricultural West and the manufacturing East. Its location at the terminus of the great line of communication with the East, thus becoming both a distributing and a collecting point for an exceedingly wealthy back country gave it the permanent foundation upon which to build its industrial life."

In a footnote Professor Pooley calls attention to an article printed in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine in 1843, which discusses the claims to future greatness of the cities of the West. The writer of that article offers evidence to show that the location of the pre-eminent city will be on the Great Lakes rather than on the Ohio River, but curiously enough he decides in favor of its location at the mouth of the Maumee River at the western end of Lake Erie, rather than at Chicago. This article illustrates the difficulty of a contemporaneous estimate of the conditions which eventually produced Chicago's ascendancy.

MATERIAL PROGRESS IN THE FORTIES

During the later years of this period the manufacturing industries as well as the general trade of Chicago increased rapidly, while property valuation also rose in a corresponding degree. "The manufacturing establishments numbered one hundred and seventy-seven, of these concerns the McCormick Reaper Works probably became of greatest importance." In 1845 Hunt's Merchants' Magazine gives the following list of business houses as quoted by Professor Pooley in his volume: Twenty-eight commission houses; eleven clothing houses; seven drug stores; eight dry goods houses; sixty-four wholesale and retail grocery stores; four hat and cap stores; twenty-three hotels; ten newspapers; twelve insurance agencies; fifteen lumber dealers, besides others. The population of the city which was 4170 at the time it was incorporated in 1837 had increased by 1850 to over 28,000. In September, 1850, the city was lighted for the first time by gas, the gas works being situated on Adams Street on the east side of the river. These works were the first to take fire in the South Division, in the great conflagration of 1871, and from that point the flames spread over the entire business part of the city.

During the prevalence of the California gold fever, or as it was often facetiously called, the "yellow fever," travelers on their way across the continent made Chicago the principal stopping place for the purchase of supplies. Here they bought their horses, wagons, harness, saddles, blankets, clothing, tools and provisions. Here, too, large parties of men were recruited having the same goal in view and purchased their outfits for the long journey across the plains and the Rocky Mountains. These movements gave an added stimulus to trade in the late forties and early fifties.

OPPORTUNITY OFFERED TO SKILLED AND EFFICIENT LABOR

The opportunities offered to skilled and efficient labor by Chicago's factories have been much superior to those offered in other large manufacturing centers. And this is true for several reasons as we shall proceed to point out. It would be unfavorable to a manufacturing enterprise if the proprietors located their establishments in a place where the supply of raw materials used by them was limited to their bare necessities, and where there was an insufficiency of labor to meet their ordinary requirements. In either case a temporary or permanent increase in the demand for their product would so cripple them that they would be unable to take advantage of any enlargement of their business or to compete with manufacturers who, under more favorable conditions, were able to place on an active market an article which might be inferior to their own.

"There is no principle better settled in the distribution of population," said the late George E. Plumbe, the statistician of the Chicago Association of Commerce, "than that labor of all kinds, skilled as well as common, will gravitate to industrial centers, and this is more pronounced when the laborers are of foreign birth than when they are native born citizens of the country." At Chicago, there has been from its earliest days of progress a steady stream of immigrants from the densely populated countries of Europe who have found plenty of work at moderate wages, thus rendering it easy for the factories to supply themselves with workmen who were steady and efficient in their chosen occupations.

While Chicago was developing its marvelous industrial activity, which is now characteristic of the city, the agricultural prosperity of its tributary territories rendered it inevitable that the labor required in its factories would be supplied from the same sources as that from which was derived the vast numbers of arriving immigrants to the outlying fields and forests of the country. These immigrants readily perceived that the opportunities were as great in the manufacturing centers as on the farms, that while their labor was in demand in the rural regions where the first great tide of immigrants had settled there were just as good, perhaps better, prospects for themselves in the cities.

The foreign element among our immigrants in those days was largely composed of Scandinavian and German people, who had found here a refuge from the hard conditions both political and economic, imposed upon them in their homes in their fatherlands. They were thrifty, intelligent, and inured to a life of exacting labor. This was an element which the manufacturers of Chicago found ready at hand and their presence solved the problem of the labor supply so important to enterprises of every description. These people, owing to their common language and customs, gathered in communities, and were continually

reinforced by the arrivals of their relations, friends and neighbors in the old country, who had learned of their improved condition and wished to join them in the "land of opportunity." Their children attended the public schools and soon became familiar with the language of their newly adopted country, while the elders found employment in the great factories rising on every hand.

The common labor required on railroads, in mines, in city improvements of every character, was supplied by the immigrants from Italy, Russia and Hungary. This class found congenial associations in the religious privileges afforded and which kept pace with the vast increment from these sources. Whole districts in Chicago were populated with European nationalities, and remain so to-day, leading their own lives, practising their former customs, and gradually assimilating themselves to the status of American citizenship and culture, so that the process has been described as the "melting pot" of all nations. Of the Italians in particular a writer on the campaigns of the Great War remarks, "Let us not forget that every year Italy lends to the world half a million workmen, ready for the hardest toil. At the front they have proved themselves to be the same energetic workers whom we used to see on the roads and in the factories of Europe and the New World."

CHICAGO-MADE GOODS A NATIONAL FACTOR

The expansion of the manufacturing industries of Chicago during the Civil War period was succeeded after a year or two of stagnation by a permanent demand for the output of its factories. While in 1860, the year before the war, the total value of manufactured products amounted to thirteen and a half millions of dollars, this value had increased by 1868 to over sixty three millions. The leading item in the latter year was that of "packing house products," amounting to sixteen millions. In fact these products have always led in the list of Chicago manufactured products, and, as late as 1914, they constituted thirty-three per cent of the total. New enterprises were continually being added to those already in existence; for example, in the period above referred to we find among the later manufacturing enterprises factories which turned out rolled steel, organs and melodeons, even such minor products as hoop skirts and paper collars, besides a vast expansion in all items on the previous lists.

This implied a demand throughout the country for Chicago-made goods on an extensive scale. "The six years succeeding the war," says a standard history, "formed a period of growth unprecedented even in the previous history of the city. After about the first year the expansion was almost magical." Meanwhile the volume of general trade was mounting to vast proportions. In 1860, the trade of Chicago amounted to ninety-seven millions of dollars, while in 1868 it had increased to about four hundred millions. The fluctuating values of the greenback currency in which all the above values are given must be allowed for in arriving at a true result, but even figured on the basis of the gold standard the totals were marvelous. The total wealth of the city in real and personal property in 1860 was thirty-seven millions of dollars, which at the time of the Great Fire of 1871 had increased to 288 millions, although the real estate was rated at about sixty percent and the personal property at thirty percent of its true value. In Colbert and Chamberlin's volume the true value, it is stated, would have approximated to an amount about twice the figures above given.

CHAPTER IX

MANUFACTURES AND TRADE IN THE MIDDLE PERIOD

REAPERS AND PLOWS—DESCRIPTION OF THE REAPING MACHINE—ECONOMIC INFLUENCE OF THE REAPER—IMPROVED CONDITIONS OF FARM LIFE—PLOW MANUFACTURING IN THE WEST—THE "PEACE PLOW"—CONDITIONS OF MANUFACTURING NORTH AND SOUTH—WILLIAM BROSS' ECONOMIC WRITINGS—GRAIN TRADE IN 1854—GROWTH OF RAILROADS IN THE DECADE—PANIC OF 1857—CAUSES OF THE PANIC—IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES—INFLUENCE OF THE RAILROADS—"BATTLE OF THE GAUGES"—MANUFACTURES IN THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD—DISTILLING AND BREWING INDUSTRIES—FOOD PRODUCTION—FOUNDATIONS OF CHICAGO'S EMINENCE IN MANUFACTURES—ST. LOUIS AND CHICAGO COMPARED—STATISTICS OF MANUFACTURES IN 1855—GENERAL ASPECT OF THE CITY—STREET PAVEMENTS—RAISING THE GRADE—STREET CAR TRANSPORTATION—NAVIGATION INTERESTS—PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE CITIZENS.

THE MANUFACTURE OF REAPING MACHINES

The reaping machine had its origin in Virginia. The first machine of the kind was built in a blacksmith shop by Cyrus H. McCormick on his father's farm at Walnut Grove, in what is now West Virginia. It was not until the success of the reaper had been completely demonstrated that a factory for its manufacture was established at Chicago. From the beginning the reaper, invented and built by Cyrus H. McCormick, worked successfully, though many minor difficulties were encountered and overcome in the course of its progress towards perfection. The essential principles of the invention were features of the first machine constructed, and they remain the same in its present form.

Robert McCormick, the father of Cyrus, was the proprietor of the Walnut Grove farm, an estate which he had inherited from thrifty Scotch-Irish ancestors who had been settled in that neighborhood since a time before the Revolutionary war. When he himself came into possession of the paternal acres, and had acquired a family, he purchased for his sons three adjoining farms, the entire estate aggregating 1800 acres. On these four farms he successfully operated sawmills, and on two of them flour mills; his sturdy character, unusual enterprise, and business acumen, winning for him deserved prominence throughout the valley in which the farms were located as a substantial man of affairs.

An inventor himself of considerable renown in his neighborhood, Robert McCormick devoted much time in efforts to devise a reaping machine which was tried out in many tests, but failed to become practical. He finally gave up the effort and abandoned the project as an unsuccessful experiment. One of the

mechanisms tried by the elder McCormick is reported as having been "a system of rotary saws, about eight or ten inches in diameter, which revolved, shear fashion, past the edge of a stationary knife; the saws were driven by bands from a cylinder turned by the revolution of the main wheel." Another "consisted of stationary curved sickles, against which the standing grain was forced and cut, by vertical reels with pins in their peripheries."

In the year 1831 his son Cyrus, then a young man twenty-two years of age, took up the problem which his father had so long wrestled with, and carefully considered the defects in the machine, and determined to build another on his own ideas. When the father at last acknowledged himself defeated young Cyrus constructed a machine "essentially unlike any mechanism proposed by his father or any others who had undertaken the task. He immediately demonstrated by practical tests that the successful type had thus been created; and he never departed from that type, in conformity wherewith all success in this art has since proceeded." The young inventor afterwards said of his new machine: "I had my machine more completely made, with the addition of a gathering reel, and with a better arranged divider, ready for trial in a neighboring field of late oats, during the same harvest, in which I then cut very successfully six or seven acres of crop." The elder McCormick beheld this result with satisfaction, and remarked to a neighbor: "The reaper is a success, and I believe that I could not have made it so; but it makes me feel proud to have a son to do what I could not."

DESCRIPTION OF THE REAPING MACHINE

In a paper printed in the proceedings of the Wisconsin State Historical Society some years ago, Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites stated what must be the requirements of a mechanical reaper which could be effective in the harvest field. "It must be capable of dealing with grain under the great variety of conditions commonly encountered in practical operations; of so separating, cutting, and depositing the flexible and illusive stalks as to avoid any material shelling of the kernels, prevent entanglement, and insure their being delivered and retained in such parallelism as to be properly handled for curing, preserving, and threshing; of cutting it substantially parallel with the surface of the ground, however irregular the surface; and of securing sufficient power without conflicting impulses or undue weight.

"It would not suffice to advance a plane cutting edge against the grain, or to use revolving blades or automatic shears, these had been abundantly tried by prior inventors, and all had met with irretrievable failure. The matter of developing and applying the requisite power was also of prime importance; this could only be obtained from the rotation of wheels under traction, and the amount was limited to the draft power of the team. The machine must therefore be reduced to a minimum of weight, lest it be too cumbersome to be propelled and guided over rough surfaces. The most economical method of applying draft is on the central line of resistance; yet in this machine, where economy in draft and equalization of strains are so essential, the teams cannot travel directly in front of the cutting apparatus without trampling and shelling the grain.

"Most of the early inventors had arranged to place the team in the rear, thus making a push machine. The drawing for McCormick's first patent illus-

trated alternative methods, but from his earliest practice he adopted the side draft, and this is now almost universally used. The machine must be operated by men who are not mechanics, and generally they are at a distance from machine shops; in case the reaper breaks down, it usually is impracticable to seek technical aid, since protracted delay may mean the loss of a considerable share of the season's harvest. Illustrations of the conflicting conditions which it was necessary to reconcile, might be multiplied indefinitely. Until a plan consistent with these exactions was devised, there could be no practical outcome."

The four vital elements in a reaping machine may be outlined as follows: First, "A platform, or grain deck, one end of which is flexibly affixed to the master-wheel, while the other is supported by a small 'grain wheel,' so that the platform may readily accommodate itself to the irregularities of the surface. Second, a reciprocating knife (operated directly from the master-wheel) having a serrated edge, with stationary teeth or guards projecting forward from the platform, immediately over the inner edge of the knife and bent backward beneath it, so that, as the knife reciprocates through them, the stalks will be sustained by the fixed teeth and sheared off. Third, a horizontal and adjustable reel, so situated as to rotate in the direction of the master-wheel, serving to sweep the standing grain towards the cutting apparatus, and delivering the several stalks parallel upon the platform, in a swath adapted to be raked off into bundles, ready for the binders. Fourth, a divider, serving, as McCormick stated in his original description, to 'divide and keep separate the grain to be cut from that to be left standing,' an operation in which the reel also takes part."

FINDING A MARKET FOR THE REAPER

It was not enough, however, to invent a reaper. What was needed was the ability to sell a reaper after it was built. As much as reaping machines might benefit the farmer he was too skeptical to believe in its merits at first. McCormick was not able to sell a machine until ten years after the invention had been proved a success. Then, in 1841, he sold two for one hundred dollars apiece. The next year seven were sold, and this brilliant success brought the whole family into line behind Cyrus, and the farm was turned into a reaper factory. Twenty-nine were sold in 1843, and fifty in the next year. In 1847 a factory for the manufacture of reaping machines was established at Chicago.

The "Romance of the Reaper is a true fairy tale of American life," says Herbert N. Casson on the subject. It is the "story of the magicians who have taught the civilized world to gather in its harvests by machinery." On the old European plan, cutting the grain with a hand sickle, "every bushel of wheat required three hours of a man's lifetime. To-day, on the new American plan, riding on the painted chariot of a self-binding harvester, the price of wheat has been cut down to ten minutes a bushel." The machinery of the wheat field solves the mystery of prosperity, and goes far to explain the miracles of scientific agriculture. "It accounts for the growth of great cities with their steel mills and factories. And it makes clear how we in the United States have become the best fed nation in the world."

The author whom we have just quoted believes that "it is true that until recently the main object of all nations was to get bread, life was a search for

food, a desperate postponement of famine." Again he says that "it is no exaggeration to say that the human race was hungry for ten thousand years, even of the black bread, burnt and dirty and coarse, there was not enough; and the few who were well fed took the food from the mouths of slaves." "To have enough to eat was to the masses of all nations a dream, a millenium of prosperity. This long age of hunger outlived the great nations of antiquity, because they went at the problem of progress in the wrong way.

"If Marcus Aurelius had invented the reaper, or if the Gracchi had been inventors instead of politicians, the story of Rome would have had a happier ending. But Rome said, the first thing is empire; Egypt said, the first thing is fame; Greece said, the first thing is genius. Not one of them said, the first thing is Bread." It remained for our own America to show to the world that the foundation of civilized society is a sufficiency of food. The invention of the reaper changed the face of the world, "it made prosperity possible, and elevated the whole struggle for existence to a higher plane." "The reaper," continues Casson, "was America's answer to Malthus," who had told the leaders of thought and action that "the ultimate check to population is the lack of food." Here in our own favored country we are growing wheat at the rate of ten bushels a year per family, and the states of Minnesota and the two Dakotas produce enough wheat themselves to feed the people of England alone. The reaper has given everybody enough to eat. "If we had to reap our grain in the same way as the Romans did, it would take half the men in the United States to feed us on bread alone, to say nothing of the rest of the menu."

INFLUENCE OF THE REAPER ON THE CIVIL WAR

The immense economic influence of the reaper in the War for the Union must be considered when looking for the cause of the great triumph of the Northern states in defeating the slaveholders in that struggle. While the fighting men of the South were replaced in the fields by slaves, the white labor of the North could not have been mustered into the ranks of the Union army had it not been for the great superiority enjoyed by the agricultural classes of the North in their use of farming machinery. The same is true of manufacturing in every branch where the skill and enterprise of manufacturers enabled them to provide abundantly for the armies in the field. In 1861, Hon. Edwin M. Stanton made an address in which he eulogized Cyrus H. McCormick and his reaper.

"He held," says Thwaites, "that the great inventor's services to mankind and civilization were much beyond those of discoverers and conquerors, for his were the beneficent and everlasting victories of peace, and the world owed to their author an adequate reward." "The reaper is to the North," said Stanton, "what slavery is to the South. By taking the places of regiments of young men in the Western harvest fields, it releases them to do battle for the Union at the front, and at the same time keeps up the supply of bread for the nation and the nation's armies. Thus without McCormick's invention I fear the North could not win, and the Union would be dismembered." The Commissioner of Agriculture in his report for 1862, asserts that owing to the absence of so many farm laborers at the front, it would have been impossible to harvest the wheat crop for that year, had it not been for the increased use of mechanical reapers, each

of which effected a saving of the labor of five men. "Notwithstanding the enormous draft of recruits from our rural districts," says Thwaites, "to fight in the armies of the Union, agricultural operations could still not only be carried on by the North, and in numberless instances by mere youths, but the product itself was meanwhile substantially increased."

INFLUENCE OF THE REAPER ON EMIGRATION

After the close of the Civil War a vast increase in the extension in the use of farming implements and machinery is noted. In his summary of the "Statistics of Agriculture," Francis A. Walker, in the Tenth Census Report, said: "Remarkable as have been the mechanical achievements of our people in the department of manufacturing industry, they have been exceeded in the production of agricultural implements and machinery." Ensuing upon the peace between the Northern and Southern states "vast numbers of discharged Union soldiers went into the West, to take up homes under the military homestead law. Abundant land awaited settlement as late as 1880. The young man of the Central States found the prospect of acquiring a farm for himself more inviting than the return to the life of an agricultural renter or laborer. By the extensive use of agricultural machinery the center of cereal production has been kept well in the advance of the center of our population. William H. Seward once claimed that the McCormick reaper had extended the American frontier at the rate of thirty miles each year, a sentiment practically identical with that uttered by Stanton, who in his previously quoted address in 1861, showed upon a map how 'McCormick's invention in Virginia, thirty years before, had carried permanent civilization westward more than fifty miles a year.'"

IMPROVED CONDITIONS OF FARM LIFE

This has had the effect of extending the western frontier far beyond the limits described in the writings of the old historians. "Socially, economically, and politically, the effect has been far-reaching and revolutionary. The vast levels of the Northwest have become the seat of our agricultural production, and the center of political power in the United States. The new instruments of labor have everywhere reduced to a minimum the old-time drudgery of the farm; the storm and stress period of pioneer life has become a matter of history. By bringing to them this opportunity for larger prosperity and leisure, agricultural machinery doubtless saved the farmers of the west from sinking into a peasant class. With prosperity and leisure came a taste for culture and the consequent development of academies, colleges, and universities.

"The farmer on his broad Western acres is in considerable measure independent of the exorbitant wages formerly demanded by men who worked only during harvest seasons; he is industrious, intelligent, effective, has a wide outlook on life, and takes a high stand among his fellows. The humblest urban wage-earner in turn had his benefit; the supply of food has been maintained, scarcity has been prevented, and prices are lessened. . . The introduction of improved agricultural machinery has made possible, also, the great flouring industries of the Old Northwest; and has promoted the prosperity of great rail-

way systems that gridiron the prairies and plains, and of monster fleets of vessels that plough the Great Lakes, all engaged in transporting to market the products of the farm." "Nor are these advantages confined to America," continues Thwaites. "Wherever throughout the world have gone the reaper and its lusty following of labor-saving inventions, life is easier than it was before, and rustic man is no longer slavishly bound to the grinding burden of the sickle and the hoe. His labor has been made vastly more productive, and this means better things in every walk of life."

PROGRESS OF CHICAGO IN THE "FORTIES"

In 1847, the year in which Cyrus H. McCormick established his reaper works in Chicago, the city was as yet without railroads or telegraph lines. The Illinois and Michigan canal was on the eve of completion, and the facilities it would give to the transportation of products,—lumber, grain, and heavy merchandise,—were already anticipated in the inception and rapid growth of enterprises and mercantile establishments, that in later years gave to Chicago a marvelous pre-eminence, and won for it the deserved title of "the Metropolis of the West." In the year 1847, Chicago had attained to a population of nearly 17,000 inhabitants. Chicago had been incorporated as a city in 1837 with a population of 4,170, thus having shown a remarkable growth in the ten years of its existence as a city.

In July, 1847, Chicago's first great convention, known as "the River and Harbor Convention," held its meetings at the Court-house Square in a mammoth tent, as narrated in a former chapter, which was attended by twenty thousand people from all parts of the Union. This convention gave a permanent impulse to Chicago, the effects of which have been continuous throughout its later history. Owing to the serious reverses suffered by the people in the panic of 1837, the progress of the city had been slow for several years thereafter, but the advantages it possessed began to be more and more appreciated, and especially so as they were perceived by the great number and prominence of the intelligent statesmen and business men from every part of the Union who were present at the convention above spoken of. The reaper works were established on a spot on the north side near the mouth of the Chicago river, where they remained for twenty-four years, until the great fire of 1871 consumed the works. After that destructive event the works were removed to a site at the corner of Western and Blue Island avenues where they remain to this day.

THE PLOW MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY

The manufacture of plows as indeed of all agricultural implements has been a distinctively western industry. After the early forms of this implement had been improved by several inventions early in the century, so that iron took the place of wood in its construction, a number of factories were established for the manufacture of plows, starting on a small scale at first. One of the most important of these was that of John Deere. The beginning of his work in making plows was in a blacksmith shop at Grand Detour, in Ogle County, where he then lived. In 1838 he made two plows by hand, the next year ten, and so on in-

creasing until in 1846 he made a thousand finished plows, which placed him in the foremost rank of the infant industries of the West. After 1847 his business was carried on at Moline to which point he removed in that year.

In the old days plows were made with a wooden moldboard. Reynolds, in his "Pioneer History of Illinois," says that the "old plow used by the French would be a curiosity at this day." It had a large wooden moldboard and the handles were almost perpendicular. "The beam was nearly straight and rested on an axle supported by two small wheels; the wheels were low and the beam so fixed on the axle, with a chain or rope of raw-hide, that the plow could be placed deep or shallow in the ground. The wheels made the plow unsteady. The French settlers seldom plowed with horses, but used oxen. It is the custom of the French everywhere to yoke oxen by the horns and not by the neck," as was usual among the American settlers. "Oxen," remarks Reynolds, "can draw as much by the horns as by the neck, but it looks more savage."

"In 1844," says David Rankin, the millionaire farmer in his book of reminiscences, "the first plows of steel were made, these plows would scour. We do not appreciate what John Deere has done with the steel plow to lessen labor for the farmer, in fact, making plowing a pleasure." Anybody who has ever used a plow with a wooden moldboard, and has been obliged to stop every few rods to scrape the clinging dirt off so that it would shove the soil over to one side of the furrow, can well understand the improvement in plowing with a steel plow, as he beheld the smooth, shining layer of earth turning over as he passed along. "It is said," continues Rankin, "that good plowing is the first thing necessary to good farm work, and I know that it is, but when I look back and see how crude our tools were and how poor the plowing was in those days, I wonder that we raised half as much as we did. Of course our land was new and rich, and we did not have so many weeds to fight. We had to do a great deal of hoe work in those days. They were great big hoes, one of them would weigh as much as four or five of the kind of steel hoes which we use now. Well, sir, it's mighty hard to appreciate what the steel plow has done for America, surely we never could have reached what we have accomplished in agriculture without it. Farmers nowadays don't appreciate it. They can't, because they have never had to put up with the old kind of home-made tools."

At the World's Fair in 1893 there was exhibited the so-called "Columbian Peace Plow," made by Deere and company for a committee of the Daughters of the Revolution. The steel in this plow was forged for the most part from swords that had been used in old wars, and in like manner bayonets and pikes were made into pruning-hooks. They thus constituted an illustration of the verse in the scriptures, "They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks." The wooden beam and handles of the Peace Plow were highly finished and inlaid with a great variety of pieces of wood, each one having some particular historical interest. "The first recorded form of plow," says a writer in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "is found on the monuments of Egypt, where it consists simply of a wooden wedge tipped with iron and fastened to a handle projecting backwards, and a beam, pulled by men or oxen, projecting forwards. Many references to the plow are found in the Old Testament, notably that in the first book of Samuel, 'All the Israelites went down to the Philistines to sharpen every man his share and his coulter.' Des-

criptions of plows found in Hesiod's 'Works and Days' and in Virgil's 'Georgics' show little development in the implement."

CHICAGO IN THE "FIFTIES"

The manufacturing industries in Chicago in the year 1848 were still in their infancy, and the value of the entire product in 1850 was returned at only $3,562,583, on an invested capital of $1,086.025. During the next six years the value had expanded to $15,513,063, on a capital of $7,759,400, while the number of employees had increased from 2,081 to 10,573. The panic of 1857 was disastrous to Chicago, and no improvement was shown until 1860, when under the stimulus of the great demands created by the Civil War the growth became phenomenal.

Comparing for a moment the Northern and Southern sections of the country, it has been found, generally speaking, that in the South slavery and manufactures excluded each other. The South lived almost entirely by agricultural industries, its capital was monopolized by agriculture. "Manufacturing industry," says Von Holst, "did not accord with the longing for aristocratic leisure which must characterize the free population in a community which owes its specific industrial character to slave labor." Therefore the manufacturing industries of the Northern states easily surpassed those of the Southern states, and this, indeed, was a determining factor in the great Civil War of 1861 to 1865, which abundantly proved the superiority of the North in its material resources over the limited advantages possessed by the South in the prosecution of that unhappy war.

Adopting the year 1861 as a convenient point from which to review the manufacturing and business development of Chicago, we observe that the city was now twenty-four years old and had passed through two severe business panics, those of 1837 and 1857, the result of which had been a stagnation in their development, each time succeeded by a gradual recovery from their effects. After the earlier panic the city had for a few years only slowly increased in its population, but during the later "forties" it grew by leaps and bounds. In 1848 the Illinois and Michigan Canal was completed which the people looked upon as the chief sign of its recovered prosperity. By 1850 the population had increased to 28,269, as shown by the government census of that year, and it continued to increase rapidly for the following few years. Then came the great panic of 1857 which continued in its baneful effects down to the time of the Civil war.

CHICAGO TRADE FROM 1847 TO 1857

Some consideration of the trade conditions existing in Chicago during this period can be given in this place. When William Bross issued a thin volume in 1876, published by Jansen, McClurg & Co., and called it a "History of Chicago." he crowded within a limited space a great variety of interesting facts regarding the city's development down to and including the year 1857. Much of what he wrote was drawn from his own knowledge and observation, and written as the history is by a man of superior intelligence and possessed of a fluent style, it has a special value for the historical investigator. A few words regarding Mr. Bross will be appropriate in this connection.

William Bross came to Chicago in 1847 when thirty-four years of age, and during the remainder of his life was closely identified with its history. He became a member of the firm of S. C. Griggs & Co., publishers and book-sellers, but the partnership was dissolved the next year and Mr. Bross began the publication of a religious newspaper. In the year 1852, he entered the wider field of daily journalism and started the "Democratic Press." Eventually this newspaper was merged with the "Chicago Tribune," which occurred in 1858. In 1864 Bross was chosen Lieutenant Governor of the state. During the period of the war he extended a strong support to President Lincoln's administration, and advocated the policy of emancipation, a policy which at one time Mr. Lincoln doubted as advisable, as it would have no more effect, he said, "than the Pope's bull against the comet." It will be remembered also that Mr. Bross was the companion of Hon. Schuyler Colfax and Samuel Bowles on their trip across the plains to California in 1865. He was a convincing writer and possessed a vast store of information.

Writing of business conditions in Chicago in the later "forties," Bross says in his history: "The business of our merchants was confined mainly to the retail trade. The produce that was shipped from this port was all brought to the city by teams. Some of them would come a hundred and fifty miles. Farmers would bring in a load of grain and take back supplies for themselves and their neighbors. Often has it happened that they would get 'sloughed' or break their wagons; and between the expense of repairs and hotel charges, they would find themselves in debt when they got home. During the busy season the city would be crowded with teams. We have seen Water and Lake streets almost impassable for hours together.

"The opening of the canal in 1848 made a considerable change in the appearance of the city, and when the Galena railroad was finished to Elgin, the difference was striking. The most of those old familiar teams ceased to visit us, and we heard some few merchants gravely express the opinion that the canal and railroads would ruin the city. The difference they have made is simply that between a small and large business, between a retail and a wholesale trade." In 1853, Mr. Bross, in a historical review at the end of the year, makes some interesting and startling comparisons between the values of lots in 1833 and those of the year under review. "Our citizens," he writes, "have all noticed the splendid drug store of J. H. Reed & Co. on Lake street. The day it was opened, October 28, 1851, we stood in front of the store, conversing with the owner of the building, Jeremiah Price. Pointing to one of the elegant windows, Mr. Price said: 'I gave one hundred dollars in New York for that center pane of French plate glass. That is exactly what I paid Mr. J. Noble for this lot, eighty feet front, on a part of which the store stands, when I purchased it in 1833.' That lot cannot now be bought for $64,000. Wolcott's addition, on the North Side, was bought in 1830, for one hundred and thirty dollars. It is now worth considerably over one and a quarter millions of dollars.

"Walter L. Newberry bought the forty acres which forms his addition to Chicago of Thomas Hartzell, in 1833, for $1,062. It is now worth half a million of dollars, and what is fortunate for Mr. Newberry, he still owns by far the largest part of the property. So late as 1834, one-half of Kinzie's addition, all of Wolcott's addition, and all of block one, original town, were sold for twenty

thousand dollars. These lots are now worth at a low estimate three millions of dollars. Any number of similar instances might be given of the immense appreciation of real estate in Chicago. From the great appreciation which these figures show many may be led to suppose that no more money can be made on real estate in Chicago. Exactly the reverse is true. As compared with the original cost lots near the center of the city cannot be expected to appreciate so rapidly as in years past; but that they will steadily advance there can scarcely be a doubt. Let any business man study carefully the facts contained in these articles; let him remember that within the lifetime of thousands who read these pages Chicago will contain her hundreds of thousands of people; and then let him calculate, if he has the courage, what real estate then will be worth in the commercial center of the Mississippi valley."

THE GROWTH OF TRADE

By the end of the year 1854, Chicago had attained to the rank of the greatest primary grain port in the world. This term is defined by John L. Scripps, whose article in the Democratic Press is here referred to, as follows: "We say 'the largest primary grain depot in the world,' because it cannot be denied that New York, Liverpool, and some other great commercial centers receive more breadstuffs than Chicago does in the course of the year, but none of them will compare with her in the amount collected from the hands of the producers." During that year the shipments of grain from Chicago had reached the great total of 15,804,423 bushels, nearly half of which was corn, while wheat and oats constituted about one-fourth each of the total amount. It must be remembered that it was during this year that the cholera prevailed to such an alarming extent that the time is referred to as "the great cholera year."

GROWTH OF RAILROADS IN 1855

The rapid growth of railroads by the end of the year 1855 had riveted the attention and interest of the Chicago people upon them. The list of railroads, including their branches, and the number of miles operated by each of them, is given by Bross as follows:

	Miles
Chicago & Milwaukee	131
Chicago, St. Paul & Fond du Lac	82
Galena & Chicago Union	326
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy	310
Chicago & Rock Island	340
Chicago, Alton & St. Louis	260
Illinois Central	626
Fort Wayne & Chicago	20
Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana	272
Michigan Central	282
New Albany & Salem	284
Total	2933

This showing was dwelt upon by the writer in glowing terms, and after giving a list of the receipts of the railroads centering in Chicago, the total of which to the end of the year 1855 was over $13,000,000, he says that he thinks this "will do very well for a city which only four years ago had only forty miles of railroad completed and in operation." It is added that there are ninety-six trains arriving and departing daily, but "when the spring business opens the number will be increased to about one hundred and ten." At the end of the year 1856 the reviewer whom we have been following found that four of the principal railroads had carried 639,666 passengers westward from Chicago, and 532,013 in the other direction, thus showing "that these four railways alone have taken west 107,653 more passengers than they brought back—people enough to redeem another sovereign state from the dominion of the panther and savage, and to add another star to the banner of our glorious Union."

INTERRUPTION TO PROSPEROUS CONDITIONS

The next year was 1857, when the disastrous panic overtook the country and overwhelmed it with ruin and desolation. In spite of his former optimism Mr. Bross, in his review of business for that year, was obliged to recognize the havoc and losses suffered as the result of the panic. The business of the railroads, as that of every other branch of industry, fell off, and the figures shown are materially less than for the previous year. "Amid all the panic and disaster of last year," says the writer, "with all the Santanic efforts of certain journals in New York and other cities to destroy all railway values," the earnings of the railroads centering in Chicago fell but ten per cent short of those of the previous year which had been one of great prosperity and progress. "In all the dark days through which we have passed, the Democratic Press has steadily labored to inspire confidence and hope, and we have the satisfaction also of knowing that our reasonings have saved many of our readers from despair and utter ruin."

At the end of the year 1857, despite the panic, the railroads of the state had increased their mileage, which now stood at nearly 4000 miles of track, and their total earnings amounted to $18,500,000. During that same eventful year the number of bushels of wheat received was 12,500,000, of corn 7,400,000, of lumber 460,000,000 feet; and of vessels arriving in the port there were 7,557. "It is a source of great satisfaction that the tide of population is largely and steadily westward," says the review writer. "The change will, in almost every instance, secure for the people who emigrate a great increase of property, and thereby afford them the means of greater physical comfort and a more generous expenditure for their intellectual improvement and social elevation. Who can estimate the influence which the two hundred thousand people who sought homes west of the lakes during the past year will have upon the social progress and physical development of the Mississippi Valley?"

THE PANIC OF 1857

Hopefulness and intelligent optimism, however, were the key notes of public sentiment even in those dark days of trial and difficulty, and combined with

the great natural advantages possessed by Chicago in an eminent degree, the consequences of the panic conditions were not so severely felt as in many other parts of the country. "With a large surplus of last year's crop still in hand," says the writer of the review for that year, "the west is abundantly able to meet all her liabilities, and have sufficient means to make large and substantial improvements in the future. We are on the eve of a great, permanent and propitious social advancement, and let every western man summon all his energy to act his part wisely and well." But while this year of panic witnessed a serious check to the industrial development of Chicago, and indeed to the entire Western country, the boundless energy and hopefulness of the people quickly repaired the losses, and in spite of check or disaster they marched resolutely on in their predestined course. "The recent season of panic and revulsion through which we have passed," wrote the reviewer in the Democratic Press, "will prompt to greater caution, and therefore greater safety in the future. With all its evil effects it has clearly demonstrated that there is a solid basis for the prosperity of our city and the West generally."

But in Colbert's history, written many years later, the author records a much more serious condition of affairs from the effects of the panic than is allowed by the writers of the contemporary period. Colbert says that the effects of the panic on the real estate market "were fearful, and the building business suffered correspondingly." The depreciation in the prices of lots was great and continued during the following two years. Buyers of real estate at the high prices prevailing before the panic had depended upon a continuous advance in values to enable them to provide for their deferred payments, but found that they could not sell even at a ruinous sacrifice. "Great numbers of workers left the city for want of employment, and those who remained were obliged to go into narrowed quarters to reduce expenses. This caused a great many residences and stores to be vacated, and brought about a reduction in rents on those still occupied."

CAUSES OF THE PANIC

The area of the city had been increased in 1856 to eighteen square miles by the extension of the southern boundary to Thirty-Fifth street. Land values had increased to an excessive range of prices, caused by the prevailing mania for speculation. The remoter causes of the general panic of 1857 were to be traced to the business men of the East. While the panic of this year was not the worst experienced in the United States it was remarkable from the fact that it prevailed in all the civilized countries of the world. A writer in Moody's Magazine for April, 1911, in reviewing this period says that the panic was both a financial and commercial disturbance. "It was world-wide in extent, but its effects were more severely felt in the United States than elsewhere. It was due to speculation excesses, and, in America, was intensified by bad banking practices, a free commercial morality, an inflated currency, and a sudden loss of commercial confidence induced by the calling of loans and capital by European investors in American securities."

There were many important events taking place in other parts of the world during this period. The war in the Crimea was brought to a conclusion which resulted in an extensive readjustment of the international relations of

European nations. The rebellion of the natives of India against British control added to the disturbances of financial conditions abroad, and these events "widely influenced subsequent American history and made the year 1857 memorable."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RAILROADS

Since time began no such power has been known to man as the railway to develop the internal resources of a country, says John S. Wright in his volume on Chicago, written in 1868. Nor was this power ever brought to bear upon such another region as the extensive plains and forests of the Great West. Especially is this true of Chicago and of the vast expanse of country of which it is the center. Notwithstanding the great efficiency of water transportation to perform the task of moving the products of one section to another, which form of transportation in the early days of the republic was regarded as a necessary condition of prosperity, yet the utter incapacity of this and all other modes of conveyance to carry on trade without the aid of the railways has been sufficiently demonstrated in our economic history.

The true welfare of the inhabitants of this wide-spread region has been considered by all thoughtful men to be founded on the prosperity of its agriculture, and in this respect its transportation facilities are a factor of vital importance. Immigrants to a new country are attracted to the place where a food supply is cheaply and abundantly produced and where the surplus can find a market. Here in this region the principle is illustrated that "mouths go the food, and not the food to the mouths," as Scott phrases it. Thus while transportation facilities are essential, the first necessity is a supply to the producers, while the surplus seeks a market at points where it can be handled by water transportation. The rapid increase in this surplus accounts for the tremendous advance of the railways which followed the development of water routes, and in great part were substituted for them.

"It is evident, therefore," it is written in the introduction to the Census of 1860, "that railroads not only carry two-thirds of the freights to and from the West at the present time, but that such is the rapid increase of western products, and the surplus carried to Atlantic or foreign markets, that the time is near when all that can be carried by water will be but a small proportion of the whole. The transportation by wagons is no longer possible to carry the surplus products of the interior states to either foreign or domestic markets. In fine, in the absence of railways the cultivation of grain beyond the immediate wants of the people must cease, or the surplus perish in the fields. Such was exactly the state of things in the West before the general introduction or railroads. The grain fields of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and the states beyond the Mississippi, have been mainly cultivated because railroads made their products marketable and profitable. In one word, railroads have done what could not have been done without them."

RIVALRY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

The Eastern state advocates, fearing the loss of their prestige, set up the claim that their advantages in manufacturing consisted in the cheapness of

transportation which enabled them to supply the agricultural producers at less cost than if they attempted to establish and carry on their own manufacturing. This was met by many experimental manufacturing enterprises throughout the West which gradually proved successful. The western man found instruction from the example of old world centers of manufacturing activity, where alongside of mills and factories more highly developed and intensive modes of agriculture were practised, which provided for the food necessities of the workers. And in fact this policy has been adopted with the result that the supremacy of the Eastern mills and factories have been seriously challenged, as will appear in the following pages.

But in addition to the rivalry between the Eastern and Western sections of the country, thus referred to, there was intense rivalry between the different sections of the West itself. The cities bordering on Lake Erie and on the great river systems of the interior, strove earnestly to increase the advantages they possessed in water routes to the great markets. Their advocates continually urged the extension of their facilities hoping to surpass those which Chicago possessed both by rail and water routes, superior, indeed, to any of them. The chief rival of Chicago was St. Louis which claimed to be the "Metropolis of the West," and in the statistical records it maintained this title for many years. The population of St. Louis was always greater than that of Chicago down to the year 1870, when the two cities were about equal in that respect. The census of 1910 shows the population of St. Louis as 687,029, while that of Chicago is 2,185,826.

ST. LOUIS LONG A RIVAL OF CHICAGO

The long continued rivalry between Chicago and St. Louis reached its greatest degree of intensity in the fifties and sixties. John S. Wright wrote a history of Chicago, published in 1868, the principal contents of which was an argument to prove that Chicago possessed superior advantages over any that St. Louis could claim,—in respect to trade, transportation and manufacturing. Throughout the four hundred pages of fine printed matter in his volume the author marshalled a vast array of facts from the publications of the day and the utterances of public men, reinforced with his own deductions, to prove that Chicago would surpass its rival, and indeed the event bore out his conclusions triumphantly. While a great railroad center at Chicago was being developed Wright argued that St. Louis was hopelessly left behind in a contest for supremacy. He called St. Louis "the city that worships a river," by reason of its claimed superiority in river navigation.

Wright quotes from a St. Louis paper, reviewing the progress of railroad construction tributary to St. Louis in 1861, and contrasting that at Chicago in the same period, as follows: "This shows that unless more energy, and life, and spirit are exhibited than heretofore, instead of being the metropolis of the West, we shall degenerate into a third or fourth-rate city, clipped of its power and strength by its own folly. Chicago is extending her lines of railroads to us, furnishing money to build our own lines, advertising her business throughout the state, and offering other inducements that may prove irresistible in the course of time." The prize in the West for St. Louis was the transportation business over the plains. "If this growing trade could be securely won for the Missouri

city,'' says Professor Fite, in his ''Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War,'' ''it was hoped that the temporary loss of the river trade to Chicago (owing to her railroad advantages) might thereby be compensated for.'' St. Louis was eager to establish railroad lines across the state, and the legislature loaned the state's credit for $700,000 for a railroad to Kansas City. ''Other insistent demands voiced almost daily in the St. Louis press in the struggle with Chicago, were not as promptly realized; one, for a bridge over the Mississippi, the ferry companies succeeded in postponing for ten years longer. Furthermore, the city was without grain elevators. To the commercial world the spectacle was almost pathetic, to behold a city without these elevators assuming to compete with Chicago for the grain trade.''

VALUE OF CANAL TRANSPORTATION

Although the Illinois and Michigan Canal, completed in 1848, had proven very successful as a channel of interior transportation, yet the enterprising people of Chicago soon perceived its insufficiency in any general scheme of providing the country with adequate carrying lines for the rapidly growing trade of which it was the center. ''The efforts to increase the trade of Chicago by means of railroads, as befitted the largest railroad and commercial center in the West,'' says Professor Fite, ''were many and diverse and of more practical value than the movement to improve the canals, though attracting less public attention. This city had the unique distinction among Western cities of possessing no railroad indebtedness and no tax for railroad indebtedness, while her rivals, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Detroit, and some smaller cities, weighed down by debts to obtain the few railroads they had, were even compelled to call upon their respective states to issue many millions of dollars of bonds in their aid.''

The railroads sought Chicago, not Chicago the railroads. Compare, for example, the vast sums lavished by these rival cities upon the various railroad enterprises in which they were interested with the fact to which attention is called above. ''Pittsburg, which originally owed $1,800,000 for railroads, still owed $400,000 in 1864; San Francisco gave $600,000 to the Central Pacific; Indianapolis in 1865 voted $200,000 for certain roads; Cincinnati in 1865 owed over $1,000,000 on railroads; Milwaukee in 1865 owed $750,000; St. Louis loaned $700,000 to the Missouri Pacific; but Chicago, aside from small gifts to the Galena, the first road entering her boundaries, and to the Northwestern, gave nothing. Of the $150,000,000 necessary to build the more than 4500 miles of road tributary to her, the roads themselves, that is, outside capital, furnished almost every cent.''

THE BATTLE OF THE GAUGES

Before and during the period of the Civil War the ''battle of the gauges'' was fought out. The fact that throughout the country there is now one uniform gauge of four feet, eight and one-half inches breadth of tread, was by no means a settled question in the fifties. Every railroad line or system was a law unto itself in this regard, and it was only by a slow process of survivals that at last a standard gauge became by common consent the regular usage by all the lines. There are exceptions to this in the use of so-called narrow gauge lines even at

the present time, but they are found only in local branches, such as logging railroads in the pineries, spurs from main tracks to manufacturing establishments or mills, and on short connecting lines in different regions of the West. Writing of these different gauges, Professor Fite says: "An obstacle to traffic in all parts of the country was the different gauges of the railroads.

"On the New York and New England roads," he further says, "the rails were laid 4 feet, 8½ inches apart; in Ohio, the West, and south of Philadelphia, 4 feet, 8½ inches, and 4 feet 10 inches; in Canada and some parts of Maine 5 feet 6 inches; in some special cases 6 feet. There were at least eight different gauges in the several states. In no direction could cars run long distances without changes and delays. The Hudson River and New York Central cars passed directly from New York to Buffalo, but could not run to Chicago over the Lake Shore route without changes on the five lines between Buffalo and Chicago; they could not go through Canada over the Grand Trunk and strike the Michigan Central without similar obstacles to overcome, and if they proceeded over the Ohio lines to Cincinnati, there were the inevitable changes; Grand Trunk trains suited to the Canadian gauge could not reach Boston from Portland, nor Chicago from Detroit, without the delay.

"In the opening months of the war, when the government made requisition on the railroads for cars, this condition of affairs caused confusion; the response of the roads could not be immediate, and after the cars were once delivered there was the delay of fitting them to the southern tracks. Ingenious expedients were resorted to. Some roads availed themselves of a new patent wheel, extra wide, designed to run on different gauges; others built cars with an adjustable axle, of a 'compromise gauge.' In many cases two roads of a different gauge were made continuous by building a third rail. Where none of these adjustments were made, as was too often the case, trains had to stop while freight was loaded into cars waiting on the next track."

In the Confederate states during the war there was a standard gauge of five feet, which proved to be a serious obstacle to their use when captured by the invading armies of the North. No matter how abundant was the rolling stock supplied by the Union forces the tracks of the southern roads were useless until the road was practically rebuilt. When during the war the plans of the Union Pacific were under consideration President Lincoln fixed the gauge at five feet, but was later forced by public opinion to change it to 4 feet 8½ inches. The president's defense of his original action was that the ferry would necessitate a break in the river anyway, but it was pointed out to him that the ferry was no real break because it carried the cars directly across. The national capital suffered greatly during the war from the confusion and delays caused by the different gauges of railroads entering it. Oftentimes the regularity of mails was disturbed, and the business of the government hampered. At Baltimore a change of cars was necessary, and when troops were transported that city would witness the march of regiments through its streets, giving opportunities for attack by mobs of the disloyal element there, the most well known instance being that of the Sixth Massachusetts regiment in 1861. Chicago, however, never seems to have suffered inconvenience in this regard, all the roads which entered the city having been built in conformity with the standard guage.

CHICAGO MANUFACTURES IN THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

The manufacturing industries of Chicago were tremendously stimulated during the period of the Civil War. "The consumption of the abundant raw materials supplied from the farms, the mines, and the forests, and thence distributed by the railroads and canals, occasioned unprecedented activity in manufacturing. Never before was the total manufactured product so large," says Professor E. D. Fite of Yale University, in his work entitled, "Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War," from which a number of passages are substantially quoted in the following pages. "Progress in pork packing was centered chiefly in Chicago. The industry here had been progressing slowly for almost thirty years, when suddenly as the result of the unusual transportation conditions arising out of the closing of the Mississippi river the yearly output rose from 270,000 hogs in 1860, the largest number packed in any one year before the war, to 900,000, and one-third of the whole packing business of the West was gathered in this one center. St. Louis, Louisville, and Cincinnati as pork-packing centers were left far behind, the last-named city losing forever to its rival on the lakes the proud title 'Porkopolis of the West.' In a single year eight large packing houses and twice that number of smaller ones were erected in Chicago, thus doubling the city's packing capacity. The great Union Stock Yards were established at this time."

"The rapid centralization of what previously had been a domestic industry, carried on by farmers themselves on the farms, was a marked change in the industrial life of the country. If the business was to be conducted on a large scale, it was found that the product was not so salable when packed in the country as when packed in the larger plants of the cities. Beef-packing was carried on in only a few cities, principally in Milwaukee and Chicago, and in each place on a comparatively small scale." "In every city, both east and west, the omnipresent slaughter-house was a constant menace to public order and health. In New York there were two hundred of these institutions, scattered in different sections of the city. The cattle were driven to them in large droves through all the principal streets, sometimes causing distressing accidents, and always a source of confusion. Occasionally companies of volunteer firemen, with dozens of pieces of apparatus, amid deafening noise and commotion, on a run to a fire encountered a drove of a hundred or more steers in a narrow street," with results that may well be imagined.

THE PACKING HOUSE INDUSTRIES

The accompanying processes of the slaughter-house activities, bone-boiling, fat rendering, and hide-curing, filled the air with a multitude of smells. Chicago specially suffered from nuisances of this character; here the filth and refuse of the slaughtering establishments continually found their way to the river whence they were carried to the lake which was the source of the city's water supply, creating a condition dangerous to the health and physical welfare of the inhabitants. The people, however, were so deeply impressed with the magnitude and value of this industry that they endured patiently these discomforts for

many years, until at length an adequate remedy was found in new schemes of river and sewer drainage, to be referred to in a later portion of this work.

The fact that Chicago was becoming the most important center of the grain trade of the Northwest naturally led to the establishment of extensive flour milling industries the supremacy of which in later years, however, passed to other cities in the Northwest nearer to the great harvest fields. For many years Chicago was an important point of supply though other cities, as for example. St. Louis and Minneapolis, eventually secured the primacy in this particular industry.

DISTILLING INDUSTRY

Distilled liquors became a huge element in the manufactures of Chicago, and alcohol in vast quantities was supplied to the trade not only for consumption at bars and saloons but in the many branches of industry in which distilled spirits are used. It was classed as a chemical product and took its place with many other articles of the kind in the trade reports of the time. During the period of the Civil War distilled spirits were heavily taxed by the government for revenue purposes. "The manufacture of whiskey," says Fite, "was intimately bound up with the system of internal taxation. The tax was first twenty-five cents a gallon, and was then rapidly raised to sixty-five cents, to one dollar and fifty cents, and finally to two dollars.

"As the rate advanced prices rose and consumption declined. In 1860 there were 90,000,000 gallons of whiskey produced, and in the middle of the war as much and even more annually; so abnormally heavy did production become that when the one dollar and fifty cent tax went into effect there was on hand in storage sufficient whiskey to satisfy the needs of the country for from twelve to eighteen months. This extraordinary result was due to speculation. For months before, in anticipation of the increase of the tax, the distilleries had been pushed to their utmost capacity, and speculators strove to accumulate as much whiskey as possible under the old tax in order to take advantage of the increase in price that would result under the new rate. In furtherance of these plans it was necessary in Congress to block the proposition of those who favored making the new levy apply to the whiskey on hand as well as to that manufactured in the future, and after a long and bitter struggle, by dint of lobbying, log-rolling, and probably, to put it mildly, as much corruption as was ever practised in the halls of Congress, the whiskey on hand escaped the tax; Congress seemed to be legislating directly in the interests of the speculators.

"Profits made in the transactions were without parallel in the history of speculation or commercial transactions in the United States up to that time, and cannot have been less than $50,000,000 on all the immense stock of whiskey on hand. The rate of profit ranged from ninety cents to a dollar and forty cents per gallon, while one firm stated that for several weeks prior to the imposition of the tax it manufactured or secured by contract an average of thirty thousand gallons per day, and held most of it till after the two dollar tax. After this tax the distilleries remained idle for many months. High excise and high prices led to reduced consumption of whiskey among the poorer classes, and to a pronounced increase in the consumption of beer, the brewing of which was stimulated."

GROWTH OF TRADE AND MANUFACTURES

Owing to its freedom and remoteness from the scenes of actual warfare Chicago made great progress in the development of its industries and rapidly became the center of large manufacturing interests as well as a jobbing center, rivalling, indeed, the older Eastern cities. "The arts of peace," says Gen. Grant in his "Memoirs," "were carried on in the North, towns and cities grew during the war. Inventions were made in all kinds of machinery to increase the products of a day's labor in the shop and field."

"In the North the country, the towns and the cities presented about the same appearance they do in time of peace. The furnace was in blast, the shops were filled with workmen, the fields were cultivated, not only to supply the population of the North and the troops invading the South, but to ship abroad to pay a part of the expenses of the war." On the other hand "the whole South was a military camp, the colored people, four million in number, were submissive, and worked in the fields and took care of the families while the able-bodied white men were at the front fighting for a cause destined to defeat."

In a "Preliminary view" the editor of the U. S. Census of 1860 remarks in general as follows: "Nature in the wide dominion alloted to man, has given him the means, in some latitudes spontaneously, but everywhere through labor, of supporting life from the products of the soil, whilst he has been invested with the faculty of reason and invention, whereby to discover the secret agencies of the material world; and so direct them as to change its products into new forms—forms of utility, endless variety, and beauty—all ministering to the end of promoting the comfort, prosperity, and happiness of our race; and these are classed by political economists under the general name of manufactures." Adam Smith, an eminent writer on political economy, has stated that "the most opulent nations generally excel all their neighbors in agriculture as well as manufactures; but they are more eminently distinguished by their superiority in the latter than in the former."

REASONS FOR CHICAGO'S PROGRESS

The growth of manufactures in the United States covering a period of half a century is shown to be of enormous extent in the census report referred to. In 1810, the aggregate manufacturing values of the country were about two hundred millions of dollars, while in 1860 they had grown to be two thousand millions. "These amazing results, whilst measurably affected by the wealth of our soil, its successful tillage and abundant harvests, are yet directly traceable to the science, artisan-skill, industry, and energy of the American people in the great department of manufactures; results realizing to the nation the truth hereinbefore mentioned that the most opulent nations are more distinguished by their superiority in manufactures than in agricultural interests; and yet, in the ratio in which the former are increased, is the landed estate enhanced in value—these great interests reciprocally acting upon and advancing each other.

"With unlimited raw material at hand to supply every variety of manufactures," says the editor, "with a railway system completely connecting every important point east of the Mississippi, and rapidly extending so as to carry

the work to the Pacific; with a line of river and canal communication reaching the principal interior marts of the country, we have the elements and means within ourselves of a domestic trade of surpassing value; and with a river and ocean commerce equal to thirty thousand vessels, the United States have become a formidable competitor for the lion's share of the trade of the world." Said Carnot, the war minister of France, who believed that our system of government was the "work of philosophy," as long ago as 1802, "organized in the calm of peace this republic subsists, full of wisdom and vigor, the United States of North America represents the phenomenon, and their prosperity constantly receives accessions, which excite the wonder and admiration of other nations."

The philosophic tone of the writer of the annual review for 1861 is appropriate here. "Commerce alone seldom if ever makes a large city," he says. "A few persons can sell and handle millions of dollars' worth of property. But a strong commercial point draws to it all kinds of business, chief of which is manufacturing. New York is our principal city for both domestic and foreign trade, but far more of her people are concerned in manufactures than in mere selling and shipping. Though all materials must there be brought from a greater or less distance, and high rents and extra expenses incurred, yet its advantages as being an important business center are more than an equivalent.

"So it is to be at Chicago. As already intimated the West abounds in raw materials, and nowhere else than here can coal, lumber of various kinds, iron, copper, lead, wool, cotton, food, etc., be more easily and cheaply brought together. Were it not so its advantages of distribution would, as in New York, offset considerable expense in procuring materials. It must ever be an influential consideration to a manufacturer to make his location where daily or oftener he can put his articles on a car that without change will carry them to his customers in all directions and hundreds of miles distant. But having unsurpassed facilities for gathering materials, combined with unequalled means of distribution, Chicago must become a great manufacturing city."

RIVALRY BETWEEN ST. LOUIS AND CHICAGO

In the lively discussions which were carried on by the partisans of St. Louis and Chicago during the earlier days of trade rivalry between the two cities, it was often claimed by St. Louis that her advantage in wealth was such that Chicago was hopelessly outclassed, and that she must abate her pretensions to be considered the metropolis of the West. However, the great natural advantages possessed by Chicago, as being the head of navigation on the Great Lakes, with its system of railroads centering there, gradually began to tell in the struggle. In 1860, the year before the war, the exportation of grain by way of New Orleans, which of course was the criterion by which the shipments from St. Louis to foreign countries was to be judged, had fallen to less than a quarter of a million of bushels, while from Atlantic ports (Chicago's outlet) the shipments had increased to over thirty-five millions.

A comparison between the two rival cities was drawn by a writer in an Atchison paper, substantially as follows: "There are two great business centers in the West, Chicago and St. Louis. There was a time when St. Louis was the center of all the trade in the West; that was when nearly everything depended on the

trade in furs and the French were the only white inhabitants. When Cincinnati was but a hamlet the French had already an occupancy of all the tributaries of the Mississippi. Merchandise found its way up that stream from New Orleans and was at St. Louis exchanged for furs which were brought from every valley of the West. Long afterwards St. Louis continued to retain the character it had early formed. Its merchants were staid, substantial men, the current of their business flowed on as smoothly as the placid waters upon which all their commerce floated.

"Chicago had not begun to spring up until long after St. Louis had become opulent in her quiet wealth and ease. But shrewd and active merchants at length set their stakes at Chicago. At first they bought grain by the wagon load and sent it all by schooners down the lakes. In all directions they pushed their railroads out over the prairies to bring in the productions of farms. Their merchants comprehended the most progressive ideas of modern commerce. Chicago railroads cut St. Louis off on the east long ago; cut across the state of Missouri and penetrated the heart of Iowa, Kansas, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska and beyond. And it is not only grain but the beef and pork of the Northwest that the Chicago merchants monopolize by their superior enterprise.

"While Chicago has gathered up the produce of the West and marketed it in every eastern city and in Europe she has kept her exchange accounts even. The grain merchant does not from his sales bring currency from the East to buy more grain with, he gets a bill of exchange. This is transferred to the Chicago dry goods and grocery merchant. To every point from whence comes grain to the Chicago market the dry goods and grocery merchants send bills of goods. Every northwestern town is visited by the Chicago merchant and orders solicited. Every newspaper in the Northwest teems with inducements offered by Chicago merchants, and his arrangements for shipping are complete. The unceasing enterprise, the unfailing energy of the Chicago merchant, is wanting among the merchants of St. Louis."

DEPENDENCE ON EASTERN MANUFACTURES

But while the grain and jobbing trade of Chicago was thus being rapidly extended to include the vast western and northwestern country the spectacle was presented of the metropolis of the great west being dependent in a large degree upon the East for many of the manufactured articles entering into the great variety of the stocks handled by the jobbers. This in any case must necessarily be true in great part always, but it came to be recognized that such dependence could be very greatly lessened. "From these lakes," says the writer of the annual circular, "lumber is sent all the way to New England, and food for the hands that carry it and manufacture it, and they build our furniture, carriages, etc., in large proportion, and even many farming tools, wagons and the like, and they, or somebody besides ourselves, do nearly all our other manufacturing. Perhaps in cotton and wool, and all finer branches, their capital and experience may enable them for some time to hold superiority, but of common articles, that cost a good per cent on their value to transport, the West will soon be its own producer, and will steadily gain in all.

"Climate and healthiness, and other local advantages, are also favorable and

important influences, and the extensive home market the West affords is another. If the previous suggestion, that much of the increasing capital of our country is to find employment in manufactures, is it not reasonable to believe that the advantage an establishment would have at Chicago in obtaining materials and food, and in supplying western consumers, would in many articles enable it to ship eastward and abroad in successful competition with the New England producer? If manufactures are to be speedily increased by the necessity of employing money advantageously, no one point will receive more of it than Chicago, which removes our chief obstacle,—lack of capital.

"Railroads themselves require a large amount of manufacturing, in their cars, engines, etc., and had Chicago no other manufacturing business except that resulting from her railway system, it would build up a large city. We have already a great variety of manufactures commenced in a small way, and though the life's blood has been drawn out of them by the enormous rate of interest paid on all money borrowed, and though suffering with all other business by the depression of the times, yet a brighter day is about to dawn, capital must increase for their benefit, and soon prosperity will attend upon them as in few cities in the country."

CHICAGO IN THE MIDDLE FIFTIES

There was a large increase in the value of manufactures in the year 1855 over that of the previous year. In 1855 the total money value of goods manufactured in Chicago was upwards of $11,000,000. A table of the different branches comprising this total was printed in the Chicago Democratic Press, which is herewith presented substantially as it appeared, though in a somewhat more condensed form.

CHICAGO MANUFACTURES IN 1855

Railroad Cars, Agricultural Implements, etc.	1,599.790
Iron Work, Machinery, etc.	1,949,918
Wagons and Carriages	702,104
Planing Mills and Furniture	1,205,184
Brass and Metal Goods	427,200
Marble and Brick	944,900
Distillery and Brewery Products	826,645
Oils, Soap, Leather	1,076,130
Stoves, Gas, and Coke	321,442
Musical Instrument, Jewelry, etc.	339,100
Wooden Ware and Cooperage	225,000
Confectionery, etc.	120,072
Ship Building	300,000
Bakery Products, Boots and Shoes, Hats and Caps	994,006
Total	$11,031,491

GENERAL ASPECT OF THE CITY

Let us now pass on in our review through the years 1856 and 1857, the latter one so well remembered as a year of panic and business disaster, and take a sur-

vey of the city as it appeared to its dwellers at that time. John C. Haines was mayor of the city in 1858 and 1859, the population of which was about 100,000. (Two years later, that is, in 1860, the population as given in the United States census was 109,206.) In the earlier years of the decade between 1850 and 1860 the principal business thoroughfare was South Water street. On this street were found wholesale and retail establishments, shipping and commission offices, banks, and the Chicago Board of Trade, as yet but a feeble organization. Later in this decade Lake street became the foremost business thoroughfare, where were now built up handsome new business blocks, the finest hotels, the banks, and the better class of retail stores, while the upper floors were occupied by the offices of doctors, lawyers and real estate agents, then generally called "land agents."

At the eastern end of Lake street the vast bulk of the new Illinois Central depot loomed up, completely closing the view towards the lake. On its roof was a large sign bearing the name "Union Depot," easily visible as far as Lake street bridge. Generally the buildings did not exceed four stories in height, though here and there were buildings five stories high, the Tremont House being an example of the latter. Elevators in buildings had not then come into use and stair-climbing reached its limit for ordinary business purposes when the fourth floor was attained. Thus the general height of the structures along the street was more uniform than at the present time when the great differences in the height of buildings make a broken and irregular sky-line.

STREET PAVEMENTS

In the middle fifties street paving was still in a backward state and great efforts were made to improve the character of the pavements. Planking was extensively resorted to, and in 1854 there were twenty-seven miles of plank roadways in use throughout the city. This system, however, became obsolete owing to the difficulty in keeping the plank roadways in repair. The so-called "Nicholson Pavement" was adopted after the failure of the planking system had become pronounced, and this form of pavement found great favor for many years until eventually granite blocks became the principal material for a durable pavement. The Nicholson pavement, also known as the "wooden block" pavement, consisted of evenly cut blocks of wood set on end having a foundation of closely packed earth. It was a beautiful sight to the inhabitants when a stretch of this pavement was completed and it well answered the purpose for which it was built, and it continued in favor for a long period. Over the surface of this pavement the roar of passing street traffic was subdued, it was easily kept clean, and took rank as one of Chicago's "peculiar institutions." The attention of visitors was always called to the wonderful pavement as soon as they arrived, and it was considered, with the water works and the grand view of the lake on Michigan avenue, one of the glories of the city. Lake street, when it came to be paved from end to end with the Nicholson pavement in the early sixties, was regarded as the busiest and most attractive street in the city, lined as it was with gorgeous retail establishments, and during the days of the Civil War was the favorite route for passing troops either going or returning from the front.

Looking ahead a few years it may be remarked in this place that at the time of the Great Fire the Nicholson pavement, which by that time had been laid on

many business and residence streets of the city, suffered much injury from burning material thrown down by the adjacent buildings. Masses of hot bricks and flaming woodwork falling upon it burned cavities in the surface and left the pavement charred and partially burned away in many places. This gave rise to a report, frequently repeated by correspondents, that the street pavements in Chicago took fire and were the means of carrying the flames across and along the streets. But this was not the case, as the wooden blocks composing the pavement were too deeply imbedded to become the means of spreading the conflagration.

RAISING THE GRADE

The low situation of the land upon which the city of Chicago stands has made it necessary to raise the grade of the streets at different times, and it was during this period that the greatest progress was made. From the earliest days street paving, whenever there was occasion to relay it, was usually accompanied by the raising of the level of the surface of the streets. In 1855 the grade was raised sufficiently to cover the sewers. Again, two years later, another elevation of the surface was found necessary. It was decided to fill the streets to a height of ten feet above the lake or river level, with some slope towards the water. Even so there was a strong sentiment in favor of a still greater height, but it was supposed that difficulty would be found in obtaining the requisite earth for the filling. As a matter of fact there has always been found in the subsequent building operations more earth from excavations for foundations and basements than was necessary for street filling. This excess has supplied much of the filling required for the lake front east of Michigan avenue. The whole space between Michigan avenue and the line of piling upon which the Illinois Central railroad was carried from Twelfth street to the terminal station at the foot of Lake street, a space of considerable width as all the old maps show, has been gradually filled with surplus earth taken from the excavations for buildings. The debris from the ruins of buildings after the Great Fire also added largely to the material used for filling the lake front.

OTHER SIGNIFICANT EVENTS OF THE PERIOD

In the year 1854, the United States government purchased from Dr. Charles V. Dyer for $26,000 the ground at the northwest corner of Dearborn and Monroe streets upon which the first Federal building was erected. There was much popular disapproval of this purchase, and an indignation meeting was held at Bryan Hall where resolutions were adopted declaring that "the location is inconvenient and unsatisfactory to a large majority of our citizens." A resolution was adopted by the Board of Trade asking the State to interfere to prevent the carrying out of the plan.

However, the government erected a building on the site chosen, and after its completion one of the papers remarked upon it in these terms: "The massive architecture of the building, its elegant finish and its imposing proportions make the post-office one of the finest, as it is one of the costliest, buildings in Chicago."

STREET CAR TRANSPORTATION

"Previous to 1859 the omnibus was the only available vehicle for those who could not command an exclusive conveyance," says Colbert. "In that year the

Chicago City Railway Company laid down rails on State street from Lake street south to the city limits," the limits on the south at that time being at Thirty-First street. Rails were also laid on Madison street as far west as Reuben street, now called Ashland avenue; on Randolph street nearly to the city limits which were then at Western avenue, and on North Clark street from the river to the city limits on the north which were then at Fullerton avenue.

The depreciation of the currency which began soon after the opening of the Civil War caused especial hardship to the street car companies then operating in Chicago. When the small change disappeared consequent upon the issue of paper money by the government, which quickly declined in value, the conductors on the street cars had great difficulty in collecting fares. Recourse was had to postage stamps which for a time was almost the sole medium in use for making small change, but the stamps soon became soiled in handling and utterly unfit for use. The street car companies were obliged to issue tickets representing small amounts, and these though redeemable only in fares became an important medium of circulation. It was not until the second year of the war that the government began to issue the so-called "postal currency" for fractional parts of a dollar. This form of currency greatly relieved the situation, its value remaining on a par, however, with the ordinary government issues which were in the meantime constantly declining.

At a certain period of development in the history of all growing towns, especially in the West, the advent of the street car is looked upon by the inhabitants as marking the transition from the comparative insignificance of a village community to the splendors of metropolitan life. The old residents can remember with what feelings of pride they witnessed the first street car moving over the rails laid in State street, and heard the tinkling of the bell which always was attached to some portion of the harness of the horses drawing the car. No picture of street scenes in the growing period of Chicago is complete without a street car, or even several of them, shown with the conductor in an attitude of ringing the bell for stopping or starting. With a line of street cars in operation the people of Chicago could defy New York or Philadelphia should they pretend to any superiority over the young Metropolis of the West.

Previous to 1859, the only means of local passenger transportation, other than by private conveyances (as mentioned above), was by omnibuses, several lines of which were in operation. This method of carrying passengers was used extensively in New York before street cars were introduced, and after rails had been laid the omnibuses formerly in use were fitted with car wheels and continued thus to be used until gradually displaced by street cars of the usual pattern.

NAVIGATION INTERESTS.

The river was alive with shipping, both sail vessels and steamers, as well as with canal boats from the interior. It was an inspiring scene to the enterprising citizens of that day to see lying at the wharves canal boats which had just arrived or were departing for points on the Mississippi,—St. Louis, Memphis, Vicksburg, even as far as New Orleans,—which was made possible by the opening of the Illinois and Michigan Canal in 1848. The trade in lumber employed an extensive fleet of sailing vessels on the lakes, mostly schooners, escorted into the harbor

or out of it by great numbers of tugs. The usual method of performing this service was, of course, by means of a tow-line from vessel to tug, and the speed of their passage up and down the river was amazing. If the craft happened to be a small one the tug would hook on alongside of it, and both together they would come up the river like a frightened victim being hustled to safety from some pursuing enemy.

The tall-masted schooners, led by diminutive tugs whose stacks poured forth clouds of smoke and whose whistling filled the air in a strident chorus, passed in and out of the harbor in vast numbers, and caused the bosoms of the citizens to swell with pride at witnessing these evidences of an extensive commerce. At the docks ships occasionally arrived from foreign countries giving rise to high hopes that a trade with all the countries of the globe would in time be built up.

In one of his brilliant sermons Professor David Swing, perhaps inspired by such an occasion, quoted a verse from T. Buchanan Read's famous poem:

> "Yon deep bark goes where traffic blows,
> From lands of sun to lands of snows;
> This happier one its course has run
> From lands of snows to lands of sun."

We can but faintly understand the sensations of the old time Chicago citizen who had within the short space of two or three decades seen all these wonderful developments take place before his eyes. There was plenty of public spirit among the citizens of that day, shared by every person old or young, indeed by every member of the family, and the pride felt in every kind of improvement going on, accounts in great measure for the prosperity and commercial renown achieved by the City of Chicago in those formative days of its career.

CHAPTER X

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1871

CONDITIONS PRECEDING THE FIRE—ORIGIN OF THE FIRE—PROGRESS OF THE CONFLAGRATION—VAIN EFFORTS TO CHECK THE FIRE—WATER WORKS BURNED—TALES OF EYE-WITNESSES—TRAGEDIES OF THE FIRE—SCENES AND INCIDENTS—THE THRONGS OF FUGITIVES—MEASURES TAKEN TO PRESERVE ORDER—COMMENTS OF NEWSPAPERS—RELIEF MEASURES—THE WORLD'S SYMPATHY AROUSED—IMMENSE QUANTITIES OF SUPPLIES RECEIVED—SHELTER PROVIDED—THE WORLD'S CHARITY—LOSSES IN THE GREAT FIRE—STATISTICS OF LOSSES—FIRE INSURANCE.

During the summer and fall of 1871 the Middle West suffered from a most prolonged and severe drouth. In July the rainfall at Chicago was 2.52 inches, which is 1.14 inches below normal; in August it was 2.01 inches; in September there was but 0.74 inches of rain, or 2.23 inches below normal. In October no rain fell up to and including the eighth of the month. The weather during September and the early part of October became very warm, and this condition, combined with the drouth, had dried up both country and towns. In the northern parts of Michigan and Wisconsin, and on the prairies of Minnesota great fires were burning over immense stretches of forest and plain, destroying valuable timber lands, villages, and even hundreds of human lives. Chicago, the commercial capital of this middle western country, was suffering from the same drouth and heat. As day after day passed without rain and the city grew more parched in the continued heat, the alarms of fire became more frequent, and during the first week of October much property was burned. On the night of Saturday, October 7, there was a large fire which started near the corner of South Clinton and Van Buren streets. A high southwest wind was blowing, and the flames soon spread beyond the fireman's control, burning north as far as Adams street and east to the river. Within the sixteen acres that were destroyed were large lumber and coal yards, which burned all the next day, Sunday, and into the night. Had this devastation not been followed immediately by a calamity as overwhelming as that which in a few hours fell upon the city, the fire of Saturday night would be remembered as one of the city's great misfortunes.

The illumination from the burning area had not disappeared before there was an alarm of fire, which sounded about half past nine o'clock on Sunday evening. For about thirty minutes the light in the southwest in the vicinity of the former night's fire had shone more brightly than during the early part of the evening. At this time there were in the streets on that warm evening crowds of strollers, and people returning home from church services, who heard the alarm and saw the light. Many who saw the fire, supposing it was but a blazing up of the ruins of

the night before, paid little attention to it, and went home and to bed. Many, too, grown accustomed to the frequent ringing of the alarm, had now ceased to start at its sound. This light, however, was not that of flames coming from an almost burned out pile of debris, but of those rising from a small cow shed in the West Division, at the corner of De Koven and Jefferson streets. Instantly they had been caught up and swept along by a strong southwest wind that was then blowing twenty miles an hour, and by the time the alarm was given the fire had made great headway.

ORIGIN OF THE FIRE

The cause of the fire is not known, even after the diligent investigation which was undertaken a few weeks later. The story, now classic, that Mrs. O'Leary's cow kicked over a kerosene lamp during the process of milking and thus set fire to the straw in the shed, is cherished by romancers and cartoonists; others scoff at it as a myth. Whatever their cause, the flames spread so rapidly through the neighboring shanties, small frame dwellings and factories, that by the time the first fire engines reached the scene, the wind had carried the fire beyond their control; other engines arriving were utterly inadequate to check its advance as it travelled rapidly to the north and northeast, the high wind carrying blazing brands far beyond the burning district, which set fire to the buildings on which they fell. Block after block to the north and northeast were destroyed, and as the fire approached the area, two blocks square, which had been burned down the night before, it was hoped that there it might be checked. Moreover, it was felt that the river, which had prevented the spread of the previous fire, would act as a barrier to the advance of this one. Yet all this time the wind was carrying through the air sparks and bits of burning wood in a course directly through the center of the city. The heat for some space about the burning area was so intense that the power of the wind was greatly increased in the neighborhood of the flames, and a rushing draft from the east was created, which sent up into the air a whirling column of smoke and flame, and drove the fire backwards and to either side of its track, even while it swept the flames forward. Just at midnight a piece of blazing timber carried by the wind fell on the roof of a small frame building at the corner of Franklin and Adams streets, east of the river, a third of a mile ahead of the fire. This, with neighboring buildings, at once took fire. Almost at the same time the fire leaped across the river at Van Buren street, burning a row of frame houses which were near the South Side Gas Works and the Armory, where were police headquarters. In a few moments other fires had started along the track of the wind, each one distinct, separated one from another by blocks of buildings still untouched, the main column of fire advancing steadily and burning everything in its path.

PROGRESS OF THE CONFLAGRATION

About twelve o'clock, with a mighty explosion, the gas works blazed up, and the whole city was illuminated with the red glow in the sky. Some of those watching the fire then began to realize that no place in its wide track was free from danger, from its starting point to the water works on the North Side, two miles

away. The firemen, with hose and engines, driven by the heat and the flames from one spot to another, worked desperately but ineffectually. Even while they surrounded a building or block, the fire leaped along above them, tongues of flame shooting from cornice to cornice, or bursting unaccountably from the basement interiors; the next moment with a belching roar the whole building was wrapped in a sheet of flame.

"The two main columns sent out detachments which entered every street with the regularity of an advancing army," as related by Sheahan and Upton. "Standing at the lake end of any one of the eleven streets between the river and Michigan avenue, the spectator saw a furious shower of living coals and fire brands sweep round the corners, followed by a sheet of dazzling flame, which would suck into the windows and instantly fire the buildings. At the same time the fire entering the alleys burst through the rear of buildings on either side, swept through them, and dashing through the fronts united in one solid, writhing, twisting column of fire, which would shoot up into the air a hundred feet, and then, seized by the wind, leap to roofs in the next block and fire them. The progress was aided by huge, blazing brands, which the blasts would send crashing through windows into the interiors of buildings, or into awnings, setting everything afire adjacent to them. The very goods which were tumbled into the streets aided the march of the destroyer.

"The main column of the fire had now crossed Washington street. The Chamber of Commerce, the Telegraph Office and the lofty insurance blocks were all in flames. The Courthouse bell rang peal after peal, ringing its own knell, for the flames speedily leaped to its dome and fired it. For a few minutes its blazing trellis work, sheeted with flames, stood out against the sky in splendid relief. Then in every window at the same instant, an ominous glare appeared. The flames burst out, the dome fell in, and then a crash told that the interior walls had yielded and the Courthouse was no more. The Sherman House was the next to go, and across Clark street, Hooley's Opera House, Wood's Museum, the Matteson House, the Tremont House, and whole squares of palatial building blocks melted away before the destroyer as snow melts in water."

EFFORTS TO CHECK THE FIRE

Soon the thought of checking the fire in front, to the north, was given up, for not only did the flames sweep irresistibly on, leaping overhead and overtaking the engines, which they left useless, but the wind was so strong that the stream of water often was carried but ten feet from the nozzle before it was blown into spray. The firemen therefore went around to the south of the fire, to prevent its spreading in that direction. This was effective, as much property, including lumber yards, was thus saved. Meanwhile great efforts had been made to check the fire by the use of gunpowder to blow up buildings that were in its track. Soon this was the only means left for working against the flames, as the water works took fire from the roof about 3 a. m., and the water supply of the city was stopped. Gunpowder, however, was as useless as water jets in the main track of the fire, as showers of sparks and embers blown great distances constantly ignited dry roofs and projecting cornices ahead, making these preventive measures futile. Realizing now that nothing could stay the terrible onward sweep of this merciless

destructive power, those who had fought to check its progress by means of gunpowder turned their efforts, as the firemen had been compelled to do, to preventing farther burning toward the south. When the reports of the explosions from gunpowder were first heard, and it was rumored among the distracted throngs that General Phil Sheridan (then stationed at Chicago) was in charge of the work, there was a feeling of great relief throughout the city.

Soon after the Court House was burned, a huge column of flame swept down from the south like a hurricane, encircling the block on which stood the Postoffice building, at the northwest corner of Dearborn and Monroe streets, where the First National Bank building now stands. For a few moments the building resisted, then the interior blazed up and fell in ruins, leaving the outer walls standing. Thence the flames rushed on down Dearborn street to Madison and Washington streets, burning the newly renovated Crosby's Opera House, where the Thomas Orchestra was that very evening to have delighted an audience even as it does today; the Dearborn theatre, near the northwest corner of Madison and Dearborn streets was destroyed, the fire for the moment sweeping past the Tribune building, then, as now, on the southeast corner of Madison and Dearborn streets. It was a "fire-proof" structure, and many thought it would not yield, even in this supreme test. It seemed to be the turning point of the fire, for if it remained much might still be saved. The fire coming from the south, that from the west, and now the great column that had circled around to face it on the north—all attacked the building; still it stood. Yet another division of the advancing flames, having left the Palmer House in a blazing heap, now sped northward and whirled its flames about McVicker's theatre, standing just east of the Tribune block, with but a narrow alley way between the two buildings. The heat from the fire on the three other sides was so intense that this final attack was irresistible.

In the midst of furnace heat, with flames on all sides, with showers of blazing brands falling on the roof, and an underground fire working into its basement from under the sidewalk, the test was too great. The iron shutters on the east side bent and fell away, the roof blazed, and the interior of the building burst into flame. With this stronghold gone, the volume of fire rolled to the northeast, destroying the dry goods house of Field and Leiter, on the corner of State and Washington streets, and thence reaching the great warehouses near the foot of Randolph street, and gradually working backward over the unburned area between State street and the lake, which extended from Washington to Harrison street, where buildings had been pulled down under General Sheridan's directions, to form a barrier. By this time it was after ten o'clock in the morning (Monday the 9th), and the fire had long before crossed the river to the North Side, and was hourly driving from their homes hundreds of families who fled farther and still farther away before its dreadful advance.

ACCOUNTS OF EYE WITNESSES

None but an eye witness and a participator can give a fitting account of the sights and impressions of that night and day. Mr. Sheahan and Mr. Upton, both associate editors of the Chicago *Tribune* at the time of the fire, have written a valuable narrative of the "Great Conflagration," which has furnished much material in this chapter, and from which quotation is here made.

"The scene presented when the fire was at its height in the South Division is well nigh indescribable. The huge stone and brick structures melted before the fierceness of the flames as a snow-flake melts and disappears in water, and almost as quickly. Six-story buildings would take fire and disappear forever from sight, in five minutes by the watch. In nearly every street the flames would enter at the rear of buildings, and appear simultaneously at the front. For an instant the windows would redden, then great billows of fire would belch out, and meeting each other, shoot up into the air a vivid, quivering column of flame, which, poising itself in awful majesty, would hurl itself bodily several hundred feet and kindle new buildings. The intense heat created new currents of air. The general direction of the wind was from the southwest. This main current carried the fire straight through the city, from southwest to northeast, cutting a swath a mile in width, and then, as if maddened at missing any of its prey, it would turn backward in its frenzy and face the fierce wind, mowing one huge field on the west of the North Division, while in the South Division it also doubled on its track at the great Union Central Depot, and burned half a mile southward in the very teeth of the gale—a gale which blew a perfect tornado, and in which no vessel could have lived on the lake. The flames sometimes made glowing diagonal arches across the streets, traversed by whirls of smoke.

"At times, the wind would seize the entire volume of fire on the front of one of the large blocks, detach it entirely and hurl it in every direction, in fierce masses of flame, leaving the building as if it had been untouched—for an instant only, however, for fresh gusts would once more wrap it in sheets of fire. The whole air was filled with glowing cinders, looking like an illuminated snow storm. At times capricious flurries of the gale would seize these flying messengers of destruction and dash them down to the earth, hurrying them over the pavements, with lightning-like rapidity, firing everything they touched. Interpersed among these cinders were larger brands, covered with flame, which the wind dashed through windows and upon awnings and roofs, kindling new fires. Strange, fantastic fires of blue, red and green played along the cornices of the buildings. On the banks of the river, red hot wells fell hissing into the water, sending up great columns of spray and exposing the fierce white furnace of heat, which they had enclosed. The huge piles of coal emitted dense billows of smoke, which hurried along far above the flames below. If the sight was grand and overpowering, the sound was no less so. The flames crackled, growled and hissed. The lime stone, of which many of the buildings were composed, as soon as it was exposed to heat, flaked off, the fragments flew in every direction, with a noise like that of continuous discharges of musketry. Almost every instant was added the dull, heavy thud of falling walls, which shook the earth. But above all these sounds, there was one other which was terribly fascinating; it was the steady roar of the advancing flames—the awful diapason in this carnival of fire. It was like nothing so much as the united roar of the ocean with the howl of the blast on some stormy, rocky coast."

TRAGEDIES OF THE FIRE

"Language can hardly convey to the reader an idea of the terrible scenes in the streets. The struggle of humanity was more fearful even than the horrors

of the fire. In the latter there was an element of the beautiful, even of the sublime, which continually enforced itself, notwithstanding the wide-spread destruction it was causing; but in the various phases developed by this struggling, toiling, and despairing tide of humanity in the streets, there was nothing which would give pleasure.

"Great calamities always develop latent passions, emotions, and traits of character, hitherto concealed. In this case, there was a world-wide difference in the manner in which men witnessed he destruction of all about them. Some were philosophical, even merry, and witnessed the loss of their own property with a calm shrug of the shoulders, although the loss was to bring upon them irretrievable ruin. Others clenched their teeth together, and witnessed the sight with a sort of grim defiance. Others, who were strong men, stood in tears, and some became fairly frenzied with excitement, and rushed about in an aimless manner, doing exactly what they would not have done in their cooler moments, and almost too delirious to save their own lives from the general wreck. Of course, the utmost disorder and excitement prevailed, for nearly every one was, in some degree, demoralized, and in the absence both of gas and water, had given up the entire city to its doom. Mobs of men and women rushed wildly from street to street, screaming, gesticulating, and shouting, crossing each other's paths, and intercepting each other as if just escaped from a madhouse.

"The yards and sidewalks of Michigan and Wabash avenues, for a distance of two miles south of the fire limit in the South Division, were choked with household goods of every description—the contents of hovels, and the contents of aristocratic residences, huddled together in inextricable confusion. Elegant ladies, who hardly supposed themselves able to lift the weight of a pincushion, astonished themselves by dragging trunks, and carrying heavy loads of pictures and ornamental furniture, for a long distance. Some adorned themselves with all their jewelry, for the purpose of saving it, and struggled along through the crowds, perhaps only to lose it at the hands of some ruffian. Delicate girls, with red eyes and blackened faces, toiled, hour after hour, to save household goods. Poor women staggered along with their arms full of homely household wares, and mattresses on their heads, which sometimes took fire as they were carrying them. Every few steps along the avenues there were little piles of household property, or, perhaps only a trunk, guarded by children, some of whom were weeping, and others laughing and playing. Here was a man sitting upon what he had saved, bereft of his senses, looking at the motley throng with staring, vacant eyes; here, a woman, weeping and tearing her hair, and calling for her children in utter despair; here, children, hand-in-hand, separated from their parents, and crying with the heart-breaking sorrow of childhood; here, a woman, kneeling on the hot ground, and praying, with her crucifix before her. One family had saved a coffee-pot and chest of drawers, and raking together the falling embers in the street, were boiling their coffee as cheerily as if at home. Barrels of liquor were rolled into the streets from the saloons. The heads were speedily knocked in, and men and boys drank to excess, and staggered about the streets.

"Some must have miserably perished in the flames, while others wandered away into the unburned district, and slept a drunken sleep upon the sidewalks and in door-yards. Thieves pursued their profession with perfect impunity. Lake street and Clark street were rich with treasure, and hordes of thieves

entered the stores, and flung out goods to their fellows, who bore them away without opposition. Everyone who had been forced from the burning portion of the division had brought some articles with them, and been forced to drop some, or all of them. Valuable oil paintings, books, pet animals, musical instruments, toys, mirrors, bedding, and ornamental and useful articles of every kind, were trampled under foot by the hurrying crowds. The streets leading southward from the fire were jammed with vehicles of every description, all driven along at top speed. Not only the goods which were deposited in the streets took fire, but wagon loads of stuff in transit, also kindled, and the drivers were obliged to cut the traces to save their animals. There was fire overhead, everywhere, not only on the low, red clouds, which rolled along the roofs, but in the air itself, filled with millions of blazing faggots, that carried destruction wherever they fell. Those who did rescue anything from the burning buildings, were obliged to defend it at the risk of their lives. Expressmen and owners of every description of wagons were extortionate in their demands, asking from twenty to fifty dollars for conveying a small load a few blocks. Even then there was no surety that the goods would reach their place of destination, as they were often followed by howling crowds, who would snatch the goods from the wagons. Sometimes thieves got possession of vehicles, and drove off with rich loads of dry goods, jewelry, or merchandise, to out-of-the-way places. A mere tithe of the immense treasures piled up in these palatial warehouses was saved."

Through the business streets were men rushing about in the hope of saving books and other valuables from their offices, sometimes forcing a way to a building just in time to see it burst into flames, sometimes barely escaping a falling wall or a crashing stairway in their terrified flight to the street. In the entire progress of this hurricane of fire, many, even though aware of its approach, were overtaken before realizing the imminence of the danger, and fled before it to a temporary place of safety, only to be soon driven onward, exhausted and hopeless, to another refuge. Many, it is not known how many, were overtaken without a chance to escape, surrounded by the fire, which was blown from every direction by the whirling currents of air. Some have told of crawling, face to the ground, through smoke and fire, through passage ways and openings, the mighty walls of roaring fire all about them, until they reached the air. How many who tried to escape in this way were never able to tell of the horror that overtook them!

THE FIRE IN THE NORTH DIVISION

While in the South Division the most of the business blocks and many beautiful homes were burning, the fire was at the same time destroying the dwellings of thousands of residents in the North Division. Just about the time that the Court House took fire, the flames broke out in several places north of the State street bridge, and far in advance of the main fire. Rapidly the destroyer consumed many blocks of wooden houses, barns and other frame structures over which furnace hot winds had been blowing for several hours. Here were two great fires simultaneously raging, that in the South Division spreading farther to the west as it swept along northeastward, and wiping out huge stone and brick buildings on its way toward the main river; the fire in the North Division finding ready fuel in every dry tree, fence, sidewalk, and building.

When the people realized with horror that the fire must soon reach the water works, which had already ignited several times, and that all means of fighting the flames would thus be cut off, there was a general feeling of despair. Soon after three o'clock in the morning the engineers and firemen, having stayed at their places until the last possible moment, abandoned the burning structure. This was the last building in the main path of the fire. It was located close to the lake, at the foot of Chicago avenue, where the present water works stand. The fire was not spent at this point, however, for the track of flame widened westward as it advanced, and constantly new columns swept along over the district to the west of the last line of destruction, the entire front line of the fire moving forward *en echelon,* until it died out only at the river's edge. All day Monday it worked farther west and north and drove before it homeless fugitives, some of whom had successively moved two, three, four times, from each resting place driven ahead, many so weary that they begged to be left to perish rather than take up again the wretched flight.

INCIDENTS OF THE PROGRESS OF THE FIRE

During the forenoon that entire part of the city north of the main river and between the North branch and the lake was burned or burning in a line extending from southwest to northeast, the west end of the fire reaching as far north as Fullerton avenue, and as far west as Orchard street. The fire on its outskirts ate into blocks of houses, leaving a building here and there in a partially ruined neighborhood. At the eastern extremity of the line of destruction the last house was that of Dr. Dyer, on the southeast corner of Diversey and Clark streets. In the main part of the burned district of the North Division nothing was left standing but some small huts along the river banks, some dwellings near the corner of Kingsbury and Superior streets, the little cottage, on Lincoln place, of a policeman named Bellinger, and the large home of Mahlon D. Ogden, standing on the present site of the Newberry library. The story of Bellinger's valiant fight to save his house is a lively one: "He hauled up the sidewalk, raked up the leaves and burned them, hewed down the fence and carried it into the house in pieces, and notified his neighbors that, live or die, he would stick to that house. The fire advanced and gave battle. It flung torches into his porch, it hurled them through the window. It began and kept up a hot bombardment of flaming shot upon the roof. He met it at every point; with hands and boots, with water and wet blankets, and finally as the last wave of fire enveloped the building in a sirocco and whirled through the crackling tree-tops and gyrated madly over the adjacent walls and wavered and whirled over the smoking roof, Bellinger cast a pail into his cistern and it was dry. The blankets were on fire. Then the Bellinger genius rose triumphant. He assaulted his cider barrels, and little by little emptied their contents on the roof. It was the *coup de guerre.* It gave him victory. His blankets were scorched, his hands blistered, his boots distorted, and his cider spilled, but his house was saved."

The Ogden house stood in the middle of the lot, and in front of it, to the south, where it is now, was Washington square, a small park covering a city block. The location of the Ogden house was precisely where the Newberry library now stands. The family were away from the city, but some men who were staying in the house

worked furiously with wet carpets and blankets, buckets of water, and finally, when the water works burned down, with cistern water and with pails of cider. Though sidewalks and fences burned very near, and though the roof caught fire in many places, the work of these men saved the house, to remain standing alone amidst the total ruin and empty, charred desolation of miles of debris. It must be remembered, however, that in the residence neighborhoods there was no such furnace heat as prevailed in the business district where great blocks and their contents were being consumed.

RAINFALL QUENCHES THE FIRE

Until far into Monday night the fire swept on, until at last, after weeks of drouth, came a rain about midnight that quenched the last embers. For twenty-four hours the fire had worked steadily northeast, in the center of the city burning with terrible rush and fury; in the North Division with a sweep of destruction that left almost nothing standing in its path. At length, when it had spent itself and destroyed its last victim, the city was left in its desolation and ruins, and thousands of families were without homes, without food, without any vestige of the comforts that a few hours before they had enjoyed with no thought as yet of the approaching disaster. Some of the homeless ones had gone to stay with friends on the West or South Side (south of Twelfth street the fire had not reached); some had made their way to the railway stations and were there given free transportation out of the city; others were housed at the relief station which had been established at Ann and Washington streets in the rooms of the First Congregational church. It was said that during the first week after the fire about one-third of the homes left standing in the city were giving shelter to those who were now dependent on the hospitality of strangers. There were about one hundred thousand people whose homes were gone, the greatest part of them with nothing but their own courage and ability left to them for a fresh beginning.

FUGITIVES FROM THE FIRE

Great as was the loss of handsome buildings and residences, and the destruction of beautiful driveways and the trees and shrubs bordering them, the human side of the catastrophe is of far the greatest interest. The rapidity of the advance of the fire was the cause of most of the horrors, for even while people wondered at its fury and prayed that their own homes might be spared, the destroyer was at their door. Some were weary with watching the large fire of the night before. Others showed little interest at the first alarm, or knew nothing at all of the fire, and were finally aroused just in time to escape the flames that already threatened their homes. While the fire in the South Division covered a district mostly comprised of business houses, still in these buildings, all told, there were a great number of dwellers who were quickly driven from their homes, so that the streets were soon filled with men rushing about in wild terror, and with those who had come to the great fire in frenzied hope that they might find a way to save the contents of their offices, which represented, to some of them, the entire sum of their possessions. There were, besides, fugitives from the residence part of the South Division, Wabash and Michigan avenues, and among these many women

and little children, most of them carrying articles of furniture or clothing, or treasures of all sorts, pet birds and animals, and often the most useless things snatched up in desperation and held tightly during miles of flight. It has often been said by those attempting to tell what they saw during the fire that to exaggerate the horrors of that night and day is impossible; words are inadequate to reproduce the scene.

In making their escape to the North and West Sides the people thronged the bridges, while all sorts of vehicles were whirled along past them, even over them, by galloping horses terrified by the sparks and pieces of burning wood falling all about them, and lashed to madness by their frenzied drivers. "There was a general hegira across all the bridges leading to the West Side, and Chicago avenue was the best of the thoroughfares tending in this direction—through this the people poured like the mountain torrent through its narrow gorge. All at once, when the fiercest blasts of the monster furnace had begun to sweep through this section with heat which threatened death to thousands, it was discovered that the bridge was for the time impassable. The people were rushing, tumbling, crowding, storming toward it in terribly irresistible numbers. Those who were nearest the burning bridge could not turn back because of the pressure of the frantic multitude. They attempted to make a stand, by passing along the word to beat back the surging mass of men, women, horses, and wagons. But the task was simply impossible, as the rearmost of the crowd were now fairly lashed by the flames and could not stop. Whether the foremost hundreds would or would not, they were forced to turn to the northward and attempt to escape through the burning streets to North avenue, half a mile further north, where was another bridge. Into the vortex of flame they plunge—may Heaven send them guidance through it! Out from that vortex of flames some two-scores of them never emerge. May Heaven send sweet mercy to their souls! Alas! They knew not that those streets, or lanes, had no outlet for some three hundred yards or more."

A great number took refuge on the lake shore, which too soon became a furnace of heat, swept by clouds of smoke and cinders. Along the shore were little encampments of families gathered about the piles of things which they had saved. The showers of sparks often ignited these goods, which then had to be thrown into the lake. For hours these wretched creatures, half clothed, almost suffocated, and parched with thirst, stayed on the burning sand until boats came to take them away to a point farther along the shore, or until the fire had so far burned itself out that they could turn back to enter the smouldering city.

THE DAYS THAT FOLLOWED THE FIRE

During the period immediately following the fire there was constant fear for the West Side and the unburned portion to the south. The wind was still high and the city was without water; the dread of a blaze, kindled by accident or by incendiaries, which might start a fire that would destroy all that remained of Chicago, made every householder a vigilant watchman of his home.

As early as Monday morning, even before the fire in the South Division had finished its work of destruction, men were warily skirting the heaps of ruins, some of them already making plans for continuing business in temporary quarters,

with improvised methods and in hastily constructed shanties. By the following day signs were stuck up in the piles of brick, to tell former customers of the present location of the firm formerly occupying that site. Some of these signs were jocular, some startling, others strictly business-like.

All the business notices and the plans for re-establishment showed the same spirit of courage and perseverence, and confidence at once was recovered. There was a tremendous and immediate revival of hope and business interest. Employes reported to their firms and were usually engaged in view of increased trade. And indeed such was the commercial activity following the fire that within two months there was great scarcity of help. Of these days William Bross afterwards said, "On all sides I saw evidences of true Chicago spirit, and men said to one another, 'Cheer up; we'll be all right again before long,' and many other plucky things. Their courage was wonderful. Every one was bright, cheerful, pleasant, hopeful, and even inclined to be jolly, in spite of the misery and destitution which surrounded them, and which they shared. One and all said, 'Chicago must and shall be rebuilt at once.'"

THE WORLD'S SYMPATHY AROUSED

At the same time proclamations were issued by governors of Illinois and neighboring states expressing deepest sympathy, and calling for aid from all those less unfortunate. So quickly were these appeals responded to that by Monday evening trains were arriving in the city with car loads of bedding, clothing and cooked food; Indianapolis sent her chief of police, and with him two fire engines, fully manned, and two carloads of cooked food. Delegations and representatives from St. Louis, Louisville and many states and cities came to Chicago to offer generous assistance, and from all over the country came telegrams from cities and individuals authorizing the mayor and relief committees to draw money up to a stated amount.

One of those who acted most promptly and efficiently during the first day of chaos and misery was General Phil Sheridan, then commander of the Military Division of the Missouri, with head-quarters at Chicago. After his effective efforts in checking the fire in the southern part of the city by the use of explosives, he telegraphed to the Secretary of War to say that on the authority of the latter he had summoned aid to the city. General Sheridan's message was as follows:

"The city of Chicago is almost utterly destroyed by fire. There is no reasonable hope of arresting it if the wind, which is yet blowing a gale, does not change. I ordered, on your authority, rations from St. Louis, tents from Jeffersonville, and two companies of infantry from Omaha. There will be many houseless people, much distress."

The Secretary of War commended General Sheridan's action and himself confirmed the order. National troops were brought into the city from Omaha, Leavenworth, Fort Scott and from Kentucky; volunteer companies were sent by Governor John M. Palmer, and a regiment raised in the city for twenty days' service, called the First Regiment Chicago Volunteers. Lieutenant-General Sheridan took command of all the companies, of which he reported later to Washington,

"These troops both regulars and volunteers, were actively engaged during their service here in protecting the treasure in the burnt district, guarding the unburnt district from disorders and danger by further fire, and protecting the storehouses, depots and sub-depots of supplies, established for the relief of sufferers from the fire."

The presence of the troops in the city relieved the people of much anxiety, as there had been a general fear that in the disorder and lack of authority after the fire there would be no means of restraining lawlessness, incendiarism and the theft of valuables that were to be found among the ruins. The parade of Colonel Dilger's company through the town on Wednesday morning, ordered by General Sheridan, was a welcome sight to those who had scarcely slept in their vigilance during the past two days and nights. On the same day Mayor Mason by proclamation transferred entire police authority over the city to General Sheridan, the document containing the provision that "the police will act in conjunction with the lieutenant-general in the preservation of the peace and quiet of the city, and the superintendent of police will consult with him to that end. The intent being to preserve the peace of the city without interfering with the functions of the city government."

The functions of the state government, at this time, were felt by Governor John M. Palmer of Illinois to have been disregarded in the action of General Sheridan in calling for national troops instead of state troops, had they been necessary. A letter from the governor to the mayor of Chicago, dated October 20, contains a rebuke to the latter showing some pique, on the governor's part, that the mayor did not use the resources at hand nor enlist General Sheridan's eminent abilities to organize the citizens of Chicago "to act, in conjunction with the civil officers, for their own protection." The governor maintained that every act of the United States troops and their officers in Chicago was illegal, in being unauthorized. Here was an instance of state sovereignty in conflict with national authority. However jealously the public guards the principle that power must reside in the state and that an appeal must be made only when necessary to higher authority, yet the immediate relief from intense anxiety was of more importance to the people of Chicago in this exigency than an ultimate, more removed question. General Sheridan's despatches for the most available troops and supplies brought these at once, and with them came an assurance of order and safety.

THE DAY OF THE FIRE

The beginning of the great fire which accomplished such widespread destruction occurred late in the evening of Sunday, the 8th day of October, and continued all day Monday, of the 9th, the last building being consumed late in the night of that day or early Tuesday morning. On the morning of the fire the Chicago Tribune in its regular issue contained an article describing the prosperous state of business in general. "There has scarcely been a time for ten years past," the article began, "when there seemed to be so many schemes of one kind or another on foot, and which, if carried out, will affect the value of real estate in nearly all parts of the city and its suburbs. To use the expression of one who has been warily watching the growth of the various projects for new railroads and new suburban quarters, for both residences and manufactories, 'Everybody

seems to be swelled up with big schemes.' '' Further on in the article it is stated that, ''The new manufacturing enterprises, of which not less than six or seven will have been started within the next nine months, thus furnishing employment for from fifteen hundred to two thousand more mechanics than are at work here now; these, together with the new railroad projects, and the rapid increase of population, and business from other causes, have stimulated the speculative feeling until it has even infected some of the coolest and most conservative people who have always held aloof from speculation.''

The Chicago Times also contained an article printed in the morning of that day of doom, describing the conditions so favorable to the city's prosperity. ''The city's growth this year has been unparalleled,'' it said. ''Thus the newspapers of October 8th, the last day of the old Chicago,'' quoting the words of a standard history, ''placed on record the fact that the people of the city were never so active, never so prosperous, never so ambitious, never so sanguine of the future as on the morning of that fatal day. These cheering announcements read now like a mockery of the cruel fate that followed so close upon their heels.''

There was also printed in the Tribune a warning in regard to the great danger there was of a general conflagration. ''For days,'' it said, ''alarm has followed alarm, but the comparatively trifling losses have familiarized us to the pealing of the court-house bell, and we had forgotten that the absence of rain for three weeks had left everything in so dry and inflammable a condition that a spark might start a fire which would sweep from end to end of the city.'' Within twenty-four hours that prophecy was fulfilled. Whittier's poem on the event began with a verse that well described the situation:

''Men said at vespers, All is well!
In one wild night the city fell—
Fell shrines of prayer and marts of grain
Before the fiery hurricane.''

CHICAGO ADOPTS THE MOTTO,—RESURGAM

The following editorial which appeared in the Tribune in its first issue after the fire reflected the universal sentiment of the people: ''In the midst of a calamity, without parallel in the world's history, looking upon the ashes of thirty years' accumulations, the people of this once beautiful city have resolved that Chicago shall rise again. With woe on every hand, with death in many strange places, with two or three hundred millions of our hard-earned property swept away in a few hours, the hearts of our men and women are still brave, and they look into the future with undaunted courage. As there has never been such a calamity, so has there never been such cheerful fortitude in the face of desolation and ruin. . . .

''We do not belittle the calamity that has befallen us. The world has probably never seen the like of it, certainly not since Moscow was burned. But the forces of nature, no less than the forces of reason, require that the exchanges of a great region should be conducted here. Ten, twenty years may be required to reconstruct our fair city, but the capital to rebuild it fire proof will be forthcoming. The losses we have suffered must be borne; but the place, the time and the

men are here, to commence at the bottom and work up again, not at the bottom either, for we have credit in every land and the experience of one upbuilding of Chicago to help us. Let us all cheer up, save what is left yet, and we shall come out right. The Christian world is coming to our relief, the worst is already over. In a few days more all dangers will be past and we can resume the battle of life with Christian faith and western grit. Let us all cheer up!''

In an article concerning the fire, the Post said: ''There is now only one way to look—ahead. Chicago has a future as certainly as it has a past. Upon all the blackened walls and tottering towers, upon clinging cornice and ruined pavement, is written broadly the cheery word, 'Resurgam.' There is manliness enough left here to reconstruct the city even in this terrible calamity and this deep desolation. There is waste, but there is not despair. The brave hearts of our citizens, even more than the sympathy of other cities, stands to us as a pledge of victory. The land is left, the grand position is left, and the men are left who reared the recent magnificent city from the prairie mud. They can do it again, and they will do it again. The consequences of the most disastrous fire the world has ever suffered will be conquered and forgotten by the most intrepid spirit of determination the world has ever reared.''

These bugle calls from the press of the city had an electrical effect in inspiring fresh courage and hope among the people. A week after the Tribune had resumed publication it said: ''When on last Wednesday we called upon the people of Chicago to cheer up, we did not appreciate or estimate the force of character that was in them. Our citizens have displayed a noble heroism worthy of the abounding charity that has been showered upon them. They have shown capacity to help themselves, and that alone is worth everything in the way of re-establishing their credit and procuring the necessary capital to build up again. Let them go on as they have begun, not calling on Congress or the gods for donations or stay laws, and they will come out of the fire right side up, and presently we shall have our Chicago again, nobler and more beautiful than before.''

RELIEF MEASURE BEGUN

While the fire was driving before it thousands who were losing their all they owned, measures were already being planned for their relief. Soon after noon of Monday (the 9th) the First Congregational church, at the corner of Ann and Washington streets, was taken possesion of, in the name of the City of Chicago, by Charles C. P. Holden who was the president of the common council and next in authority to the mayor. It is from Mr. Holden's account that are largely drawn the following particulars: During the morning Mr. Holden had driven through the outskirts of the burned district, and had seen the awful distress of hundreds of families whose homes were burned, among them the sick and those injured in the flight. Something must be done immediately, and it was decided by Mr. Holden to establish a relief station on the West Side. Word was sent to the mayor, Hon. R. B. Mason, who was helping to fight the fire in the North Division, to the city clerk and to a number of men of prominence, to be at the church by 12:15 P. M., and within a half hour thereafter the church was occupied by this volunteer relief society. The carpets were taken up, chairs and tables were made ready for use, and the doors opened to those asking for help.

Messengers were sent out as widely as possible to announce that here the sufferers could obtain aid. Those who carried the word were told to relieve urgent and extreme cases of suffering, and to bring helpless ones to the church, as far as possible, in the vehicles which were gathered together for the purpose. The Green street church near by, at that time vacant, was used as a refectory and provided with cooking stoves; other churches joined in the relief work and were made branch stations.

About five hundred citizens in each division of the city were sworn in as special police, and given a badge—a square of white cotton cloth with the word "Police" printed on it. This enlarged force was thought necessary to protect the city from incendiarism and acts of violence which are the result of periods of public confusion. An order had previously been given that all fires should be extinguished until the supply of water was renewed, an exception being made of the bakers who furnished bread to the city, and of those cooking at the relief workers' refectory. For the immediate distribution of water over the city, water brigades were organized in every district, with instructions to press into their service all wagons or vehicles necessary for the work. Those in charge of the work, being Park Commissioners, knew how and where to get the water, which was one of the necessities of existence. In a short time a system of regular water carts was established and maintained until the city was again supplied through the water pipes.

SHELTER FOR THE HOMELESS

For the temporary shelter of homeless people the public school houses that were not burned down were opened at the relief committee's request, and on Monday night were filled with those who had no other place in which to sleep. Great numbers had fled to the outlying parts of the city, where they finally settled; while many others went to the West Side to stay with friends. Some made their way to the prairie west of the city, and built for themselves temporary dwellings of the roughest kind. These were mostly day-laborers and the poor of the city, who were, in the long run, the greatest sufferers by the fire, having neither the privilege of credit, so necessary to many at this time, nor the spirit of initiative and self-confidence.

The tax upon the relief committee's resources was immensely relieved by the departure from the city, on Monday afternoon, of about fifteen thousand persons, it was estimated, and on Tuesday the same number. Thus about one-third of the homeless ones sought refuge elsewhere, filling up train after train that was leaving the city. Those who wished to go applied to the relief committee for the means to travel, and were given requests upon the railroads for free transportation to the designated points. These requests were honored by the railroad companies. By Tuesday morning printed slips had been prepared, which were filled out by the authorities and used as passes.

When Mr. Holden and his associates began the work of relief at noon on Monday, October 9, they had scant means for furnishing the applicants for assistance with what they would ask for. There was, it is true, plenty of help offered by those who were willing to devote themselves to the sufferers; there were also a few vacant buildings in which to shelter the homeless; it was possible to help others to leave the city; but of food and clothing, the most immediate necessities,

there was no supply. The little that was brought in during the first afternoon was quite inadequate to the demand, which was increasing enormously every hour. Soon, however, the first carload of provisions arrived in the city, coming from towns within a distance of eighty miles from Chicago, and from that time the supplies came in steadily, bringing cooked food of all kinds, clothing, blankets, bedding, stoves, money—anything that could be of use. The first measures of relief taken were necessarily indiscriminate, as there was no time in the urgency of feeding the hungry people to inquire into the worthiness of each request. As the work progressed, however, a system of accounts and registration was evolved that made the work judicious as well as thorough.

The churches that were used for refuge were quickly made ready for the great numbers of distressed who were pouring in. Beds for the sick and injured were improvised from chairs and benches, tables were prepared both for the distribution of food and for the convenience of the doctors who had come to offer their services. Everywhere there were lost children crying piteously, who were comforted and fed until they might be returned to their parents. Here was a German woman with her brood of nine children, complaining that her husband was lost in the flames while carrying her feather bed to a place of safety; she bewailed the loss of the feather bed much more bitterly than the fate of the husband, who, she said, had drunk so much that he could not "go fast" with it. In one corner was a woman with her baby wrapped in a shawl, weeping for her husband and four children, all lost in their burning home. When the flames were discovered, she seized her baby, called to her husband to bring the other children, and fled from the house. The sympathetic helper offered to take the baby while the mother lay down to rest; she unwrapped the shawl—and quickly closed it again in horror, but not before the distracted mother had seen that this last one of her beloved children was dead in her arms. Her reason left her, her eyes wandered, and she was cared for as were others whose sorrows on that awful day were too great for conscious endurance.

Little groups of children here and there under the protection of an elder sister or brother, some playing carelessly, others wailing desolately; on one of the benches all by itself lay a little baby a few months old, contentedly sucking its thumb and gazing up at the stained glass windows in meditative interest. A disconsolate Norwegian woman who had saved none of the furniture but the cook stove gathered her children about it, and sat near by, in glum despair. When she was told that she could have a pail of hot soup, free, every day during the winter, she wept in an abandonment of joy, shook hands with everyone in the room, and set to polishing her stove with all her might.

ALL CLASSES IN NEED

Among the people who came to ask for clothing the contrasts were just as strange—here was a woman in a handsome black velvet gown which she had put on that she might thus save it; she had come to ask for clothes more in keeping with the sombre day; then came a group of unfortunates who had long known the wretchedness of begging and who now asked for clothes because they had fled from the Poor House, which burned. And there was a judge of the Supreme Court, and near him a young English couple who were visiting America on their

wedding tour, and had lost their trunks in escaping from the burning hotel. Though they were given the best there was, they found themselves wearing strange bridal garments. The greatest demand was for clothes for babies, babies from two hours to two years old, many of the orders calling for outfits for twins.

On that evening hundreds were given their first good meal after the age-long night and day of flight and terror and exhaustion. It was a democratic feast; the mayor of the city was there, as glad of his plate of cooked beans as was the cheerful Irish washwoman who thanked the good God for her slice of sirloin of beef, a more bountiful meal than her wonted fare of potatoes and bread; the hungry banker crowded onto the bench with the hungry teamster, and they were all served by the men and women who had come to offer their time and efforts for whatever period they could be helpful. The next day, with the assistance of the "Lost and Found Department" which had been established, great numbers of little children who had been lost were restored to their parents; many there were, on the other hand, who hunted in vain for their dear ones, visiting those places which had been made repositories for the dead bodies found among the burned ruins.

ASSISTANCE SENT FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD

The carloads of food and clothing sent by towns in the vicinity of Chicago brought to the city the first relief from outside. During the day of the fire the news of it had spread abroad, and the whole civilized world was aroused. Beginning on October 9, and continuing thereafter for many days, telegrams came in to the mayor from cities of every country, offering assistance of any kind, sending assurances of sympathy and of help already on the way, or notifying the mayor of appropriations made for the benefit of the sufferers. Committees were sent from cities in all parts of this country and Canada, well prepared to give needed assistance. On Wednesday morning, October 11, it was estimated that representatives of over one thousand committees had visited the relief headquarters since Monday noon. The governors of many of the states came to see what was needed and offer words of encouragement. This but indicates the universal expression of sympathy and helpfulness that followed what General Sheridan had well designated in his telegram to Secretary of War Belknap as a national calamity.

By Tuesday evening the work of the General Relief Committee was progressing with systematized efficiency. The records showed that $1,500,000 had been received from people all over the country; that six hundred and fifty wagon loads of cooked provisions, clothing, bedding, etc., had been delivered to the homeless; that two thousand and fifty-four wagon loads of women and children had been brought to the churches, schoolhouses and other places of shelter. Besides, there were probably at the same time two thousand private vehicles carrying homeless people to places of safety, and taking supplies from the cars to groups of the needy. This good record of accomplishment gave the workers much encouragement. By Wednesday an abundant supply of cooked food had come in, and the storage rooms were well stocked. As many families had obtained permanent shelter and had been given cooking utensils, there was a diminished call for prepared food; it was therefore recommended by the committee from abroad that the provisions sent to these be henceforth uncooked. The misery throughout the city

was greatly alleviated by a limited water supply pumped from the river in small quantities by the fire engines and other engines loaned for the purpose. In some streets the water was carried through mains laid on the surface of the ground. With this scant water supply, which could not be forced above the basement and lowest stories, continued watchfulness was necessary lest there be another outbreak of fire. Conditions were further improved by the fact that homes for some of the families were now ready for occupancy on the outskirts of the town. An order had been given on Monday for the construction of houses,—very simple and small they were—and on Wednesday it was reported that thirty were finished, and two hundred more under way.

A feeling of security and of order restored was prevalent in the city when the announcement was made on Tuesday, October 10, that the headquarters of the mayor and health department had been established at the corner or Ann and Washington streets, that police headquarters were located at Union and Madison streets and that the military and police power would combine to preserve order. Here was indeed a sturdy and cheerful people who could turn from so overwhelming a catastrophe to the establishment of new foundations and the continuance of former institutions.

PROGRESS OF RELIEF WORK

The relief work during the first few days had been conducted by volunteer workers, self-organized in the urgency of the moment, who had assumed the name of General Relief Committee. Into their hands were given all sums of money sent to the city for the sufferers, as well as the carloads of supplies which came during the period of their management. During the existence of this committee Mr. Orrin E. Moore acted as chairman; the duties of treasurer were undertaken by Mr. C. C. P. Holden until, at a meeting of the organization on Wednesday, he resigned as treasurer, and moved the appointment of David A. Gage, the city treasurer, to the position. This motion was carried, and contributions were then receipted for by Mr. Gage. Upon the request of a number of members of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, it was decided by the mayor to transfer the entire work of relief over into their hands, as being an incorporated institution of long standing. Accordingly on Friday, October 13, the contributions were transferred to the Society by proclamation of the mayor, and accepted by it two days later. To cope with the immense work, a general plan was prepared by Wirt Dexter, chairman of the executive committee, and adopted by the Society. In accordance with this plan, many were added to the force of the Society, its system was enlarged and extended, and to secure efficiency committees were appointed to receive and handle the supplies; to provide shelter in tents and barracks to the homeless; to find employment for able bodied applicants; to manage transportation, the distribution of passes and freight accommodations for supplies; to receive visitors and acknowledge telegrams and letters; to distribute food, clothing and fuel; to have charge of sick, sanitary and hospital measures; and to administer the large affairs of the Society.

Immediately after the fire the Health Department began gathering together the sick and injured who could not find shelter in private families, and sheltering them in the churches and schoolhouses, where they were cared for by physicians

and volunteer helpers. A few days later, under the management of the Relief and Aid Society, the city was divided into districts, a medical superintendent with a number of visiting physicians appointed for each district, dispensaries established, and hospital accommodation provided for. With the care that was exercised during the months following the fire, the death rate was diminished.

The employment committee, with Mr. N. K. Fairbank as its chairman, was a sort of labor exchange to which both employers and workmen applied. In the large plans for rebuilding, there was at once a great demand for unskilled labor, which was easily met. The next need was for mechanics, many of whom were unable to work, having lost their tools in the fire. In hundreds of cases, by furnishing a skilled workman with from ten to twenty dollars' worth of tools, he was given the means to find immediate work and support himself and his family. For the benefit of unemployed women special relief societies were organized. Abundant work was found for seamstresses, and sewing machines were provided for those to whom they were necessary as the means of support.

SHELTER PROVIDED FOR THE HOMELESS

At once the most difficult and imperative of all the questions which must be considered by the Relief Society was that of sheltering the thousands of people who were camped in the door yards and empty lots of the city, and on the prairie west of the city. These people were literally on the ground, with no covering to protect them from rain or cold. Many of the homes on the West and South Sides were already sheltering friends or strangers; the suburbs of Chicago were at that time so few and so distant that but a small number had found refuge there; the winter was imminent. The easiest solution of the difficulty lay in the plan to build barracks, but this plan was recognized as a bad one, its fulfillment leading to disease and discomfort and vice; at best it would be but a temporary expedient. It was therefore decided to house in barracks only those who could not otherwise be provided for, and to provide for the rest small but comfortable cottages. So well organized and efficient was the work of the committee on shelter that their labors were more successful than the most hopeful of them had expected.

The houses that were given to applicants were of two sizes; one, 20x16 feet for families of more than three persons; the other, 12x16 feet for families of three. The floor joists were of 2x6 inches timber, covered with a flooring of planed and matched boards; the studding was 2x4 inches, covered with inch boards and battened on the outside or with planed and matched flooring; the inside walls were lined with thick felt paper; and each house had a double iron chimney, two four-panelled doors, three windows, and a partition to be put up where the occupant pleased. Many of the houses were afterward shingled, painted and plastered. The establishment was completed in a simple way that was sufficient for comfortable living by the addition of a cooking stove and utensils, several chairs, a table, bedstead, bedding, and sufficient crockery for the use of the family; the total cost of the house when thus furnished was one hundred and twenty-five dollars; exclusive of furniture, the cost was about one hundred dollars.

The majority of those who received the prepared material for these houses were mechanics enough to put them together for themselves, or had the means to

hire builders; but for the large class of widows, infirm, or otherwise helpless persons, the house was built and put in complete readiness by the committee. Between October 18, 1871, and May 1, 1873, the Shelter Committee built 7,983 houses, thus providing, at the estimate of five to a family, good homes for more than thirty-nine thousand people. Of the number of houses built, 5,226 were constructed within a month from the time the committee commenced work. It was estimated that the rental of these houses might be valued a ten dollars a month; in no case, however, was rent taken from the occupants, the houses and furniture being given outright to those found worthy. By wise forethought the committee secured the lumber for these houses at a price which anticipated the rise in the price of timber due to the great amount of it burned in Chicago lumber yards and in the forest fires of the regions supplying the city.

Besides these houses there were four barracks in different parts of the city, each one accommodating twelve hundred and fifty persons. Each family in these barracks had two rooms furnished in the same way as were the isolated houses. Each community was under the careful and constant supervision of medical and police superintendents, and as most of the dwellers in these barracks had before the fire been occupants of tenement houses, their moral and sanitary condition now was unquestionably better than formerly.

THE WORLD'S CHARITY

A report of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society was printed in a bulky volume in 1874, from which we quote the list of contributions in money received for the relief of the sufferers by the Chicago fire. The report referred to also gives a list of supplies contributed for the same purposes, the printed list of which occupies forty-six pages of the volume.

SOURCES AND AMOUNTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS IN MONEY

United States		*Foreign*	
Maine	$ 21,043.47	Canada	$ 153,462.78
New Hampshire	22,727.15	Nova Scotia	6,707.63
Vermont	5,789.43	Newfoundland	1,090.00
Massachusetts	629,672.41	New Brunswick	9,411.64
Rhode Island	59,507.33	British Columbia	640.70
Connecticut	107,183.92	Island of Cuba	16,393.37
New York	1,358,451.50	Mexico	2,272.25
New Jersey	158,397.75	Central America	402.25
Pennsylvania	482,976.72	Venezuela	295.63
Delaware	8,070.70	Brazil	10,677.21
Maryland	182,122.30	Argentine Republic	868.45
Virginia	11,362.66	Uruguay	1,441.05
West Virginia	15,596.40	Peru	10,311.41
District of Columbia	94,470.48	Sandwich Islands	1,635.00
North Carolina	115.00	China	2,897.70
South Carolina	1,117.55	India	2,325.32
Georgia	2,065.75	England	435,023.18
Florida	1,049.23	Wales	3,163.46

United States	
Alabama	$ 5.00
Mississippi	65.00
Louisiana	28,933.96
Texas	8,110.11
Ohio	75,882.25
Indiana	46,751.62
Illinois	66,527.18
Kentucky	27,769.20
Tennessee	23,856.70
Michigan	38,414.64
Wisconsin	422.90
Minnesota	24,417.90
Iowa	17,648.60
Missouri	67,504.25
Arkansas	2,725.85
Kansas	21,231.85
Nebraska	17,470.32
Colorado Territory	12,835.85
Nevada	1,505.83
California	168,512.43
Oregon	13,883.52
Dacotah Territory	90.00
Washington Territory	1,509.83
Utah Territory	15,381.11
Wyoming Territory	800.00
New Mexico	1,495.50
Miscellaneous	561.56
Total United States	$3,846,032.71

Foreign	
Ireland	$ 74,161.36
Scotland	75,315.62
France	62,782.80
Belgium	131.00
Holland	241.35
Germany	81,393.29
Austria	3,801.50
Switzerland	15,740.95
Russia	145.91
Italy	847.71
Portugal	317.28
Total, Foreign	$ 973,897.80

Total, United States	$3,846,032.71
Total, Foreign	973,897.80
Sundry, Unclassified	217.65
Total Sum	$4,820,148.16

It should be remarked that as the above list includes contributions of money only, while many states made large contributions of supplies the value of which cannot be given exactly, no just comparisons can be made on the basis of the amounts of the money contributions only. It is estimated that the contributions, including both money and supplies, reached a total of five millions of dollars.

LOSSES IN THE GREAT FIRE

Within the burned district was contained far the greater part of the wholesale establishments and the better class of retail stores. A large share of the losses was among these, in fact the jobbing trade was pretically obliterated and left without buildings or the stocks contained in them. The packing houses were mostly beyond the range of the conflagration and their losses were principally owing to the general derangement of the ordinary facilities, such as teaming, banking, and railroad connections. The stock yards suffered no appreciable losses and but little interruption in the receipts and shipments of live stock.

While the manufacturing interests suffered in common with all other busi-

ness establishments, yet there were many of them located beyond the fire zone, and so escaped the total annihilation that overtook other classes of valuable property. The McCormick Reaper Works, situated on the North Side near Rush Street bridge, were destroyed, suffering a loss of $800,000. The works were not rebuilt on the former site, the company finding a new location on the Southwest Side, where they are today. A number of the largest breweries in the city, having their location on the North Side, were destroyed. One of the religious papers remarked that "the fire also fortunately destroyed a large number of breweries and saloons," a remark that was resented by some of the losers as being unnecessarily sarcastic at a time when the losses were so general.

In the voluminous report of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society, issued some three years after the event, there is given an account of the losses by the fire, the statistics of which are quoted in the following summaries. In the West Division, where the fire originated, the number of acres burned over was 194. There were 500 buildings, mostly of an inferior class, destroyed in this locality, which were inhabited by about 2,500 persons.

In the South Division the burned area comprised 460 acres. This district, though comparatively small in extent, was the business center of the city. It contained a great majority of those structures which were costly and magnificent, and were filled with the merchandise which made the city the great emporium of the Northwest. All the wholesale stores of considerable magnitude, the daily and weekly newspaper offices, the principal hotels, the public halls and places of amusement, the great railroad depots, and a large number of the most splendid residences, and in short, the great bulk of the wealth, and the chief interests of the city, were located here. In this division alone there were 3,650 buildings destroyed, which included 1,600 stores, twenty-eight hotels, sixty manufacturing establishments, principally of clothing, boots and shoes, and jewelry, and the homes of about 22,000 people.

In the North Division, not less than 1,470 acres were swept by the flames, destroying 13,300 buildings, about 600 stores, 100 manufacturing establishments, and the homes of about 75,000 people. This division being largely devoted to residences, the number of buildings and the number of the inhabitants driven out of their homes was much the greatest in the several divisions where the fire raged.

Putting these figures together, it shows as follows:

West Division

Number of acres burned over...	194
Buildings burned.....	500
Inhabitants driven out.....	2,500

South Division

Number of acres burned over...	460
Buildings burned	3,650
Inhabitants driven out.....	22,000

North Division

Number of acres burned over...	1,470
Buildings burned	14,000
Inhabitants driven out.....	75,000

Thus the total area burned over in the city, including streets, was 2,124 acres, or nearly three and a third square miles. This area contained about seventy-three miles of streets, 18,000 buildings, and the homes of 100,000 people.

The compilers of the report above referred to submit the tables given below

which they regard as reliable and which are accepted by most writers as correct, though some of them believe the figures are too conservative.

BUILDINGS:

Eighty business blocks	$ 8,515,000
Railroad depots and warehouses	2,700,000
Hotels	3,100,000
Theaters	865,000
Daily newspapers including buildings	888,000
One hundred other buildings	1,008,420
Other taxable buildings	28,880,000
Churches and contents	2,989,000
Public Schools and contents	249,780
Other public buildings, not taxed	2,121,800
Other property, (streets, etc.)	1,763,000
	$53,000,000

PRODUCE, ETC.:

Flour, 15,000 bbls.	$ 97,500
Grain	1,245,000
Provisions	340,000
Lumber	1,040,000
Coal	600,000
Other produce	1,940,000
	$ 5,262,500

BUSINESS, WHOLESALE AND RETAIL:

Dry Goods	$13,500,000
Drugs	1,000,000
Boots, Shoes, Leather, etc.	5,175,000
Hardware, Iron and other Metals	4,510,000
Groceries and Teas	4,120,000
Wholesale Clothing	3,650,000
Jewelry, etc.	1,300,000
Musical Instruments, Books, etc.	2,045,000
Hats, Caps, Furs and Millinery	2,670,000
Wholesale Paper Stock	700,000
Shipping and Dredges	800,000
Manufactures (stock, machinery and product)	13,255,000
Other stocks and business furniture	25,975,000
	$78,700,000

PERSONAL EFFECTS:

Household Property	$41,000,000
Manuscript Work (record, etc.)	10,000,000

Libraries, public and private	2,010,000
Money Lost (Custom House $2,130,000)	5,700,000
	$58,710,000

GENERAL SUMMARY:

Improvements (buildings, etc.)	$53,000,000
Produce, etc.	5,262,500
Business, Wholesale and Retail	78,700,000
Personal effects	58,710,000
Miscellaneous	327,500
	$196,000,000

The value of property in the city, real and personal, taxed and untaxed, was estimated at $575,000,000, of which, according to the above figures, the loss by the fire was thirty-three per cent of the whole.

The losses of the city as a municipality were estimated to be as follows:

City Hall and contents	$ 470,000
Bridges, Sidewalks and Pavements	1,350,000
Police, Fire and Water Works	680,000
	$2,500,000

Thus the grand total of losses according to these compilers was little short of two hundred millions of dollars.

FIRE INSURANCE

The aggregate losses of property covered by fire insurance was upwards of eighty-eight millions of dollars. These losses were distributed among 249 American companies and six English companies. Many failures among the insurance companies took place and left the insured parties losers to an amount estimated to be fully fifty millions of dollars. The English companies paid their losses in full. The collapse of many of our domestic companies was no surprise to many who knew the fire insurance situation. Mr. R. S. Critchell, in a little work on "The Recollections of a Fire Insurance Man," gives an instance of one of the failures. "The Republic of Chicago," he says, "with five millions of dollars of subscribed capital, of which one million dollars or one-fifth had been paid in, and stock notes given for the balance, had its golden opportunity, but 'flunked,' and commenced paying such of the claims against it as it could settle for thirty cents on the dollar. This went on until some policyholder who knew of the stockholders' notes for the unpaid part of the capital, threatened, and perhaps did, commence proceedings in bankruptcy against the company, which action caused the Republic to call on its stockholders for all or nearly all their unpaid subscriptions. As the liabilities of the Republic were over three millions of dollars, it was a frequently expressed opinion that if the company had commenced to pay its losses in full, and made the stockholders meet their obligations

at the outset, it would have weathered the storm, and, through large premium receipts, been able to keep along and do a large business." Many of the old Eastern companies pursued this policy and by levying on their stockholders made good the depletion of their capital and net surplus caused by the large loss payments, and went through the disaster with flying colors, and gained great reputations and a large subsequent business.

There had been in previous years many more foreign companies doing business in Chicago than those mentioned above, but they had been driven out by unfavorable legislation. A law was passed by the Illinois legislature, which took effect in 1870, requiring a heavy deposit in Illinois for the exclusive benefit of Illinois policyholders from companies located outside the United States. Many of the foreign companies thereupon withdrew from the local field. For this reason the business property of many Chicago citizens was not protected by sound insurance to the extent it would have been had there been no such law enacted. It cost the people of Chicago many millions of dollars, and after the fire a great effort was made to get the legislature to repeal the law. This effort, supported as it was by influential property owners, was at length successful, and resulted in an influx of English and other foreign companies, very much to the benefit of the business community.

CHAPTER XI

CHICAGO IN THE SEVENTIES

REVIEWS OF PROGRESS TO 1870—FACTORS OF PROSPERITY—CHARLES RANDOLPH'S REVIEW—TRIUMPHS AND ADVERSITIES—EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS—DAVID H. WHEELER'S REVIEW—TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS—RAILROADS AND RIVER NAVIGATION—INTER-STATE INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION—IMPORTANT OCCASIONS MENTIONED—INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT THE EXPOSITION—WORLD'S FAIR FORESHADOWED—FIRE OF 1874—LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE SEVENTIES—RAILROAD RIOTS OF 1877—BEGINNING OF THE GREAT STRIKE—DISORDER AND LAWLESSNESS—AUTHORITIES AROUSED—BATTLE OF THE ROUND HOUSE—FURTHER ACTS OF VIOLENCE—UNITED STATES TROOPS ARRIVE—THE RIOTERS SUPPRESSED—END OF THE TROUBLE—DAWN OF BETTER TIMES—TELEPHONE AND ELECTRIC LIGHTING INTRODUCED—RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS.

The progress made by Chicago is graphically set forth in a volume issued the year following the Great Fire of 1871, by a writer whose opportunities for observation and whose literary ability were unsurpassed by any other man of his day, Mr. Charles Randolph, at that time the secretary of the Chicago Board of Trade. "The growth of Chicago," writes Mr. Randolph, "in all that pertains to a great commercial metropolis, presents perhaps the most remarkable instance of rapid and mainly uninterrupted progress of any city in the world, either in ancient or modern times. Going back to 1830, we find that the census gave Chicago a total population of only seventy souls; and when it is remembered that this insignificant nucleus had grown in forty-one years to over 334,000 (as shown by a census taken but a few weeks prior to the great calamity), the question presses for solution,—By what magic has this marvelous result been achieved? What peculiar combination of forces or circumstances has wrought a progress so wonderful and so entirely unparalleled?"

"The position of Chicago marks it as the great center of distribution," he continues. "From this point the Northwest is supplied with all its needs, the whole range of manufactures, domestic or imported, must find their market here. Chicago is in the center of an increasing population, a thousand cities are rapidly growing up within twelve hours' travel, and these are, commercially speaking, suburbs and workshops of Chicago. They manufacture, they buy material, they sell to consumers; but the seat of all this commerce is in the city of Chicago. Their growth is her growth, and as they grow with the rapid settlement and increasing products of the districts around them, so Chicago grows with the increase of these numerous cities. She is the commercial agent of the West, she has states and cities for her constituencies."

While it cannot be denied that the city has drawn largely upon the best blood and most vigorous mental capacities, not only of our own country but also from foreign immigration, and to an extent that has made it a city representing by its natives of almost every town and hamlet in this country and of Europe, thus consolidating into one homogeneous citizenship the thought and enterprise of many and widely diversified intellects and educations, still all these advantages could not alone produce the results that have been manifest, and that have challenged the attention of the civilized world.

"In fact," continues Mr. Randolph, "this flood of emigration would not have set hitherward but for the advantages of a permanent character that were apparent to the observing and inquiring mind. The not infrequent reference, both at home and abroad, to the spirit of enterprise and perseverance of the people of Chicago, has to some extent it may be feared done injustice to the peculiar situation and business facilities of the city. Men, however gifted in the diversified qualities of the successful and honorable merchant, cannot build up and establish trade where no trade is demanded or required to be done; and especially in this country men must seek the centers of business if they would command success as merchants; business will not to any great extent be diverted in quest of men. It is because Chicago has possessed remarkable advantages for the development of trade and commerce, that the remarkable results, now matters of history, have been attained."

FACTORS OF PROSPERITY

A review of the causes contributing to Chicago's unexampled prosperity would be incomplete without due reference to the important factors of its transportation facilities and the wealth of the territory tributary to its markets. "First of all," says Mr. Randolph in his review, "may be noted the broad expanse of matchless agricultural territory, dotted with farm-houses, villages and cities, stretching hundreds of miles northward, westward, and southward, all more or less (and the major part of it entirely) dependent upon the city, both as a market for its surplus productions and a source of supply for those necessaries and luxuries that tend to make life enjoyable, and that are produced or manufactured in other portions of this or of foreign countries.

"But scarcely less important than supply and demand, because by it only can either exist, is the means of speedy transportation demanded by an extended commerce; and this nature and art have supplied for Chicago to a degree unequalled by an interior city in the land; so that, with lines by water or by rail, the city has come to be a center from which diverge in all directions ample avenues for conducting an almost limitless traffic, and through the influence of which the commerce of the city has been nourished and built up, and by means of which the great Northwest has become populous, and the hitherto cheerless prairie has been converted into a Paradise of happiness, prosperity, and substantial wealth."

There was widespread apprehension after the fire that the growth of the city would be so greatly retarded in consequence of this calamity, that it would prove to be a blow to its prosperity from which it could not recover. However other views began to be expressed, notably the following utterance from the leading paper in St. Louis which city had been one of Chicago's most bitter

rivals in the past. The "Republican" of that city said, "Chicago, though stricken in purse and person as no other city recorded in history ever has been, is not crushed out and destroyed, and her complete restoration to the place and power from which she is temporarily removed is only a question of time. It would be sad indeed if a conflagration, though swallowing up the last house and last dollar of a great commercial metropolis, could fix the seal of perpetual annihilation upon it, and declare that the wealth and prosperity which it once possessed should exist no more forever." Chicago was designed and intended by nature to be the location of a grand mart to supply the wants of the Northwest. "The trade from this great territory seeks an outlet there, and finds it better and more available than anywhere else. This fact was settled before the first brick was laid in Chicago, it was settled when Chicago rose to the rank of the fifth city in the republic, and is settled just as firmly now, when, to all human appearances, her destruction is well nigh accomplished."

Chicago has been made famous alike by her prosperity and by her adversity. The fire of 1871, said Professor Swing, "was, to many excellent men, a financial blow from which they never recovered. To many homes the father had passed his fiftieth or sixtieth year, the loss came too late to be retrievable. The city went forward but many noble men could go forward no more. The time, the means, and the hope were gone." The characteristics of the city in the days preceding the fire were profoundly modified by the changes brought about by the destruction of such a vast amount of wealth in the form of buildings, and the stocks of goods contained in them. New men and new influences became prominent as the city rose from the ruins. In the ordeal of fire old things had been brought to the severest possible test and many of them were found not worthy to survive.

There were a great many indications of radical changes in the direction of business after the clean sweep made by the fire, and had thus left a new choice to many establishments for the future location of their business homes. "It seemed probable," says one account, "that while the heavier wholesale houses would return to the old quarters, large numbers of lesser dealers, banks and others, particularly those handling the lighter classes of goods, would become permanently located much farther south than heretofore, while much of the commission business would separate itself, the produce branch nearer the river districts while the grain commission houses would follow the movement towards the south." The indications soon became manifest that the center of the business portion of the city would be removed at once some five or six blocks farther southward than before the fire. In fact such a movement had already begun previously and it was now accelerated as a consequence of the destructive work of the conflagration.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATIONAL INTERESTS

While the purpose of this work is chiefly to relate the beginnings and development of the material interests connected with the manufacturing and wholesale industries of Chicago, a complete view cannot be obtained without also including some mention of the progress of learning and culture among the people of the community. In a collection of memorials, gathered and issued in a

small volume after the great fire, Dr. David H. Wheeler of the Northwestern University entered upon a discussion of this phase of the social life of the people, and what would be the ultimate effects of so great a disaster on the learned institutions and on the aspirations of the rising generation towards such aims as were higher than mere material prosperity.

"The effects of the sudden destruction of a great mart of wealth upon human energy, in increasing or lessening its quantity or determining its direction," wrote Dr. Wheeler, "cannot be omitted from our survey. In one point of view it seems probable that loss and gain are in equilibrium. On one side we see men of some years disheartened and retired from productive exertion. On the other hand we see places opened for younger men. Assuming that this energy must have taken the same direction, we have only personal and moral reasons for regret. But if we consider that the young men are forced by this event into trade, who would else have been forced into letters, art, science, one perceives in the persistency of the old direction of force an absolute loss and a new danger.

"For, whatever retards the natural movement to higher forms of energy, whatever arrests the progress of a society to a higher life, gives to the lower order of activities facility for crystallization and lessens the probability of a better life. If in a town composed of huts, an annual fire made it necessary to annually rebuild, the people could only become hut builders and hut dwellers. If young men are demanded to produce grain and build houses, they cannot frequent colleges, libraries, or art studios. If all the income of Mr. Smith is required to furnish shelter and bread for his family, his daughters will be inadequately educated. That general condition of social comfort which has been the general aim of our young civilization, is in itself a good never to be despised or undervalued. That this fire subtracts in thousands of homes, not in Chicago alone, from this comfortable status, is by itself an evil not covered up because patiently borne. But it is a greater evil that, mixed with these means of comfortable home life, there were accumulations intended for the education of young men and women. On a smaller scale the fire repeats the greatest of the burdens of the war by subtracting from the education of a generation.

"It is not well for us to be taught in the school of pain, until it is true that we cannot learn in a better school. And therefore one may distrust the social effects of shocks given by this calamity to brave and noble men among us who are silent sufferers at home. One hears every day in soft accents of sympathetic friends, of this and that silver-haired merchant, public servant, or saint, on whose bounty the poor have fed, by whose hands churches have risen out of the ground, through whose wisdom the city has been established on some of its permanent supports, from whom the fire took away not merely goods but all the forces whereby goods grew. Many a prop is gone from under the civilizing institutions that rose somewhat slowly in Chicago. It is not that these forces are gone, that some of the best of our hands are nerveless, and some of the warmest friends of charitable causes rendered helpless; the very mode of their paralysis is an evil, because sudden and undistributed as by ordinary death or failure in business and because it has destroyed some of the procreant force of charity. Some celestial color will be missed from our life at the very time after the

charity of our neighbors has ceased to flow this way—when the greatest demand for public spirit will exist with the smallest supply.

"It is painful to follow the lines of distribution over which this loss travels out over the land, and to mark everywhere the disproportionate burden thrown upon the nobler uses of life. Whatever educates, as books, newspapers, magazines, higher schools, and churches, suffer out of proportion because material wants are imperious. Just because we can here hide such a large proportion of our loss, we shall the sooner recover the shows of our prosperity; but it is a loss—this of education—which has no compensations, and torments the thoughtful spirit with apprehensions. The vast army of counter-jumpers, bartenders, and political bummers, is recruited from among the imperfectly educated young men who have neither book learning nor trades, and want all forms of discipline and culture.

"To know a danger is to avoid it. The press and the pulpit have it in their power to greatly decrease the impending evils of diminished benevolence and education. These great lights and forces may prevent, by giving special attention to this danger, the excessive taxation of culture and charity to repair our loss. Of these we must lose much. Let our lamp-bearers see to it that we lose no more than we must."

TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS

Prior to the Civil War the marked prosperity of the entire region of the Mississippi valley attracted the attention of the country. "Its history," says Mr. Dunbar Rowland in a recent historical address, "is indissolubly bound up with that of the period. . . . In the development of the Mississippi valley much emphasis should be placed on transportation problems and their solution. The control of the Mississippi river and the purchase of Louisiana, center about the transportation question. The economic and political development of the valley is interwoven with it. If the Mississippi valley had been forced to depend upon its over-mountain route for contact with its markets, there would never have been any great commercial development, at least not until railroads became more numerous than they are even at the present time. But the Mississippi states in those early years were obliged to export their grain and meat, not to mention their immense cotton crop, if they were to engage in commerce. The bulk and weight of these products made it impossible for pack animals or wagons to be used for any great distance. The rapid influx of people to the interior, therefore, was due to the vast network of inland waterways, of which the Mississippi and its tributaries furnished over fifteen thousand miles navigable for good sized craft, to say nothing of the Great Lakes, over which these settlers might export their products.

"It took one hundred and fifty years for civilization to push beyond the Alleghanies, but in the next seventy-five it crossed the continent and reached the Pacific slope. Growth in the Mississippi valley was rapid. Great fields of cotton were being planted in Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana, and by 1834 over two-thirds of the cotton raised in the United States was grown in these three states and Tennessee. The steamboat and the cotton bale are emblematic of the Mississippi basin, while later corn, wheat and cattle came to swell the list. The ease

with which the rich and level lands of the valley might be cultivated drew thousands of immigrants from the eastern states with their rocky hillsides. New towns sprang up with astonishing rapidity. Railroads were crossing here and there throughout the states, bringing freight to the large towns along the Mississippi and to the Great Lakes. In fact, nearly all the states were assisting in financing the railroad companies in order to receive benefit from this new mode of transportation, Louisiana alone issuing nearly a million and a quarter of bonds for this purpose. . . .

"The years preceding our great national struggle were wonderful for growth in the Mississippi valley. From 1850 to 1860, the population of the eight states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa and Missouri, increased one hundred and sixty-seven per cent. In all but Ohio and Indiana the native Americans received from other states were considerably in excess of the native-born citizens who immigrated to other regions. In this respect Iowa stood first and Missouri third. During these ten years foreign immigrants began to come into the Mississippi valley in large numbers and the foreign-born population of these states more than doubled. This age was called the golden age, for from 1837 to 1857 the wealth of the country was quadrupled. Railroad construction began in the Mississippi valley in Michigan and Mississippi in 1836, and after this a perfect mania for railroads seemed to seize the new West. Roads were built in advance of traffic. At the beginning of the Civil War there was a mile of railroad for every thousand of population in the northern Mississippi valley.

"And not only did railroads increase rapidly prior to the war, but steamboating, which for more than half a century had been carried on with a high degree of success, reached its climax in 1857, when ninety-nine steamboats landed at St. Paul. The maximum of the lower river is found at New Orleans for the year 1860, when 3,245 steamboats arrived from river ports and 785 from seaports. The value of the river commerce received and dispatched was $289,000,000, while ocean import and export reached a total of $184,000,000. All this prosperity came to a sudden stop in 1861, when the storm clouds which had been threatening, suddenly broke with violence. . . . The war spirit swept the country, north and south. The story of those four years of fratricidal strife is too well known to be rehearsed."

RAILROADS AND RIVER NAVIGATION

"But peace once more assured the Mississippi valley began to grow. War had in no way depleted its natural resources, no matter how its material ones had suffered. With necessity to spur on the inhabitants, the cotton fields began to spring again into bloom; great fields of corn and wheat reflected the summer sun; and thousands of cattle and hogs roamed the valley. Capital began to pour in from Europe and from the East. Mills were built for cotton and other products. Railroad building increased, but steamboating, although it still did a large trade and held in check the high freight rates of the railroads, never regained its old position."

Perhaps nothing shows more plainly the great wealth of the valley than the customs collected by the department of internal revenue. Ten years after the war, the customs collected at St. Louis and New Orleans totaled almost three and

a half millions of dollars. Capitalists soon saw that the manufacture of the finished products on the spot where the raw material grew would be a distinct saving of first cost, and would enable the United States to compete with countries having a much lower wage rate. Consequently mills and factories sprang up rapidly. Cotton mills were built in the cotton belt, woolen mills crept toward the prairies, iron ore was mined cheaply in the ranges bordering on Lake Superior, and great steel mills and blast furnaces were established, finding abundant supplies of coal in the Illinois coal fields. The saw mills of the pineries and hardwood forests sent their products to the markets of Chicago to be turned into every form of building material—sash, doors, blinds, cooperage, and furniture.

"The consequence of all this was that labor, which previously had been engaged in agricultural pursuits, turned to the factory and mill. A scarcity of labor for the land resulted, which the influx of immigrants from Europe did not fill, as a large number of such as came into the agricultural districts did so with the intention of owning land themselves. Machinery and science, however, relieved the pressure to a considerable extent, and the machine-tilled farms of the west are among the wonders of our continent."

Mr. Rowland concludes his review with the following statement which we have here somewhat condensed: "The economic development of the Mississippi valley has just begun. The Panama canal, the dream of the centuries, has opened up a new gateway to the Pacific and the Orient; the commerce of the world will pass this way, and the glories of Venice, Alexandria, Naples, Genoa and Barcelona will be repeated in our gulf ports in the commerce of Mobile, New Orleans, and Galveston, and the river ports of the Mississippi. In this valley a second renaissance will come, and the glories of ancient Greece and old Italy will appear in art and literature."

These conclusions apply with much force to our own city of Chicago which with giant strides has already attained a marked supremacy in nearly every field of commercial enterprise, and it may reasonably be claimed that it already occupies an exalted rank as a center of the higher interests of humanity.

INTER-STATE INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION

The Exposition building, which stood on the lake front at the foot of Monroe street from 1873 to 1892, was built by the Chicago Inter-State Industrial Company, an association of Chicago business men. Among the leaders of the enterprise were J. Irving Pearce, W. F. Coolbaugh, Potter Palmer, and R. T. Crane. These gentlemen were joined soon afterward by others who subscribed for the stock; in all there were five hundred and twenty-two subscribers to the stock. The first meeting of stockholders was held April 4th, 1873, and the following officers were elected: President, Potter Palmer; Vice-Presidents, Joseph Medill, W. F. Coolbaugh, Wirt Dexter, N. K. Fairbank, and Jacob Rosenberg; Treasurer, J. Irving Pearce; Secretary, John P. Reynolds. The Executive Committee was composed of the following gentlemen: N. S. Bouton, George S. Bowen, A. C. Hesing, R. T. Crane, George W. Laflin, T. W. Harvey, and David A. Gage.

The Inter-State Industrial Exposition began its career just as the disastrous financial storm of 1873 was breaking upon the business world. Undeterred by the threatening state of affairs the managers opened the buildings to the public

on the night of September 25th, while twenty thousand people assembled in the great structure responded with cheers to the speeches and music of bands. Only ninety days had been required from the time the ground was first broken to the time of its dedication. Mr. W. F. Coolbaugh called the vast audience to order. Mr. N. S. Bouton then made the opening address in which he told the history of the enterprise. Lester L. Bond, then acting mayor of Chicago; John L. Beverdige, then governor of Illinois; and Senators John A. Logan and Richard J. Oglesby followed with speeches.

In the forty-eight days during which the Exposition lasted, six hundred thousand people viewed the 1,320 exhibits it contained. The Exposition company had received permission from the city to occupy the ground for its building for that one season only, but when the time arrived for the removal of the building the managers were able to secure an extension until May, 1876; the press of the city, backed by a strong popular sentiment, supporting the cause of the Exposition with enthusiasm. When the extended time had elapsed the building was allowed to stand by sufferance while its uses multiplied—great political conventions, musical festivals, garden concerts, balls, cattle shows, and many exhibitions, finding here adequate space for their purposes and a convenient location for the attendance of visitors. It was thus that the immense advantages accruing to a city from the possession of such an extensive structure, adapted to so many purposes, began to dawn upon the people, and becoming, as it did, an important factor in the city's progress.

IMPORTANT OCCASIONS AT THE EXPOSITION BUILDING

The great National Republican Convention of 1880 was held in this building, on which occasion James A. Garfield was nominated for the presidency on the thirty-sixth ballot after one of the most spirited political battles in our history. Four years later another National Republican Convention was held in the same place, upon which occassion James G. Blaine received the nomination for the presidency. During the same summer the National Democratic Convention held its sessions here when Grover Cleveland received the nomination.

"The old structure, even then beginning to show signs of decrepitude, had another honor thrust upon it—that of being the arena of the first "May Festival" given by Theodore Thomas in Chicago. This season of song was held May 23 to 26, 1882. N. K. Fairbank was President, George S. Dunlap and A. A. Sprague, Vice-Presidents; Philo A. Otis, Secretary; George Sturges, Treasurer; and Milward Adams, Business Manager. Seven concerts were given—four in the evenings and three in the afternoons. Included in them was a chorus of one thousand voices under W. L. Tomlins, and solos by Frau Materna, Mrs. Osgood, Annie Louise Cary, Emily Winant, Sig. Campanini, William Candidus, Theo J. Toedt, Georg Henschel, Myron W. Whitney, and Franz Remmertz. Clarence Eddy was organist. Chicago fairly went wild over the festival, which was run at popular prices, and another was given under the same leader May 27 to 31, 1884. In the seven concerts given in the second May festival Thomas directed an orchestra of one hundred and ninety pieces, and Tomlins a chorus of one thousand voices, with a children's chorus at the last matinee. Solos were sung by Christine Nilsson, Mme. Materna, Emma Juch, Emily Winant, Hermann

Winkelmann, Emil Scaria, Franz Remmertz, Theo. Toedt, and Max Heinrich. In the May festivals Frau Materna, Winkelmann, and Scaria made their debuts in Chicago."

INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT THE EXPOSITION

During the nineteen years of the existence of the old Exposition building there was registered a total attendance of six millions of persons. Included in the various events which took place in that time there were four National nominating conventions, fourteen annual exhibits of horses, cattle, dairy products, poultry; an international exhibition of railway appliances, "the greatest of the kind ever held in the world, occupying all the vast building and part of the Lake Front Park outside"; operatic festivals, two meetings of the North American Saengerfest, a national Knights Templar conclave, Theodore Thomas' summer night concerts, exhibitions by school-teachers' associations, and twelve events in aid of charity. On one occasion, when Marshall Field & Co.'s establishment was damaged by fire the building was occupied as temporary quarters by that firm, and the three thousand persons employed were kept at work who would otherwise have been idle.

The purpose of the managers at first was to hold annual expositions, allowing manufacturers, merchants and trades people free space on the floor for exhibiting their works and their wares, in order that the public might become acquainted with late methods and production, and trade thus be stimulated. A capital stock of $150,000 was subscribed, which was soon increased to $250,000, when the city council granted the use of the lake front for the building site. For the first few years there was an annual deficit in the financial affairs of the Exposition, which was made up by the stockholders; later, when it became self supporting, and an annual dividend was declared, the Common Council demanded a rental for the ground which had been granted to the Exposition company. Objection was rightly made that the stockholders were in reality guarantors, and that this was primarily a public-spirited enterprise undertaken for the advancement of Chicago's interests; that he losses of previous years more than entitled the stockholders to dividends when there was a surplus. An annual rental of one thousand dollars was finally agreed upon.

The Exposition building cost to erect about $280,000. From the beginning no charge was made to exhibitors for space in the building or for motive power. For the first few years the price of general admission tickets was fifty cents, but, in 1876, the price of admission was reduced to twenty-five cents, resulting in a largely increased attendance but in diminished receipts. The management, however, were well satisfied, for it gave evidence of the general popularity of the Exposition. The building was used for many purposes beside that for which it was primarily intended. The great May festivals were held in a large temporary hall constructed within the great building.

At the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Exposition, held November 14th, 1885, the following resolution was offered by Edwin Lee Brown, one of the directors: "Resolved, that it is the sense of this meeting that a great World's Fair be held in Chicago, in the year 1892, the four hundredth anniversary of the landing of Columbus in America." This was the first formal expression which

afterwards ripened into the movement making Chicago the place for holding the great World's Columbian Exposition.

In the spring of 1892 the Exposition building was torn down to give place to the Art Institute.

THE FIRE OF 1874

After the Great Fire of 1871 there was an increased degree of watchfulness exercised and a consequent freedom from any extensive conflagrations, until the city was again overtaken by the "little big fire" which occurred July 14, 1874. Had it not been overshadowed by the great fire calamity nearly three years previously, it would have been described as the greatest disaster of the kind in the history of the city. But coming so soon after the former conflagration it has not attracted as much attention from writers as the importance of the event might have justified. Mr. R. S. Critchell, in his book already referred to, says that he did not believe that "in the years 1872 and 1873 losses to the fire insurance companies generally in Chicago amounted to ten per cent of the premiums." The profits to the companies, with their increased rates, were very large, and the companies and agents alike realized a high degree of prosperity in those years.

It will be remembered that the territory burned over by the fire of 1871 reached no farther than Harrison street on the South Side. A large portion of the city south of that line was covered with a poor class of inflammable wooden buildings. The fire of July 14, 1874, broke out on South Clark street, near Harrison, later in the afternoon, and was not checked until early the next morning. The extent of territory burned over comprised an area of forty-seven acres, extending from Wabash avenue on the east to Polk street on the south. The number of buildings consumed in this fire was eight hundred and twelve, mostly one and two story frame structures of the kind built in the early days of the city. Some thirty-six of the buildings were classified as four and five story brick structures. Among the buildings burned were eight churches and one school house. The losses sustained in the fire amounted to $3,845,000, with an insurance of $2,200,000.

The occurrence of this fire and some others about the same time was followed by vigorous protests from the Board of Underwriters, who at a meeting soon after adopted resolutions demanding "the reorganization of the fire department, the vesting of absolute authority in the hands of the fire marshal, a rigid enforcement of the fire limits, regulations against frame structures, the enlargement of the city water mains, prohibition of combustibles in the city, and the tearing down of wooden awnings, cornices and cupolas." As there was no immediate action taken by the city authorities, the National Board of Underwriters, on October 1st, adopted a resolution calling upon all insurance companies to withdraw from Chicago. For a time many of the companies ceased to do business until the reforms were carried out.

"Through the efforts of the Citizens' Association and the Chicago Board of Underwriters," says McQuade in his history of the Fire Department, "Gen. William H. Shaler of New York, a retired army officer, was brought to Chicago to co-operate with Fire Marshal Benner in reorganizing the department, and in instructing and drilling the force. The Citizens' Association contributed $5,000 towards payment of the services of Gen. Shaler, and the same amount was con-

tributed by the National Board of Underwriters. In accordance with Gen. Shaler's suggestions the uniformed force of the department, known as the fire police of Chicago, was constituted a brigade under the command of the fire marshal as chief, and divided into six battalions. Each battalion was assigned to a district, and each was composed of several companies in charge of their respective captains. The reorganization of the fire department on military lines was a wise step, as it could not fail to improve the force in methods of training, discipline and service."

In his mesage of December 7, 1874, Mayor Colvin referred to the benefits derived from the fire by which many squares in the business center had been cleared of dangerous structures, and the general security thus increased. Referring to the employment of Gen. Shaler the mayor said: "With the assistance of a good soldier's brain, and capacity for organizing, instructing and drilling men, the fire department will be brought to the highest state of efficiency." The district burned in the fire of 1874 overlapped the burned-over district of the fire of 1871, and several of the new and fine buildings which had lately been constructed were consumed. The insurance companies returned to Chicago, and, owing to the improvements in the fire-fighting service, better methods of construction, and rigid observance of building regulations within the fire limits, the field afterwards proved a profitable one to the companies.

LABOR CONDITIONS IN THE SEVENTIES

The rapidly expanding industries of Chicago were marked by a series of startling events during the period of the seventies. We have already related in some detail the eventful episodes connected with the great Chicago fire, but the years included in the decade in which the fire occurred witnessed other changes of great significance in the development of the social and economic life of the community.

The era of business expansion that followed the Civil War culminated in 1873 in a great financial and industrial panic, which checked the progress of prosperity to a marked degree. "For the first time in American history," said a writer, on the subject, "the 'army of the unemployed' appeared." There were between ten and fifteen thousand men in the city without work in the fall and winter of that year, and as business conditions were desperately aggravated by the results of the panic, the merchants and manufacturers of Chicago, who were barely recovering from the effects of the great conflagration, found extreme difficulty in maintaining themselves in solvent relations. Great meetings were held by workingmen to discuss their sufferings and make plans for their relief.

Not only were great numbers without work but a general reduction in the wages of those still employed intensified the troublous aspect of affairs. At these meetings speeches were made in foreign languages largely by agitators holding socialistic doctrines. The masses of the workingmen were convinced that their troubles were principally due to the obstinacy of the employers, whom they believed were upheld by the authorities. The substance of these speeches was that the city should be asked to render aid. Resolutions were adopted demanding that work should be given to all who had no work, with sufficient wages; that aid in money or provisions should be given to the suffering people

out of the public treasury; and that if sufficient cash was not found in the treasury, the credit of the city should be resorted to. A committee was appointed to go to the city hall and present the resolutions to the mayor, who at that time was Harvey D. Colvin. A great procession of the unemployed was to accompany the delegation.

The next evening, December 22, 1873, there assembled a multitude of some fifteen or twenty thousand men of the working classes. There appeared to be no leaders, but the men fell into orderly lines and thus they marched to the city hall. While the delegation was being received by Mayor Colvin and the city council, the men outside waited to hear the fate of their petition. Petty politicians who attempted to harangue the crowd were ignored. At last the spokesman of the delegation came out. The council, he reported, had promised to do whatever lay in its power to redress their grievances, and a conference would be held next day to discuss ways and means. Then the crowd melted away and departed as quietly as it had come.

The equivocal promises of the mayor and council bore no fruit. The city, it was said, had no money. The delegation asked that the city recover from the Relief and Aid Society some funds, amounting to "several millions of dollars," which had been contributed by the world to relieve the distress caused by the great fire of 1871, but this proposal degenerated into a profitless quarrel over the possession and disposal of these funds. Similar demonstrations were made in other cities. In New York, two or three weeks later, there was a vast parade of 180,000 unemployed, which was attacked by the police at Tompkins Square, and hundreds of persons were seriously injured. The succeeding winter was one of the hardest in the history of the city, and the streets were thronged with idlers. But the hard times did not seriously affect the morals of the people, and, although poor and suffering, the workingmen of Chicago abstained from violence and crime.

Meantime the effects of the panic were wearing off, and the city was resuming its accustomed progress in every line, financial and industrial. Its population had increased to 395,000, from 334,000 at the time of the fire; and its total valuation, including real estate and personal property, to $304,000,000, as against $290,000,000 at the time of the fire. Substantial progress had thus been accomplished in spite of the great losses caused by the fire and in consequence of the disastrous effects following the panic of 1873. The period of the seventies, however, had still in store other "vials of wrath" to be poured out on the devoted head of Chicago, making this the most noted period of set-backs which its citizens had ever known. After the opening of the year 1874, there was still much unrest among the laboring clases in consequence of the apparently slow recovery, until some three and a half years later, the memorable railroad riots broke out with great fury, some account of which will be given in the following pages of this review.

THE RAILROAD RIOTS OF 1877

The two or three years following the panic of 1873 were marked by much suffering and privation among the classes which depend upon employment in manufacturing and other industries to provide for their living necessities. Where employment was to be had, wages were low, and, especially in the case of the

railroads generally, the former wages of employees were reduced. This produced much discontent, and strikes began to be of frequent occurence at some of the great railroad centers. Early in July, 1877, occurred what became known as the "Railroad Riots," which Joseph Kirkland in his history, says, were "in reality a combined and premeditated effort on the part of the wage-earners all over the Union to force down the hours of labor and force up the rates of wages, the railroads being chosen as the point of attack."

The principal scene of the troubles occurred at Pittsburg, where the strike was accompanied by riots which led to a call for troops. The local militia refused to support the civil authorities in their attempts to keep order, and state troops were called in to the number of several regiments. These troops fired upon the rioters, who soon surrounded them by thousands, and drove them into the railway machine shops and engine houses and then set fire to the buildings. The troops then sought refuge in the city armories, but were actually refused admittance. They were killed or wounded in large numbers by the strikers. "Every vestige of railway property," says one account, "was burned—buildings, machinery, and rolling stock, including one hundred and twenty-five engines. The loss aggregated $10,000,000."

On the news reaching Chicago, the excitement among the working classes knew no bounds. Meetings were held at "Market Square" (Madison and Market streets), which were addressed by orators in inflammatory speeches. The demagogue was in his glory and he demanded war upon capital, and vengeance on the "privileged classes." An immediate strike was resolved upon which was to include all lines of industry, in sympathy with the railroad employees.

"Combination of wage-earners," says Kirkland, "are natural and proper, as are also combinations of employers. The latter are not prone to advance wages except upon necessity, and that necessity is not brought to bear except by the refusal of the employees to work at the lower rates; nor will the wage-earners consent to a reduction except by the refusal of all employers to pay the higher rate. Both seem to be as necessary as are two parties in politics. Their contests and clashings are inevitable and lawful so long as they are peacefully carried on, and from them comes the meeting point of supply and demand."

INAUGURATION OF THE STRIKE

The alarm felt by the citizens over these threatening demonstrations was intensified when processions began to be formed which soon degenerated into disorderly mobs. The first hostile movement of the strikers was against the railroads, the purpose being to force all their employees to quit work and thus prevent the operation of the lines. This was soon followed by destruction—derailing of engines, attacks on round-houses, and even starting fires in various places. Street cars were stopped by the mobs, thrown from the tracks and broken to pieces. From the railroads and their employees, the strikers quickly turned their attention to the industrial plants, demanding that the men employed should come out and join them. On one of the mornings of the four days during which the strike continued, crowds collected in the lumber district along the river, calling out men at work in the planing mills. They poured north on Canal street, stopping before one factory after another and shouting to their occu-

pants, "Stop work!" "Everybody must strike to-day!" Sometimes the men who were thus called out seemed eager, sometimes reluctant, but they always came. Lumber shovers, saw and planing-mill men, iron workers, brass finishers, carpenters, brickmakers, furniture workers, tailors, shoemakers, painters, and operatives of every class.

They did not all join the mobs, however, large numbers of them going quietly to their homes. Before the day was over most of the industry of the whole city was completely paralyzed. Monroe Heath was mayor of the city at this time, a man who held in deep respect the right of free speech and free assemblage of citizens, so long as they were orderly and in compliance with the usages of a law-abiding community. In the extreme test to which he was exposed during the railroad riots occurring while he was mayor, he was subjected to much criticism for his failure to act promptly in supprressing lawlessness and disorder. But though slow to realize the danger, he took vigorous steps when once aroused, appealed to the governor of the state for troops, and called on the citizens to form themselves into armed bodies to assist the authorities.

STRIKERS ENCOUNTER THE AUTHORITIES

The police force consisted of about five hundred men, but not more than half that number were available for active duty in dealing with the mobs. It was simply out of the question that such an insignificant force could successfully cope with the numerous mobs continually forming in widely scattered points of the city. It was before patrol wagons had come into use and members of the police force rode in street cars or walked long distances to the scenes of trouble. The men suffered greatly from fatigue and the excessive heat of the season, so that their efficiency was much reduced after several days of such strenuous service.

The disorder and lawlessness now occurring at so many places at last forced the mayor to adopt vigorous measures. He called upon the law-abiding citizens of every part of the city "to form themselves into armed organizations for the preservation of the peace, and the protection of life and property"; he appealed to the governor, and the first and second regiments were called out. Volunteer companies composed of veterans of the Civil War were formed, also one company of post-office employees. Over three hundred special policemen were sworn in and assigned to patrol duty, while the regular members faced the mobs. The street car companies, the teaming companies, wholesale houses, and private individuals, gave the use of their horses to the city, and cavalry companies were formed. The whole city was aroused and Chicago presented the appearance of a city in a state of siege. It was estimated that not less than twenty thousand men were under arms during these trying days of disturbance and riot.

The rioters paid little attention to the special police who in such large numbers were added to the force. In the annual report of the police superintendent, he said: "Special policemen are comparatively worthless for quelling disturbances or dispersing crowds, for however good their intentions or efforts, the truth is that twenty policemen in uniform are better and more effective for the purpose than fifty 'specials' in plain dress. This was clearly proven when a mob had congregated on the North Side. Most of the regular force at that time being

on duty elsewhere, a squad of twenty specials was sent to disperse the crowd, but the rioters defiantly turned upon them and they were forced to retire to the station. Lieutenant Hathaway, in command of fifteen men from the regular force, dispersed them without serious trouble, although the crowd and the excitement had greatly increased in the meantime."

BATTLE AT THE ROUND HOUSE

On the third day of the riots a mob of some four hundred or more men had gathered at the round house of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad on West Sixteenth street, and were proceeding to smash windows and wreck the rolling stock of the company. "Several cars and locomotives were ditched," says Flinn, in his narrative of these events, "and the rioters, it seems, had planned to set fire to the building and destroy its contents. Captain Seavey was notified at once, and ordered Lieutenant Callahan to the scene. The men were crowded into omnibuses and driven rapidly toward the round house. Arriving there, the mob opened fire on the 'buses, using revolvers and stones, and the driver was thrown off his seat, breaking his arm in the fall. As the policemen left the omnibuses they were met with a perfect shower of bullets and a hailstorm of stones." The mob quickly swelled until it numbered some three thousand rioters.

Callahan drew his men up in line and waited a short time for reinforcements, as his force was not sufficient to cope with such a multitude of belligerents. Sergeant Ryan with twenty men had been patrolling the district near the round house, and, hearing of Callahan's situation, hastened to his assistance. Stones and bullets began to fly and Callahan ordered an attack. The united forces of policemen behaved like veterans and went into action with eagerness. A volley from their ranks laid a number of the rioters low, and this was followed by a charge. The mob resisted by firing revolvers, throwing missiles and with wild shouting. Callahan's men, however, pressed forward, steadily firing as they advanced. Several of his men had fallen, but this only served to stimulate the fighting spirit of the others. Again the policemen charged furiously upon the the great majority of them towards the Halsted street viaduct. The fight lasted about half an hour, and Callahan, finding that his men were out of ammunition and that many of them were quite seriously injured, returned with them to the station. None of the injuries to the police proved fatal. Seven of the rioters were killed, and about twenty-five were seriously wounded.

EVENTS OF THURSDAY

The morning of the fourth day after the beginning of the strike, a large body of the rioters assembled in the lumber district, and Captain Seavey with a force of seventy-five men was sent by Superintendent Hickey to deal with the disturbers. A determined resistance was offered to the advance of the police, stones were hurled and numerous shots fired. The police now fired upon the crowd and the firing was continuous for some time, until it was found necessary to retire to the station for a fresh supply of ammunition. This gave the crowds an opportunity to recover their ground and their numbers were greatly increased.

A newly arrived body of police now pluckily resumed the attack. They moved in a solid column, taking the entire width of the street, swept everything before them, and in a short time had cleared the field.

Halsted street viaduct continued to be the center of trouble all day, as it spanned the tracks of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, and the Chicago and Alton railways, and the hundreds of cars and locomotives were in plain view from that elevation. The police were needed in so many places at the same time that no sooner had the crowds been driven from this spot than it immediately began to be occupied again by the rioters. From this elevated situation a general survey of the tracks could be obtained, and every attempt made by the companies to move their trains was frustrated by the strikers, while the mobs on the viaduct cheered their disorderly proceedings. Passenger trains were stoned while passing under the structure and many persons injured.

There were skirmishes, running fights, charges, retreats, and engagements without number throughout the day, and the policemen were almost exhausted. A little more of the incessant labor which had been imposed upon them, and they would have been compelled to abandon the fight to the military. This, however, did not become necessary, and although the militia were ready for any emergency, none arose that day nor any day thereafter. The mobs were controlled and eventually subdued solely by the police force of Chicago.

During the afternoon of this day, two companies of United States troops belonging to the twenty-second infantry, arrived in Chicago from the West. General Sheridan had ordered these troops here without waiting for any special request, with the idea that they might be of service to the city authorities in case of an emergency. The troops came directly from the plains where they had been engaged in Indian campaigns, and their journey had been hastened in view of the state of affairs in this city. They were in "fighting trim," fully supplied with ammunition, and would have been ready to go on duty at once had it been required of them.

The arrival of these troops was a complete surprise to the people and a great relief to them in the midst of their anxiety. They arrived at the Union depot on Canal street, having traveled from the West by the way of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul railroad. As they formed on Canal street and took up their line of march towards Madison street, they were watched and cheered by thousands, though among the crowds of spectators there were many malcontents who beheld the troops with sullen looks. The march of the soldiers was continued over Madison street bridge and eventually they were halted at the armory on Michigan avenue. Four other companies arrived the next day, so thoroughly had General Sheridan prepared himself for whatever eventualities that might occur. The presence of these troops served to reassure the friends of law and order, though they were not called upon to act at any time during their stay.

END OF THE RIOTS

By Thursday night (the fourth day of the riots), the mobs throughout the city were thoroughly cowed and made no further attempts to hold meetings or gather in disorderly crowds. The arrival of the troops, both state and national, had convinced the strikers and rioters that their wild schemes of subverting the

institutions of government were impossible of achievement, and the city quickly resumed its normal quiet. There were some three hundred arrests made on the charge of rioting. The stations were overflowing with prisoners, and the hospitals were filled with wounded men. The strike and the rioting was over. The number killed in the various riots was estimated to be upwards of thirty persons. That many died from their injuries is certain, says Flinn, in his account. "The number injured, more or less seriously, was about two hundred. The police escaped remarkably well, considering the close quarters in which they were frequently placed."

The conduct of the police during the period of the strike won for them much praise. In his annual report for 1877, Superintendent Hickey said: "I trust it will be considered pardonable for me also to say a word in behalf of the police for their bravery, endurance, good judgment and strict attention to duty in this emergency. All will bear witness to the fact that not one of them flinched or showed any indication of shirking duty at any time, but fought twenty times their numbers, although almost exhausted from incessant work, and marching from place to place throughout the city for four days and nights, and having little or no rest during that time." In recognition of the services rendered by the police during the four days' continuance of the strikes and riots the Common Council passed a resolution of thanks to the police force for their "valorous conduct," which was well deserved. The cost of the riots to the city, for pay of special police, purchase of arms, etc., was about $20,000.

The end of the strike marked the dawn of better times. "The great railroad strike," says Flinn, "was really the turning point from bad to good times. Business began to improve and a period of prosperity set in." An interesting bit of history connected with the railroad riots of 1877 is found in the report of the Citizens' Association for 1909, which is related as follows: "It is worthy of note that the Association has recently parted with the battery of artillery which it has owned for more than thirty years. This battery, consisting of four twelve-pounder bronze Napoleon guns, was purchased in 1878 for the protection of the city, which had been the scene of serious rioting and disorder the year before. The battery with limbers, caissons, field harness and ammunition, was turned over to Mayor Monroe Heath, and for the next thirteen years was held by the police department as the property of the Citizens' Association, with the understanding that it was to be returned to the Associaion on demand of its Executive Committee. In 1901, the battery was transferred to the custody of Battery 'D,' First Light Artillery, I. N. G. Afterwards the battery was equipped with more modern guns furnished by the Federal government, so that it no longer had occasion to keep the old guns. One of these has been presented to the Chicago Historical Society, which will preserve it on account of its having been for a long period one of the defenses of the city; and another has been presented to the Wilmette Park district, which will place it in a park on the lake front in Wilmette."

OTHER EVENTS OCCURRING IN THE SEVENTIES

The new court house and city hall to replace the building destroyed in the great fire was commenced in 1877, but was not completed until eight years later. This building, however, although built in the most substantial manner, did not

prove permanent, owing to defects in the foundations which developed in later years. It was finally demolished and the present magnificent structure was built on the site. The telephone came into use during the seventies. It was much used by the police department at the time of the railroad riots, and at once its use by business houses became very general. The business was started by the Bell Telephone company of Boston, in July, 1878. Three years later the Chicago Telephone company bought out two or three companies that had in the meantime begun operations. Gen. Anson Stager was the first president of the Chicago Telephone company, while at the same time he was superintendent of the Western Union Telegraph company.

In 1880, the first electric lights were introduced into Chicago, the first to use them were Willoughby, Hill & Co., Potter Palmer, and John B. Drake. The entrance of the electric light companies was opposed by the old gas companies, and it was charged that the electric light wires were dangerous to human life, and were, besides, a fruitful source of fires. The unfavorable impressions thus created slowly wore off, however, and this form of illumination has since become almost universal. It was in the decade of the seventies that typewriters began to be used extensively. The first ones used were made by the Remington company, which worked on the type-bar principle, each of the forty-four bars carrying only a single character, so that the writing was in capitals only. But in 1878 type-bars with two types were introduced, so that a machine with forty keys could print seventy-six characters with both capitals and small leters.

RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENTS

The value of the greenbacks reached par on January 1st, 1879. The highest premium for gold was 2.20 throughout the year 1864, on the average, and in 1865, 1.57. By 1870 the premium had declined to 1.14. It remained around this figured until 1875, with a general tendency towards par. Early in that year an act was passed by Congress to set a certain date for the resumption of specie payments, which was fixed at January 1st, 1879. Meantime there had arisen in the United States a powerful political party, which demanded that the outstanding issue of greenbacks, amounting to $346,681,000, should remain unredeemed in specie. However, the government carried out the provisions for the resumption of specie payments according to the act, and in preparation for this event, placed $135,000,000 in gold and bullion in the Treasury at New York for the purpose.

On the day when resumption was to take place a salute of guns was ordered in honor of the event, and a special display of flags was made in the banking district. Specie in the form of gold and silver coins was piled up on the counters of the Treasury in anticipation of the predicted rush for the redemption of the paper currency. The banks co-operated with the Treasury in readiness for the expected demands. But as it turned out there was no excitement and the demand for specie was so small that at the end of the day it was found that the banks and the Treasury had received more specie than they had paid out. The money market, instead of becoming close as had been predicted by many, grew easy, and the country whose sound financial system had been thus established, entered upon a period of growth and prosperity which thereafter was not seri-

ously interrupted until the extraordinary financial disturbance of 1893 took place. With the close of 1879, appeared substantial signs of a permanent recovery from a comparative stagnation of business, which had succeeded the panic of 1873. In 1880, the bank deposits aggregated $64,764,000, as against about $47,000,000 in the previous year

In closing this chapter of "Chicago in the Seventies," we may quote the remarks of John R. Rathom of Providence, Rhode Island, a former citizen of Chicago, who, writing in 1910, says: "In spite of mistakes, in spite of imperfections inseparable from rapid growth, we all know, and feel a glow of pride in the knowledge that the city has her face set steadfastly in the right direction, and that she is building her own destiny, as she builds everything to which she puts her hand, enduringly and well."

CHAPTER XII

THE ANARCHIST TROUBLES—THE HAYMARKET RIOT

LABOR TROUBLES IN THE EIGHTIES — THE STRIKES OF 1886 — DISORDERS AT THE M'CORMICK WORKS—MEETING IN HAYMARKET SQUARE—THE TRAGIC ENCOUNTER WITH THE POLICE—EXPLOSION OF BOMB—WILD SCENES OF BLOODSHED—THE DAY AFTER THE RIOT—AFTERMATH OF THE RIOT—THE ANARCHIST TRIAL AND JUDICIAL SENTENCES—JANE ADDAMS' REVIEW—AN ERA OF TOLERANT DISCUSSION—EXTINCTION OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT—THE TRUE DESTINY OF CHICAGO—THE SEAT OF EMPIRE—MOSHER'S MEMORIAL PHOTOGRAPHS—THE COMMERCE OF CHICAGO —NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF LOCATION—AGRICULTURAL TRIBUTARIES—LUMBER INDUSTRIES—CHICAGO'S EXTENSIVE MARKETS—SEAL OF CHICAGO.

LABOR TROUBLES IN THE EIGHTIES

In an address on the "Eight-hour movement," delivered by John P. Altgeld in 1890, he observed that "the nineteenth century is the only century that has lent a smile or a helping hand to the laborer. All the prior centuries struck him with their lash, beat him with their clubs, burned him with their hot irons, and let him rot in their jails. The means of advancement in this century has been the spread of intelligence, and aside from the newspaper press, the two great agencies for the spread of intelligence among the laboring classes have been the common schools for the education of the children of the laborer, and organizations for the education of the fathers of these children. Organization taught the laborer discussion, investigation, consideration, moderation, and it taught some employers that justice is the best policy."

As far back as 1867 the Illinois legislature had enacted an eight-hour law, one section of which provided that, "On and after the first day of May, 1867, eight hours of labor between the rising and setting of the sun, in all mechanical trades, arts and employments, and other cases of labor and service by the day, except in farm employment, shall constitute and be a legal day's work, where there is no special contract or agreement to the contrary." But the law did not provide that the wages for eight hours' work should be the same as for ten or more hours under previous conditions. It could not do so. Hence the long continued discussions, the strikes, and resulting violence kept the community in turmoil for all the years since that time. Much improvement in the relations between labor and capital is to be noted, but still much remains to be accomplished. No law could be enacted on this point, for the question of wages must be left to regulate itself between employer and employed.

Every class in the society of civilized nations has had its period of evolution

from a state of practical subserviency to the privileges of citizenship and equal rights. In politics, mankind struggled along through various forms and conditions of brute force to near the beginning of the nineteenth century, before there could be proclaimed to the world that all men were created equal, and then at last the ringing truth proceeded from our own Declaration of Independence. "In the industrial world," says Altgeld, in reviewing the progress mankind has made in modern times, "we first perceive the struggle for liberty and for justice by what are called the captains of industry, the employers, for they are only a little ahead of the wage-workers in their struggle for justice.

"In ancient times, particularly in the Roman and medieval world, a manufacturer or a merchant, though his ships might cover the inland seas, though thousands of men might be doing his bidding, yet he had no voice in the government, was not considered fit for a gentleman and patrician to associate with, had no voice in making the laws that should govern him, nor in determining what taxes he should pay; he was plundered indirectly by means of taxation, and when this did not suit the purpose of the dissipated and rapacious officials, he was plundered directly. To be born a patrician, to be a member of the priesthood, or a successful military chieftain, entitled a man to rule. The man who supplied the world with necessaries had no social or political standing, and this continued to be so throughout the middle ages." On the whole, the employer in his struggles for justice is scarcely a century in advance of the class we to-day call the wage-workers. Even in England, the country which has always been regarded as so much in advance in the granting and preservation of liberty and justice, the Magna Charta was not for the benefit of either the employer or workman, but simply of the nobility—the idle, who by reason of the accident of birth, were enabled to appropriate the labor of others.

THE STRIKES OF 1886 AND THE HAYMARKET RIOT

In the great Railroad Strikes of 1877 the efforts on the part of the strikers was not only to force down the hours of labor but to force up the rate of wages, the latter being the principal issue. The strikes were suppressed, but the seeds of discontent were thickly sown, which in time resulted in further and greater troubles. The issues of shorter hours of labor and the rate of wages were complicated with each other in all cases.

In 1886, the doctrines of Socialism as preached by the accepted leaders of that time, enjoyed a high degree of popularity with the working classes. Led on by publications in that interest, demands were made upon the great manufacturing establishments of the city, especially upon that of the McCormick Reaper Works. This company had offered their operatives the eight-hour day if they would accept a corresponding reduction in their wages. This the men refused, and thereupon the company locked the gates of their plant, and prepared to resume operations with new men not connected with the Unions which had generally been formed among their old operatives. The leaders among the workmen now urged them to violence through the utterances of the various publications devoted to the Socialistic propaganda.

Under the advice of the leaders, which found expression not only in the papers but by means of speeches, the men were formed into armed groups and

drilled as if for fighting purposes. They experimented with dynamite and making of bombs, and looked for the "great upheaval." At the same time the McCormick company hired detectives, and the regular police placed five hundred men on the ground to preserve order. By the advice of the press and leading citizens the company raised wages, but insisted on employing whom they pleased, and the works resumed their usual activities. There were many disturbances in the attempt on the part of the locked-out men to prevent the movements of the men lately brought in. These troubles culminated on May 1st, a day set for the eight-hour strike to become universal.

On Monday, May 3d, a crowd of 10,000 persons collected near the gates of the McCormick Reaper Works. The crowd was addressed by August Spies, the editor of the Arbeiter-Zeitung, who advised the men to arm themselves with "dynamite, rifles, shot-guns, pistols, clubs, sticks, stones," anything they could use, and make a bold stroke for "freedom." The factory was attacked, the chief sufferers being non-union molders in the foundry. Reinforcements of police arrived and a fierce struggle occurred. There was a report that half a dozen of the locked-out men, now generally known as strikers, were killed, but this is denied by others. However, there was serious fighting between the police and the strikers during a great part of the day. Spies went to the office of his paper and wrote the famous "Revenge" article. In it he said, "Revenge! Workingmen, to arms! Your masters sent out their bloodhounds, the police. They killed six of your brothers at McCormick's this afternoon." Further on in the article he says, "If you are men you will rise in your might and destroy the monster that seeks to destroy you."

THE MEETING AT THE HAYMARKET SQUARE

The next evening a meeting took place in Haymarket Square, situated on West Randolph street, near Desplaines street. The crowd soon moved north on Desplaines street to the nearest alley where stood a convenient truck to serve as a speakers' stand. A. R. Parsons, who was the editor of a Socialist newspaper called the "Alarm," which had become practically a violent advocate of Anarchist doctrines, made a fiery appeal to the passions of the crowd, in these words: "You have nothing more to do with the law except to lay hands on it and throttle it. No man deserves anything unless he is man enough to make an effort to lift himself from oppression." Other speeches in the same vein were made, but the crowd did not seem to respond to these appeals as the leaders had expected, and many persons were leaving the place to return quietly to their homes.

THE TRAGIC ENCOUNTER

During the earlier part of the evening, Mayor Carter H. Harrison was present in the crowd and listened to some of the speeches, but he was not much impressed with their lawless character. In fact, he considered the meeting a "tame affair." He could see nothing in the speeches but "a violent political harangue." He accordingly went back to the station and said to Inspector Bonfield that "nothing had occurred yet or was likely to occur to require interference, and thought he had better issue orders to his reserves at the other sta-

tions to go home." The mayor left the station about ten o'clock and in accordance with the mayor's directions, Bonfield dismissed the reserves at the Central station.

A little later Bonfield became alarmed from the reports he was receiving from the meeting, and ordered out the reserves at the Desplaines street station. There were five companies in this force, numbering 176 men. With Bonfield and Capt. William Ward at their head they marched toward the scene of the meeting in formations of platoons, filling the street from curb to curb. On reaching a point near the truck from which the speakers were making speeches, the column halted, and Capt. Ward, advancing to within three feet of the truck, cried out, "I command you, in the name of the people of the State, immediately and peaceably to disperse"; and turning to the right and left, he added, "I command you, and you, to assist."

At that instant a hissing sound in the middle of the police array was heard, followed almost instantly by a tremendous explosion. The police, after the first shock of horror and consternation, rallied with the greatest gallantry and opened fire upon the crowd, who in turn replied with many shots. The crowd quickly fled before the fire of the police, but scores fell under the shower of lead and were dragged away by their friends. It was all over in fifteen minutes. One policeman was killed instantly while seven others died afterwards from wounds received in the fight. A dozen others were maimed for life, and many escaped with slight injuries. How many persons in the crowd were killed or injured was never ascertained.

Many arrests followed and no sooner had the field of conflict been cleared of the mob than Inspector Bonfield set to work caring for the dead and wounded. They were found scattered everywhere. Many of the officers lay prostrate where they had fallen, and to the north, where the mob had disputed the ground with the police, lay many an Anarchist. The scenes at the Desplaines street station presented were of the most heartrending description. Every available place in the building was utilized, and one could scarcely move about the various rooms without fear of accidentally touching a wound or jarring a fractured limb. In many instances mangled Anarchists were placed side by side with injured officers. The floors literally ran with blood dripping and flowing from the lacerated bodies of the victims of the riot. The air was filled with moans from the dying and groans of anguish from the wounded. As the news had spread throughout the city of the terrible slaughter, wives, daughters, relatives and friends of officers as well as of Anarchists, who had failed to report at home or to send tidings of their whereabouts, hastened to the station and sought admission. Being refused, these set up wailing and lamentations about the doors of the station, and the doleful sounds made the situation all the more sorrowful within.

THE DAY AFTER THE RIOT

Everything in the power of man was done to alleviate the suffering and to make the patients as comfortable as possible. Drs. Murphy, Lee and Henrotin, department physicians, were energetically at work, and, with every appliance possible, administered comparative relief and ease from the pains of the suffering victims. The more seriously wounded were taken to the County Hospital.

Throughout the night following the riot, the early morning and the day succeeding, the utmost care was given the patients, and throughout the city for days and weeks the one inquiry, the one great sympathy, was with reference to the wounded officers and their condition. Everywhere the living as well as the dead heroes were accorded the highest praise. For days and weeks the city never for one moment relaxed its interest. From the time the men were first brought into the station is was long a question as to how many would succumb to their wounds. Care and attention without ceasing served to rescue many from an untimely grave. But even those who were finally restored to their families and friends, crippled and maimed as they were, hovered between life and death on a very slender thread through many a restless night and weary day, and through long weeks and months of slow recovery. That only eight out of so great a number as were mangled, lacerated and shattered by the powerful bomb and pistol bullets fired among them, attests the care and treatment received by them.

The names of those who were killed or died soon after from their wounds were as follows: Mathias J. Degan, Michael Sheehan, George Muller, John J. Barrett, Thomas Redden, Timothy Flavin, Nels Hansen, and Timothy Sullivan. Most of them left families with young children. Some of the sixty-eight wounded men returned to active duty, but many were maimed for life and incapacitated for work. As to the casualties among the men who were present at the meeting as listeners to the speeches, many of whom were merely innocent bystanders, it is impossible to even give an estimate. Those of them who had been taken to the station were turned over to their friends as soon as they were in a condition to be moved. "The number, however," says Capt. Schack, "was largely in excess of that on the side of the police." Many of the people injured went to their homes either assisted or unassisted, and the killed were carried off by their comrades. "It is known," says Schack, "that many secret funerals were held from Anarchistic localities in the dead hour of night." The public, he says, "is not likely ever to know how many of their number suffered."

AFTERMATH OF THE HAYMARKET RIOT

Among those who were charged as ringleaders in the Haymarket riot were Alfred R. Parsons, August Spies, Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg, Oscar W. Neebe, Rudolph Schnaubelt, and William Seliger. They were charged in an indictment by the grand jury with the murder of Mathias J. Degan, the policeman who was instantly killed by the bomb. These men had been arrested by the police, except Schnaubelt, who escaped to Europe, but afterwards repeatedly denied that he had any connection with the bomb-throwing, and Parsons, who voluntarily surrendered himself. Seliger turned state's evidence on a promise of immunity.

On June 7th the trial began before Judge Joseph E. Gary, the prosecution being conducted by Julius S. Grinnell, State's Attorney. We will not attempt here to follow the course of the trial, but a verdict was rendered on August 19th, finding the defendants guilty of murder in the manner and form charged in the indictment, and fixing the penalties. All of them were condemned to death except Neebe, whose punishment was fixed at imprisonment for fifteen years. This judgment was affirmed in the fall of the next year by the supreme court

of the state, to which an appeal had been taken. Some of the men thereupon petitioned the governor for executive clemency, and the sentences of Schwab and Fielden were commuted to life imprisonment. Lingg committed suicide the day before that set for the execution of the condemned men. On the 11th of November, 1887, Spies, Fischer, Engel and Parsons were hanged at the county jail. Six years later Fielden, Neebe and Schwab were pardoned by Gov. Altgeld.

The execution of the Haymarket Anarchists closed a period in the history of the revolutionary working class movement in America. Anarchism received a setback from which it has never recovered. For a time Anarchism and Socialism were indistinguishable, and the latter movement suffered severely by the association of the two movements. In one of his public utterances, Governor Altgeld said, "The soil of America is not adapted to the growth of anarchy. While our institutions are not free from injustice, they are still the best that have yet been devised, and therefore must be maintained." The idea of crude physical force has, since the Haymarket riot, been completely disowned; and with some combination of political and economic action appears to lie the future of all labor questions and socialistic movements.

JANE ADDAMS' REVIEW

"When I first came to Chicago, in 1889," said Miss Jane Addams, "the events of the Haymarket riot were already two years old, but during that time Chicago had apparently gone through the first period of repressive measures; and during the winter of 1889-90, by the advice and with the active participation of its leading citizens, had reached the conclusion that the only cure for the acts of anarchy was free speech and an open discussion of the ills of which the opponents of government complained. Great open meetings were held every Sunday evening in the recital hall of the Auditorium which were presided over by such representative citizens as Lyman J. Gage, and where every possible shade of opinion was freely expressed." Another result of the reaction in the public attitude toward holders of extreme views often denounced as dangerous, was the era of tolerant and free discussions which became generally prevalent among all classes of the more thoughtful element of the community. The object of the "Sunset Club," organized in 1889, was stated to be, "To foster rational good-fellowship and tolerant discussion," and its requirements for membership were that any "genial and tolerant fellow" might join on approval of the executive committee, and the payment of the nominal dues. William W. Catlin, a young man of great energy and tact and much interested in the questions of the day, was the moving spirit; and the career of the club, extending through several years of activity, was a tribute to his ability in the conduct of such an organization.

AN ERA OF TOLERANT DISCUSSION

A humorous "declaration of principle" was adopted by the Sunset Club. These "principles," consisting of thirty or more, were nearly all stated in a negative form, as "no club-house, no constitution, no dress-coats, no preaching, no resolutions, no vituperation, no personalities, no late hours," etc., and were printed on its programs. A newspaper wag called it "An Unprincipled Club."

This club became very popular and their dinners were attended by men in every walk of life who had ideas to express, and every one had an opportunity to express himself freely, and was listened to with respectful attention. Of course, many discussions arose as to the validity of the various doctrines advocated, and questions were invited and answers given on almost every subject of economic importance before the people. "All sorts and all conditions of men belong to the Sunset Club," said a writer in the Chicago Herald. "It is the only club of the kind in Chicago where all meet on a level. Its discussions have the effect of making the radicals less radical, and the conservatives more liberal in their views. It is the broadest organization in the world." The founder, "Father Catlin," as he was affectionately called, said of it that it was "the only club where men of the widest, opposite and most radical views meet on the same platform, and discuss questions in which they take a vital interest, without once displaying any bitterness or descending into any personality." Many of the addresses were printed in the "Year Books" of the club and contain discussions on a great variety of topics of public interest.

The immediate result of the Haymarket riot and the labor troubles of that year was to destroy the doctrines advocated by Johan Most and his school of anarchists, and it also served as a warning that the Socialistic movement must purge itself of all anarchistic tendencies, and to hold fast to its prime doctrine of progress by political methods. "By virtue of holding to this doctrine, and after a hard struggle to make clear its non-anarchist position to the people of the United States," wrote Mr. Floyd Dell, some years ago, "the Socialists have, within twenty-four years of the Haymarket riot, achieved representation in congress, and gained control of one large city and of many smaller cities. That is to say, one of the main currents of the American revolutionary working-class movement has confined itself to a purely political channel; the other flowing through the channel of trade-unionism, seems about to break for itself a new course in some kind of industrial organization; and with these two methods, the method of political action and the method of democratic and efficient organization, appear to lie the future of the American working-class."

A monument, consisting of the figure of a policeman in uniform, was erected in Haymarket square by the citizens of Chicago, which, however, was afterwards removed to Union Park, owing to the congested conditions surrounding its location. On the base of the pedestal upon which the statue is placed is engraved the sentence, "In the name of the people of Illinois, I command peace." The monument was erected in memory of the police officers who perished in the riot.

THE TRUE DESTINY OF CHICAGO

In an address before the Chicago Historical Society, made in 1868, Hon. Isaac N. Arnold thus enlarged upon the advantages and progress of Chicago, a topic of ever-living interest to the public-spirited citizens of that day. "The position of Chicago, as the metropolitan city of the Northwest," he said, "is, I suppose, fixed. Its vast railroad system, its lake commerce through New York and by the St. Lawrence to the ocean, its connection by canal with the great central river of the continent; already the great depot of the staples of an agricultural district continental in its extent; the center of the products of the forest,

the mines, and the fields of the great central regions of the Republic; soon, by means of the Pacific Railroad, to be the greatest distributor of the products of the old Asiatic world, as it is now of the new, it must of necessity be the great city of the interior, perhaps of the nation.

"If Chicago, already so eminent in many things, aspires to become also a literary center, and to irradiate the great valley of which she is the commercial representative, she must foster with liberal aid and generous appreciation her literary institutions; more, she must encourage and honor men of culture, letters and science. Her merchant princes must learn that while it is something to build an elevator, to make a harbor, to open a canal, to construct a railroad, it is also something equally honorable, at least, to found a library, to establish a college, a university, or a school of learning. No one doubts that our citizens have the bold enterprise, the sleepless activity, the earnestness and energy which will enable them to make the most of their material advantages, but no wise citizen will be satisfied with this. It is time for Chicago to aim at a generous emulation with her sisters in the arts, in taste, in letters, in all those pursuits which give grace, elevation, and dignity to the human intellect and character.

"Chicago must not follow Carthage, or Venice, or Liverpool, or Amsterdam, alone, as models; let her learn, also, from Alexandria, Athens, and Florence. It is time, I think, that our local pride, of which, perhaps, we have a sufficient quantity, should adopt higher objects. It is time for a new advance. We have boasted long enough of our grain elevators, our railroads, our trade in wheat and lumber, our business palaces; let us now have libraries, galleries of art, scientific museums, noble architecture, and public parks, specimens of landscape gardening, and a local literature; otherwise there is danger that Chicago will become merely a place where ambitious young men will come to make money and achieve fortune, and then go elsewhere to enjoy it. You must have culture, taste, beauty, art, literature, or there is danger that our city will become a town of mere traders and money-getters; rude, unlettered, hard, sharp, and grasping. Let us sow the seed generously, and, even if we do not ourselves live to gather the fruit, those who shall hereafter reap the harvest will bless the sowers."

The foregoing remarks, so eloquently setting forth the higher considerations which should guide every community, especially such as is favored by a high degree of prosperity, were uttered most appropriately in the audience hall of the Chicago Historical Society, situated then as it is now at the corner of Ontario and North Dearborn streets, a building which was regarded as fire-proof and thus a suitable treasure-house for the collections of that society. Less than three years afterwards the building and all its precious contents were reduced to ashes in the Great Fire, but the spirit of its friends was invincible. In a few years a new home was erected on the site of the old one, and it is now filled with a vast store of historical treasures far exceeding those gathered in the old days in value and variety.

THE SEAT OF EMPIRE

The force of Mr. Arnold's address was greatly increased by his concluding remarks. "There is one consideration to which I wish to allude," he continued,

"which adds vastly to the importance of our field of labor and the responsibility of those who are to shape the future of the great central regions of the Republic. To-day it needs no prophecy to see that the 'Star of Empire' will rest upon the great valley of the Mississippi. Here in this great central region of the Republic, is to be—perhaps, since the close of the rebellion, it is not too much to say, is already—the seat of empire. It is a truth, which the world is learning to recognize, that the people of the great valley are likely to be broader and more national in their views, less sectional, perhaps less provincial, than their brethren east and south.

"It is a curious fact, that the leading minds of the late war—those who controlled events in civil and military affairs—most of them originated and were trained in the West. Lincoln, the master spirit, the representative American of the age, drawing his great ideas from the region of which he was the outgrowth; Chase, who, as a financier, was not inferior to the younger Pitt; Stanton, the war minister, of whom it has been so often said, as it was of Carnot, 'he organized victory'; Grant, the ever victorious; Sherman, whose pen was as sharp as his sword; the dashing Sheridan, the equal of the ablest of Napoleon's marshals—all of them, except Chase, born and raised west of the Alleghenies; and the minister of finance came so early to the West that its influence is clearly marked in his character.

"What is done here, then, in this great central city of the continent, this half-way house between two oceans, is to influence, for good or evil, our whole country from sea to sea. The responsibility of a vast future is upon us. We cannot escape it. 'No personal significance or insignificance,' in the language of our great representative man, 'can relieve us from it.' What we do, or leave undone, will tell over a vast area and upon an untold future for good or evil. Let us rise to the magnitude of our position and our duties. Let us make this hall the receptacle of all the treasures of the past; let us gather here all that there is in the way of man's past history, which may serve to aid, guide, and to enlighten the difficulties of the future.

"Within these walls the merchant, the artisan, the statesman may come, away from the noisy world outside, and commune with the great spirits of all ages. Here the poets, the moralists, the orators, the law-givers, the philosophers, the statesmen of all ages and nations, may be consulted as guides and advisers. Here, especially, let us provide that every student of American history may follow our nation from its feeblest beginnings, through Indian, colonial, revolutionary, and progressive annals, down to and through the recent drama of civil war; and doing this, we shall ourselves do something worthy of being remembered."

MOSHER AND HIS MEMORIAL PHOTOGRAPHS

An odd genius, by the name of Charles D. Mosher, flourished in Chicago before the fire of 1871. He had a photograph gallery at 146 Lake street at that time, and some years after we find him at 125 State street. In 1883 he deposited some thousands of memorial photographs in a vault of the city hall. These photographs he had been taking for this purpose for two years previously, and they were to remain there until the second Centennial, 1976. He says in the "Key" to the list of names, printed in a small volume describing the plan, "the photo-

graphs are cabinet size, and photographed with that accuracy that there is not so much as one single hair added to or taken from the likenesses."

These memorial photographs were to constitute a "Memorial Offering," and "are to be deeded to the City of Chicago." Mosher was a sort of "Colonel Sellers" in the expansivenes of his ideas, in which were included plans for providing for Chicago great public buildings for all sorts of purposes—a museum, an art gallery, opera house, and a library; all to cluster around the nucleus furnished by his collection of "Memorial Photographs." Just how this was to be accomplished was not made quite clear. In his plan, elaborately detailed, he quite eclipses the well known "Plan of Chicago," recently presented to the public. He also gives his views at length on "the duty every person owes to his fellowman," and says he has given to this subject "much thought and study," and we may well believe that he had after a perusal of the little volume which he wrote on the subject. He says that the subject "has ever been in my thoughts, day and night; even in the busy street I have passed and repassed without seeing my dearest and best friends, being so absorbed in thought, developing this work for the Memorial Offering that I now submit, with my heart full and overflowing with zeal, and bequeath this immortal legacy to Chicago."

The little volume referred to was apparently issued before the photographs had been put away for posterity to gaze upon. He requests all persons who have sat for their memorial photograph to send him a short biographical notice of their lives, and a "certified family record, which might become of great value, and the only connecting link to their descendants in proving heirships to inheritances." At the end is printed in small type sixteen pages of names, three columns to a page, of the fortunate sitters, whose photographs are to be enclosed in the vault. This list he promises to extend in a later edition.

When the City Hall was demolished in 1908, to give place to the splendid new building now standing on the same site, the Mosher collection of Memorial Photographs was encountered by the authorities when the contents of the vaults were about the be removed. "Memories of many years," says the Tribune in its issue of August 12th, "were stirred yesterday when the photographs and biographies of Chicago's pioneer citizens were removed from the Mosher Memorial vault in the city hall to another vault in the temporary quarters at 200 Randolph street. Five albums full of the faces of men whose names for the most part are now know across the continent, were opened for a moment and then closed up again, to remain secure from light and air until 1976. Thirty-five packages were left untouched by the order of Commissioner of Public Works, John J. Hanberg. The commissioner even was enabled to withstand the supplications of the spectators when it was found one package was designated 'The Ladies.'"

There were present on this interesting occasion, Miss Lousie Mosher, a cousin of C. D. Mosher, who gave the collection to the city, Miss Valentine Smith, at that time the city archivist, and others. The brief glimpses taken of the pictures, however, afforded and opportunity to observe the character of the collection. "There are no men in Chicago now with faces like those," commented Commissioner Hanberg. "I suppose the driving life we lead prevents it. In these pictures there is a sort of simple courtliness which is rare now, although I do not think we are any the less polite in our intentions than were our fathers. Perhaps the difference is that they had time to be courteous and we sometimes

think we have not. And, if you notice, nearly every face is pleasant, humorous almost, and kindly."

Charles D. Mosher, indeed, has secured a lasting hold on fame by the gift of this collection, and he will certainly receive the thanks of posterity for his efforts in its formation and preservation, and he will well deserve them.

THE COMMERCE OF CHICAGO

A broad, general review of the economical development of Chicago, by the late Mr. Franklin H. Head, an accomplished and well-informed writer and prominent citizen, will appropriately find a place here. "The location of a great commercial metropolis is never an accident or the result of simple human endeavor. Its position must be one entitling it to supreme advantage in utilizing the forces and facilities of nature. The location of Chicago for convenience in the transaction of commercial affairs was determined long before the ships of Columbus sailed from the port of Palos. The commerce of the red men of America was small; was transacted amid disadvantages which would now seem to be overwhelming; but the commerce between the vast districts which may be described as the valley of the St. Lawrence, which includes the whole territory tributary to the great lakes, and the valley of the Mississippi, centered at Chicago long before Richard, the Lion-Hearted, fought for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre, or before Bayard, the Knight without fear and without reproach, witnessed the expiring glories of the orders of knight-erantry. In those ancient days, pre-historic so far as America is concerned, the red men of the east skirted the borders of the great lakes in their frail canoes, voyaging toward the Mississippi valley, and landed their light cargoes at the Chicago river, preparatory to the brief portage to the Desplaines, the nearest tributary of the Mississippi. Here they met and traded or fought with the wild peoples from the great Mississippi valley who sought the Chicago river as the entering point of the vast chain of inland lakes and the valley of the St. Lawrence.

"Fifty years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers the first white men stood upon the banks of the Chicago river, and in 1673 Indian guides led Joliet and Marquette to this same point in their perilous journey toward unknown regions of the farther west. At this same point in 1685 a primitive fortification was erected as a protection to the fur-traders and missionaries who sought from this center to establish a commerce, and to Christianize the roving Indian bands of the great interior. In 1795, Gen. Anthony Wayne, who thus early recognized the strategic importance of this location, by the terms of a treaty concluded with the Indians, secured to the United States the Indian title to a tract of land six miles square at the mouth of the Chicago river.

REASONS FOR ITS LOCATION

"The causes of the growth of Chicago are not far to seek. They were the same causes which induced the Indians to make here their portage between the two great valleys which today contain the bulk of the wealth, population and enterprise of the North American continent. Here was the only available harbor for many miles, and the natural halting place for travelers in either direction

around the southern end of Lake Michigan. When the earliest public work of magnitude was undertaken in the State of Illinois (the canal connecting the Waters of Lake Michigan with those of the Misissippi), it followed the route which for ages had been the path of the Indians and the fur-traders. When the earliest railroads in the new Northwest were planned, their objective point was still the mouth of the same river, which to them had been the center of the modest commerce of the early days.

"When at a later period of excessive railroad building in the surrounding states, scores of cities were nearly bankrupted by their isuing of bonds as an aid to the building of such roads, no inducement of such character was needed for Chicago. The promoters of such lines realized that their earning capacity depended upon their facilities for delivering freight and passengers in this center of western commerce. During the season of navigation, the chain of the great lakes has been an invaluable factor in the transportation of the coarser grades of merchandise and of farm products between the East and the West, and at Chicago has been the principal point of transfer of such merchandise between the vessels and the railroads. Thus it is that the untutored savages, ages before a white man had seen the mouth of the Chicago River, had selected the route and marked the course of commerce and empire.

"The point having been thus settled by geographical position where the products of the great Northwest should be shipped eastward, as well as where should be the great distributing point, for the Mississippi valley, of the merchandise from the eastern states, the rapid growth of the city was aided by other circumstances. Its favorable climate was a powerful factor. The breezes from the lakes and prairies were alike pure and invigorating. and gave a summer climate where all classes of business could go forward without delay from the excessive heat which afflicted St. Louis, for a long period Chicago's most formidable rival.

CHICAGO'S AGRICULTURAL TRIBUTARIES

"After its favored geographical position, the cause which above all other causes combined accounts for the rapid and continuous growth of Chicago, is the excellence of the country tributary to the city. Nowhere else upon the face of the earth can be found so large an area of land of equal fertility. A line drawn west, northwest or southwest from Chicago seven hundred miles long would scarcely touch an acre of worthless land. Chicago is the principal market for the states of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas and Michigan, as well as competing on more than equal terms for the trade of all the regions between it and the Pacific Ocean. The greater portion of this vast region specially tributary to Chicago was prairie land and, therefore, capable at once of yielding crops without waiting for the tedious process of clearing up the timber land, required in most of the country to the eastward. This aided doubly in the rapid growth of the city, by making it at once the market for the vast grain crops of the Western prairies and the lumber market for the heavily-wooded state of Michigan and the northern portions of Wisconsin, whence the demands of a timberless region were mainly supplied.

"The foundation of the greatness of Chicago has been, first, its commerce, as already roughly outlined; and secondly, and later, its manufactures. The first requirement for supremacy in manufacturing is cheap power, and here Chicago is again fortunately located. Near at hand, and with the best facilities for transportation, are the vast coal fields of Illinois and Indiana. The coal is not of the highest grade, and does not for all purposes equal the richer coals of Pennsylvania or Ohio, but it answers admirably for the chief uses for which fuel is required, the production of steam and its endless applications. In the production of iron and steel, the cheap water transportation of the incomparable ores of the Lake Superior region enables Chicago to bring together the fuel and ore at a rate at least equally favorable with Pennsylvania and Ohio, where coal is somewhat cheaper and ore more expensive.

THE MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRIES

"In the early days of Western agriculture the scarcity of money among the farming population compelled them as a rule to market their grain of all kinds as soon as possible after its harvest. Increasing prosperity, however, enabled them to use it more profitably by condensing several pounds of grain into a pound of meat, and thus laying the foundations of the vast beef and pork industries of the West. Here, again, the location of Chicago was exceptionally fortunate. Indian corn is the principal cereal used in the fattening of animals, and, considering its facilities for distributing meat products, no other location equals that of Chicago. Its contiguity to the richest portion of the great corn belt enabled it at an early date to pass beyond its earliest rival, Cincinnati, which first wore the title of 'Porkopolis,' from the fact of the earlier settlement of its tributary country. The growth of the meat-packing industry of Chicago is one of the marvels of modern commerce. It is, too, an illustration of the value of concentration of capital into large enterprises, whereby great economies are effected, as compared with the same amount of business done in numerous small enterprises, which characterized the earlier day.

"A couple of generations ago every farmer usually killed and cured his own meat, and sold his surplus animals to the butcher in the neighboring village. This butcher packed a few barrels of pork or beef, and if he thus accumulated more than would supply the local market during the summer months, he shipped the surplus to the nearest large town. Such method, however, is very costly and wasteful as compared with the system at present pursued at the great meat-packing centers. Here the animals to be slaughtered are collected in vast numbers, where by aid of steam and machinery the slaughtering, packing and dressing is performed for a tithe of its cost in a small establishment where these facilities could not be afforded. This, however, is the least of the economies rendered possible by the modern system. The greatest advantage is in the utilization of what in a small industry would be known as the waste products. It may be stated emphatically that in a large establishment there are no waste products. Some use, and the best use, is found for every portion of the animal. Every portion containing lard, tallow or oil is made to yield the whole of its fatty product for the uses to which it is best adapted. The stomach of the hog furnishes the pepsin of commerce, whereby the stomachs of the world's dys-

peptics are reinforced. Glue is extracted from the hoofs, the bristles go to the brushmaker, the hair to the plasterer; the bones are dried and ground to form the bone-dust of commerce. The blood and every other portion of the animal which remains after all that is of other value has been extracted, is mixed with the bone-dust and sold as fertilizers, used extensively in the parts of the country where the soils are poor or partially exhausted.

"Thus the value of what to the small country butcher was worthless, now gives a satisfactory profit to the packer in a large city, and the value of the so-called 'waste products' is so great as to render it possible for hogs or cattle to be shipped several hundred miles to a great packing-house, and the meat shipped back to the consumer whence it started, and sold at a lower price than it could be produced at home. The farmer can make more money by selling his hogs and buying pork, hams and bacon, than by undertaking to be his own butcher. The result has been the building up in Chicago of a number of great packing houses having branches in other cities the combined business of which exceeds that of any other branch of manufacturing or trade in the city."

THE SEAL OF CHICAGO

When Chicago was as yet but a village, that is, in November, 1835, the trustees adopted a seal which was a copy of the obverse side of a United States gold coin, described as a spread eagle, having three arrows held in its talons, and the words "United States of America" surrounding it. But as this design had no special local significance, being merely a copy of the design on the coinage of the general government, it was dropped at a later time and another design adopted. In general a seal is an attestation of authority, a token of authenticity. "The people, by law," says Francis A. Eastman, in the City Manual for 1909, "having designated certain persons to exercise specific duties, also adopted a symbol pertaining to the office, which impressed upon or attached to all official documents, certified that they were issued by formal legal process and in accord with the laws of the land."

After Chicago was incorporated as a city in 1837, a new seal was adopted, the design in its general features continuing in use to the present time. This seal "was designed originally by Alderman Dr. Josiah C. Goodhue in 1837," says George H. Fergus, in a letter to the compiler of the Chicago City Manual, written in 1911. The ordinance authorizing the seal described it as follows: "The seal of Chicago shall be represented by a shield with a sheaf of wheat on its center, a ship in full sail on the right, a sleeping infant on top, an Indian with a bow and arrow on the left, and with the motto 'Urbs in Horto' at the bottom of the shield, with the inscription 'City of Chicago, Incorporated, 4th March, 1837,' around the outside edge of said seal." Commenting upon the design of this seal, Mr. Fergus in the letter referred to above, said: "In spite of the crudeness of it as a work of art, still it had a simple meaning that was not difficult of comprehension by all the inhabitants of our city in the early days."

That part of the description of the seal of 1837 which states that there shall be represented "a sleeping infant on top" was amended in 1854, to read, "over the shield an infant reposes on a sea-shell." In 1893, this language was altered so as to read "a sleeping infant on top, lying on its back on a shell," though

these changes did not seem to alter the earlier descriptions to any great extent. In 1905, "a new design," furnished by Dr. B. J. Cigrand, was authorized by city ordinance, repeating and amplifying the description given above, and expressing it in the language of heraldry, but still without making any essential change in the design. The seal "could be used with or without colors," it was said, the further explanation being added that "for general use the plain impression in white containing the figures as given above shall be sufficient."

Of course in all the figures thus represented and described they are supposed to have a symbolic meaning which may be left to the imagination of readers to supply. The design of the seal, as it usually appears at the present time, represents the "infant" in a sitting position only remotely suggestive of "sleeping" or "reposing," though in the seal of 1837 the figure is represented in a reclining position. But we must reconcile this slight inconsistency with the description given in the several ordinances referred to in the best way we can.

CHAPTER XIII

FORMATIVE PERIOD OF THE WORLD'S FAIR

FIRST SUGGESTION OF THE FAIR—PROPOSED WORLD'S FAIR IN 1892—MOVEMENT IN CHICAGO TO SECURE THE FAIR—EFFORTS OF OTHER CITIES IN SAME DIRECTION—INFLUENCES BROUGHT TO BEAR ON CONGRESS—INITIAL CORPORATION FORMED—SUBSCRIPTIONS TO STOCK—ARGUMENTS BEFORE CONGRESS—CHICAGO SELECTED AS SITE OF FAIR—CONGRESS PROVIDES FOR A "COMMISSION"—POWERS OF COMMISSION—THOMAS W. PALMER ITS PRESIDENT—THE ILLINOIS CORPORATION—NAMES OF DIRECTORS—"WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION," NAME CHOSEN—LYMAN J. GAGE ELECTED PRESIDENT—SELECTION OF A SITE—LAKE FRONT FAVORED AT FIRST—JACKSON PARK FINALLY DECIDED UPON—TWO GOVERNING BODIES THREATEN CONFUSION—HARMONY SECURED BY "COMPACT"—CONSTRUCTION DEPARTMENT CREATED—D. H. BURNHAM CHOSEN CHIEF—GENERAL PLANS CONSIDERED—WILLIAM T. BAKER SUCCEEDS GAGE AS PRESIDENT—BAKER IS SUCCEEDED BY H. N. HIGINBOTHAM—HIGINBOTHAM BECOMES GUIDING SPIRIT OF THE EXPOSITION—BURNHAM'S SPLENDID SERVICES—FINANCIAL LEGISLATION BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY—TEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS SUBSCRIBED—THE PRESIDENT ISSUES PROCLAMATION ANNOUNCING THE FAIR—ESTIMATES OF COST—COUNCIL OF ADMINSTRATION—CONGRESSS ASKED FOR DIRECT APPROPRIATION—"SOUVENIR COIN" MEASURE PASSED—DISAPPOINTMENT IN SALES AT PROPOSED PREMIUMS—SLOW SALE OF EXPOSITION BONDS—THE DIRECTORY AT THE END OF ITS RESOURCES—THE RAILROAD COMPANIES COME TO THE RESCUE.

BEGINNINGS OF THE WORLD'S FAIR MOVEMENT

At the annual meeting of the stockholders of the Inter-State Industrial Exposition, held November 14th, 1885, Mr. Edwin Lee Brown, one of the directors, offered the following resolution, which was adopted: "That it is the sense of this meeting that a great World's Fair be held in Chicago in the year 1892, the four hundreth anniversary of the landing of Columbus in America." This resolution at once attracted public attention and became the subject of much discussion in the press of the city and the country at large. "Many public men who were interviewed," says Andreas, "heartily commended the proposed World's Exposition, and it was deemed peculiarly appropriate for Chicago, the youngest, most enterprising and representative American city, to celebrate the landing of the great navigator of Genoa upon the new continent."

The celebration of the Centennial of the inauguration of George Washington as the first president of the United States in 1889, in Chicago, gave a fresh impetus to the movement for a World's Fair. The assembling on April 30th

of that year of one hundred thousand people in eight mass meetings, and of two hundred thousand school children in over two hundred meetings, simultaneously, created such enthusiasm that it was considered an opportune time to prepare for the World's Fair in 1892. On July 22d, 1889, the Chicago Common Council, in a series of resolutions, requested the Mayor to appoint a committee of one hundred representative citizens to take charge of the matter, and use all honorable means to secure the location of the Fair in Chicago. The Mayor on his own motion increased the number of citizens composing the committee to two hundred and fifty. On the first of August following, the committee met in the Council chamber and adopted resolutions in harmony with the purposes expressed in the Council resolutions.

While this was going on in Chicago, other cities were not idle. The people of New York and Washington were also holding meetings of a similar character, and making plans to have the World's Fair held in each one of those cities, and later St. Louis also took steps to the same end. New York proceeded to appoint committees on site, legislation, finance, etc., taking it for granted that the Fair would be held in that city as soon as the request to that effect should be made to Congress. These committees apparently did not work in harmony, and there was no system by which one knew what was being done by the others.

ORGANIZATION OF THE MOVEMENT

Chicago organized by the appointment of eleven standing committees, with the same secretary for each committee. Thus through this secretary all serious friction was avoided, and the committeee moved together to the accomplishment of the one result. Mr. Edward F. Cragin was the secretary appointed for each of the committees, and his account of these preliminary steps is condensed from his published statement made afterwards in the New York Mail and Express.

The membership of these committees was enlarged from time to time until there were over six thousand citizens of Chicago and the surrounding country members of these main committees and the sub-committees appointed from them. The question of site was not discussed by any of them, except so far as to prepare a number of sites which were to be presented to Congress as being available. Men thoroughly familiar with all the arguments in favor of Chicago were sent into nearly every state of the Union, with a view of influencing the constituents of the members of Congress in their several districts. Thus the congressmen in a large number of districts were deluged with petitions from labor unions, manufacturers' associations, etc., and many state legislatures also passed resolutions favoring Chicago as the location of the proposed World's Fair.

It thus came about that before Congress assembled the congressmen were made fully aware of the wishes of their constituents, among which the preference for Chicago largely preponderated. Effective work was done by one of the standing committees, that on National Agitation, of which Thomas B. Bryan was the chairman. "We were very careful in all our speeches and documents," writes Mr. Cragin, "not to present our case as that of Chicago against New York, but rather to show the advantage that would accrue to the great interior by having the Fair held in Chicago."

The argument was made that foreign nations would prefer to exhibit in

New York, and to meet this argument (again using the words of the account), "we corresponded with every American consul in the world, asking them to inquire of the manufacturers, and those who would be liable to exhibit, whether a seacoast or interior location for the World's Fair would be most desirable to exhibitors; and these answers were published and furnished the congressmen, and showed quite a majority in favor of an interior city as against a seacoast city."

When Congress assembled, New York, Washington, St. Louis, and Chicago had each a strong delegation working in behalf of their various cities. "New York's delegation was specially strong and ably conducted," writes Mr. Cragin. "Messrs. Platt, Depew, Hiscock, Belden, Flower, Shepard, Whitney, Fitch, Grant, and others of national prominence were giving superb banquets and dinners, and working tooth and nail for the success of New York. Chicago men from the first urged that a vote might be taken promptly; this, however, they failed to secure, being out-maneuvered by the New York managers." The excitement ran high and great pressure was brought to bear upon congressmen to obtain their support. When the vote was at length reached it was found that Chicago received nearly as many votes as had been pledged to her, and it then appeared to the astonishment of the Eastern people that Chicago from the first had by far the largest number of votes in her favor.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A principal source of information regarding the World's Fair is found in the "History of the World's Columbian Exposition," edited by Rossiter Johnson, and published in four large volumes, in 1897. This history was authorized and paid for by the Exposition. In the preface to the work the editor says: "The materials from which the History has been compiled are the records of proceeding of the Board of Directors, and documents on file in the general offices; the reports of Harlow N. Higinbotham, President of the Company; George R. Davis, Director General; Daniel H. Burnham, Director of Works; Mrs. Potter Palmer, President of the Board of Lady Managers, and other reports by subordinate officers."

It appears that the editor never visited the Exposition at any time, and his work on the history therefore may be possibly lacking in the inspiration and first hand knowledge to be derived only from personal contact with the scenes and incidents on the spot. The work, however, is as full and satisfactory as could be expected when it is remembered that it is compiled mainly from official reports. The most important of these reports was that of the President of the Exposition, Mr. Higinbotham, whose volume of nearly five hundred pages, separately published, contains an excellent account of the inception and progress of the Exposition, infused with a spirit of enthusiasm and sympathy with the subject that is most admirable. This report has been largely drawn upon for the account herewith given of the great Exposition of 1893. The "History of the World's Columbian Exposition," above mentioned, will be referred to as the "History," while the President's report will be mentioned simply as the "Report."

In a letter written to the editor of the History by Mr. Higinbotham, giving

some general outline of its scope and purpose, he said: "If asked to write a History, or tell the story of the World's Columbian Exposition, and it had not been my good fortune to personally witness its grandeur, I should wish to take such testimony as would convince me beyond a doubt that unlike the vision of St. John, it did really have a material existence; that it was as real as it was beautiful; that it did have thrust into it by the hand of man in great abundance, his richest, ripest and rarest creations; that it was made to throb and pulsate as if it had breathed into it the breath of life; that it was a Mecca that attracted to its shrine pilgrims from all quarters of the globe; that yonder in a new city, in a far country, there sprung up a spectacle that was as awe-inspiring as it was unlooked for and unexpected."

The Directors paid the publishers, Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., of New York, twenty-five thousand dollars for publishing the "History," and received three hundred sets printed on large paper, and bound in half morocco. These were distributed as gifts to members of the official bodies connected with the conduct of affairs, and to various public institutions. Other copies were placed on sale by the publishers in the usual manner.

FORMATION OF INITIAL CORPORATION

The first step in the formation of a corporation was taken on August 14th, 1889. On this date, commisioners to take subscriptions in the corporation to be known as the "World's Exposition of 1892," were authorized by the Secretary of State of Illinois. The capital stock was placed at five millions of dollars divided into 500.000 shares of ten dollars each. The commissioners named were De Witt C. Cregier, Ferdinand W. Peck, George Schneider, Anthony F. Seeberger, William C. Seipp, John R. Walsh, and E. Nelson Blake.

On April 9th, 1890, the capital stock had been fully subscribed, and articles of incorporation were issued, the object stated being "the holding of an International Exposition, or World's Fair, in the City of Chicago, and State of Illinois, to commemorate, on its four hundreth anniversary, the Discovery of America."

In making subscriptions to the stock of the World's Fair it was clearly understood that the subscribers would not likely to have a full return of the money thus invested, much less any profit therefrom. At the Centennial Exposition of 1876, the subscribers had one-third of their subscriptions returned to them afterwards. and it was thought as much might be expected from our own Fair. It is likely that a result as favorable as this might have been realized had it not been for the financial panic that broke upon the country during the progress of the Fair. As it turned out these subscribers eventually received fifteen per cent. of their investment, which the final statements of the Fair show. It spoke well for the generosity and public spirit of the people that they subscribed as liberally as they did in the face of the dubious prospect of any returns from the investment in the stock of the World's Fair.

ARGUMENTS BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

Committees were appointed by Congress to listen to such arguments as might be advanced by the different cities contending for the Fair. Mayor Cregier,

Thomas B. Bryan, and Edward T. Jeffery appeared before a committee of the United States Senate and presented the claims of Chicago. In the course of his speech Mayor Cregier said: "The people of the city of Chicago are united in the hope and desire and determination that, wherever this Exposition is held, wherever in the wisdom of this Congress of the United States it shall be assigned, it shall excel all former events of the kind, and not only prove eminently successful, but comport with the grandeur and dignity of this great and progressive nation. To this end Chicago stands ready to lend her support. Chicago has been growing, under the name of a city, only fifty-six years, but during those years the city was wiped out by the most terrible calamity that history records. She has arisen, recuperated and resuscitated by the power of will and new blood, to the proud position of second city on the continent, and metropolis of the West."

Mr. Bryan made an argument to have the Fair held in an interior city rather than at a city on the seacoast. He said: "The argument against holding the Fair in the interior, based upon the supposed loss of foreign visitors and exhibits because it is not held at the seaport, has been completely exploded by the prompt and hearty responses from leading merchants and the ablest journals of Europe in favor of Chicago." This argument was reinforced by numerous citations from letters written by European manufacturers in answer to a circular of inquiry which had been previously issued.

Mr. Jeffery presented to the committee a document certifying that five millions of dollars had been subscribed for the enterprise in Chicago. To this he added some striking statistics showing the construction activities of the city in the recent period, the receipts and shipments, the value of manufactured goods, the ability of Chicago to take care of a multitude of visitors, the railroad facilities, and the immense tonnage of its lake commerce. He also paid a tribute to the energy and enterprise of the people of Chicago.

The discussion of the question of the location of the Fair now shifted to the House of Representatives, where at length the vote in favor of Chicago was taken. Both houses concurred and the President signed the bill on April 25th, 1890. The Act provided for "celebrating the four hundreth anniversary of the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, by holding an international exhibition of arts, industries, manufactures, and the product of the soil, mine, and sea, in the City of Chicago."

THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN COMMISSION

The Act of Congress designated the name of the Fair as the "World's Columbian Exposition," and it remained throughout its existence under that name, though oftener referred to simply as the World's Fair. The Act provided for a governing body to be known as the "World's Columbian Commission," and conferred upon it large powers. It was empowered "in its discretion to accept for the purposes of the 'World's Columbian Exposition' such site as may be selected and offered, together with plans and specifications of buildings to be erected for such purpose, at the expense of and tendered by the Corporation organized under the laws of the State of Illinois, known as 'The World's Exposition of 1892.' Provided, that said Commission shall be satisfied that the

said Corporation has an actual *bona fide* and valid subscription to its capital stock which will secure the payment of at least five millions of dollars, of which not less than five hundred thousand dollars shall have been paid in, and that the further sum of five millions of dollars, making in all ten millions of dollars, will be provided by said Corporation in ample time for its needful use during the prosecution of the work for the complete preparation for said Exposition."

Other powers were conferred upon the Commission, such as determining the plan and scope of the Exposition, allotting space for exhibitors, and preparing the classification, appointing judges and examiners, and generally having charge of all intercourse with the exhibitors and foreign nations. It was also required to appoint a Board of Lady Managers. A government building was provided for in the Act at a cost of four hundred thousand dollars, and the entire sum for which the government should be liable on account of the Exposition was not to exceed one and one-half millions of dollars. Articles imported from foreign countries for the sole purpose of exhibition were to be admitted duty free, but if afterwards any articles were sold for consumption in the United States they were to pay the customary duty.

The striking feature of this legislation was that it put the Fair under a dual authority. "In the planning of so great and complicated an undertaking," says the author of the History from which we have already quoted, "it is never possible to anticipate all contingencies, and in this instance it was inevitable that somewhere there should be a clash of jurisdiction between the two governing bodies. As a matter of fact, while many members of the National Commission served the Exposition faithfully and creditably, yet the Corporation not only provided by far the greater part of the necessary funds, but also did the greater part of the work."

The World's Columbian Commission, according to the Act, was to consist of two commissioners from each state and territory of the United States and the District of Columbia, besides eight commissioners at large, and was to exist no longer than until the first of January, 1898. As we shall presently see, the authority of this Commission seriously conflicted with that of the Illinois Corporation, and at one stage of affairs threatened to endanger the success of the Fair, but through mutual forbearance and harmony agreements, all friction was obviated, and the difficulties of the dual control overcome. The Commission was the body henceforth recognized by Congress and the President.

It was provided in the Act that the President should appoint the Commissioners, those from the states and territories on the nominations of the various governors, the others by the president directly. The two members of the Commission appointed from Illinois were Charles H. Deere, of Moline, and Adlai T. Ewing, of Chicago. On June 26th, 1890, the Commission held its first meeting, and elected Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, of Michigan, as President of the World's Columbian Commission. Mr. Palmer remained president throughout the entire period of the Fair.

THE ILLINOIS CORPORATION

We will now follow the fortunes of the Illinois corporation. A few days before the Act of Congress was passed a meeting of the stockholders in the Illinois

corporation was held and forty-five directors were chosen. This was on the 10th of April, 1890. The names of the gentlemen composing this first board are important and will be interesting no doubt to the readers of this history, and are as follows: Owen F. Aldis, Samuel W. Allerton, William T. Baker, Thomas B. Bryan, Edward B. Butler, William H. Colvin, De Witt C. Cregier, Mark L. Crawford, George R. Davis, James W. Ellsworth, John V. Farwell, Jr., Stuyvesant Fish, Lyman J. Gage, Harlow N. Higinbotham, Charles L. Hutchinson, Edward T. Jeffery, Elbridge G. Keith, Herman H. Kohlsaat, Rollin A. Keyes, Marshall M. Kirkman, Edward F. Lawrence, Thies J. Lefens, Cyrus M. McCormick, Joseph Medill, Andrew McNally, Robert Nelson, Adolph Nathan, John J. P. Odell, Ferdinand W. Peck, Erskine M. Phelps, Potter Palmer, J. C. Peasley, Eugene S. Pike, Martin A. Ryerson, Anthony F. Seeberger, W. E. Strong, Charles H. Schwab, Charles H. Wacker, Robert A. Waller, Edwin Walker, Frederick S. Winston, C. C. Wheeler, John R. Walsh, Otto Young, Charles T. Yerkes.

QUALIFICATIONS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD

"In selecting this Board, the leading spirits in the movement aimed to choose from among the prominent citizens men whose business ability was recognized, and who could be counted upon as possessing both the time and the inclination to serve the interests of the proposed Exposition. The latter qualifications were considered most essential, and gentlemen of the greatest prominence and business ability in several instances withdrew in favor of younger men, who could be more easily drawn upon for hard service."

Mr. Lyman J. Gage was chosen president of the Board of Directors on the 12th of April, 1890, and, on June 12th following, a special meeting of the stockholders was held, at which the name of the initial organization was changed from the "World's Exposition of 1892," to the "World's Columbian Exposition," thus making the name identical with that used in the Act of Congress. The two organizations, however, remained separate, the one created under the Act being known as the "Commission," and the other as the "Board of Directors," or more simply as the "Directory."

The name thus adopted was ridiculed by Eugene Field, one of the keenest paragraphers of the day, as a cumbersome title. "We hear nobody calling it the Columbian Exposition," he wrote. "That title fell into disfavor the very moment it was adopted by the authorities. The people never would have it. It is the World's Fair in spite of the sesquipedalian wiseacres whose talents seem to lie in the direction of unpopularity. In all official documents and formal statements, however, the name remains as adopted, but in speech and writing it is, as Field said, disregarded by the people, and the Exposition is known simply as the World's Fair.

SELECTION OF A SITE

Now that the organization of the working forces of the Exposition was completed, the Directory began to turn its attention to such matters as required early and decisive action. The first and most important question to be settled was

that of the site upon which the buildings were to be placed. Sites were tendered upon the north, west and south sides of the city, the most available of which seemed to be the Lake Front east of Michigan avenue, though the area of this tract would be insufficient without extensive filling towards the lake. "While this area was not regarded as sufficient," says a writer in the authorized "History of the World's Columbian Exposition," "It was thought that the most important features of the Exposition could be located upon this site and the remainder separated from it and placed upon another site at Jackson Park. It was even thought practicable to fill a sufficient amount of land to enable placing the entire Exposition upon the Lake Front. This idea had many champions in spite of the great obstacles it presented. Its friends were willing to attack grave difficulties for the furtherance of the plan, on account of its many attractive features and the permanent benefits that would result to the city.

"Could it have been possible to locate the entire Exposition at this point, the comfort of the visiting public, relieved of the necessity for securing transportation facilities to reach the Exposition, and the permanent benefit to the city occurring from the location of a magnificent park in the heart of the business district, would have been advantages worthy of great sacrifices, but nothing less than the whole plan would answer the purpose."

Nevertheless the Board passed a resolution favoring the Lake Front site, provided that the city of Chicago should fill up a space to include a total area of three hundred acres. An obstacle was at once met with in the refusal of the War Department to allow filling beyond the government dock line. Another resolution was now adopted including both the Lake Front and Jackson Park for the uses of the Exposition. Further obstacles to the use of the Lake Front appeared in the opposition of the property owners upon Michigan avenue to the erection of buildings at this point; and the heavy expense of filling the submerged portion of the land even as far as permitted by the government.

Meantime a committee examined the Jackson Park site, and, with the assistance of the well known landscape architect, Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted, made a report to the Board favoring this site. The Illinois legislature passed an act authorizing the Board of South Park Commissioners to grant the use of such parks as it controlled to the Exposition. Jackson Park embraced about five hundred acres in its area, and at that time was very slightly improved. The South Park Commissioners tendered to the Board of Directors of the Exposition the use of Jackson Park and the wide strip of land, afterwards known as the Midway, connecting this park with Washington Park, subject to the condition that the buildings to be erected should be removed at the close of the Exposition. The dual site idea was at length practically abandoned, and plans were prepared for the grounds and buildings to be placed in Jackson Park, and were submitted to the President of the United States for his approval, whose proclamation and invitation to foreign nations to participate in the exhibition of products was now awaited. These plans were of course far from having been matured, but on the basis of the requirements for such buildings as were known to be necessary a general plan was prepared under the direction of Mr. John W. Root, whose architectural genius and co-ordinating talent were invaluable for the purpose. This was among the last of Mr. Root's services to the Exposition.

"At one time is seemed certain," wrote a correspondent, in giving a sketch of the early history of the Fair, who said he obtained his information from Mr. Joseph Medill, "that it would be located on Lake Front Park, the park that fronts the breakwater harbor between Randolph and Twelfth streets, and had it not been for Mr. Lyman J. Gage, it would have been located there; and that mistake would have been a blunder of such serious, if not fatal character, that all other mistakes would have been as dust in the balance by comparison." Fortunately, however, this project "was held back from consummation long enough to enable the minority of the commission to bring about a reaction," and so, finally, its location at Jackson Park was established.

BOARD OF REFERENCE AND CONTROL

In order to secure harmonious action on the part of the two governing bodies which we have described, a committee from each of them arranged a "Compact." Under this Compact a Board of Reference and Control, consisting of eight members from each of the bodies, was created, upon which was conferred all the powers and duties of the Executive Committee of the Commission on the one hand, and of the like committee of the Directory on the other. To this Board was to be referred all matters of difference, and their action thereon should be conclusive, thus insuring harmonious action in the future. This Board of sixteen members, also called the Committee of Conference, was a compact organization of strong men, and its influence and work were powerful in securing the success of the Exposition. The members from the Commission were Thomas W. Palmer, of Michigan; James A. McKenzie, of Kentucky; George V. Massey, of Delaware; William Lindsay, of Kentucky; Michael H. de Young, of California; Thomas M. Waller, of Connecticut; Elijah B. Martindale, of Indiana; and J. W. St. Clair, of West Virginia. Subsequently Messrs. Lindsay and McKenzie were succeeded by R. L. Saunders, of Mississippi; and Harvey P. Platt, of Ohio. The members from the Directory were Lyman J. Gage, Thomas B. Bryan, Potter Palmer, Ferdinand W. Peck, Edward T. Jeffery, Edwin Walker, Frederick S. Winston, and De Witt C. Cregier. Messrs Bryan, Palmer, Jeffery, Winston, and Creiger were subsequently succeeded by Harlow N. Higinbotham, Robert A. Waller, Henry B. Stone, Edward P. Ripley, and John J. P. Odell.

"These gentlemen were among the leading professional and business men of Chicago, and gave their services freely in the interest of the Exposition, often to the sacrifice of their own private affairs." The two bodies in their separate capacity had already agreed on the appointment of Colonel George R. Davis as Director-General of the Exposition, and upon the adoption of the Compact Colonel Davis began the organization of the Departments, and the several chiefs were soon after appointed. The departments and their chiefs were as follows:

Agriculture and Live Stock—W. I. Buchanan.
Horticulture and Floriculture—J. M. Samuels.
Fish and Fisheries—J. W. Collins.
Mines and Metallurgy—Frederick J. V. Skiff.
Machinery—L. W. Robinson.

Transportation—Willard A. Smith.
Manufactures—James Allison.
Electricity—J. P. Barrett.
Fine Arts—Halsey C. Ives.
Liberal Arts—Selim H. Peabody.
Ethnology—F. W. Putnam.
Publicity and Promotion—Moses P. Handy.
Foreign Affairs—Walker Fearn.

Many of these departments included branches within a broad title, as for example, "Liberal Arts," which embraced a vast array of manufactured articles, Education, Engineering, Public Works, Architecture, Music and the Drama.

WORK OF CONSTRUCTION

The next important step was the creation of a Construction Department, and the appointment of Daniel H. Burnham as Chief. Attached to the Construction Department were John W. Root, architect; Abram Gottlieb, engineer; and Messrs. Olmsted & Company, landscape architects. A Board of Consulting Architects was also selected, composed of Richard M. Hunt, George B. Post, McKim, Mead & White, Peabody & Stearns, Van Brunt & Howe, Burling & Whitehouse, Jenney & Mundie, Henry Ives Cobb, Solon S. Beman, and Adler & Sullivan; the last five firms and individuals being Chicago architects.

The Board of Architects met on January 10th, 1891. "The members visited the park and conferred regarding the task before them. Before the board had fairly organized and concentrated its attention upon the task John W. Root was stricken with pneumonia and died. His death caused universal grief in Exposition circles, for his genial qualities and his great reputation as an architect had endeared him to all. His loss was felt to be almost irreparable, and the Directory paid a tribute to his memory by placing upon their records a memorial of their appreciation of his great worth, his genius and exquisite taste, and their grief at his death."

The success of the building scheme was due to the fortunate selection of the Board of Architects who had been nominated by the Chief of Construction. At a meeting of this board held on February 22d, 1891, preliminary sketches and drawings were submitted, and, after some modifications, were approved. It is related that when the architects assembled to submit the sketches for their several buildings they spent the afternoon in an examination and consideration of the various designs proposed. Each of them expressed willingness to modify his own views or plans for the sake of the unity of the whole group. St. Gaudens, who was present, sat all day listening, but scarcely speaking or moving; and, at the close of the meeting, came to Mr. Burnham, taking both of his hands in his own, exclaimed: "Do you realize that this is the greatest meeting of artists since the fifteenth century?"

GENERAL PLANS CONSIDERED

The World's Fair buildings and the arrangement of the grounds was the inspiration of the "Plan of Chicago," as set forth in the sumptuous publi-

cation of the Chicago Commercial Club, issued in 1909. "The World's Fair of 1893," says the author of that work, "was the beginning, in our day and in this country, of the orderly arrangement of extensive public grounds and buildings. The result came about quite naturally. Chicago had become a commercial community wherein men were accustomed to get together to plan for the general good. Moreover, those at the head of affairs were, many of them, the same individuals who had taken part in every movement since the city had emerged from the condition of a mere village. . . .

"Then, too, the men of Chicago, trained in intense commercial activity, had learned the lesson that great success cannot be attained unless the special work in hand shall be entrusted to those best fitted to undertake it. It had become the habit of our business men to select some one to take the responsibility in every important enterprise; and to give that person earnest, loyal, and steadfast support. Thus the design and arrangement of the buildings of the World's Columbian Exposition, which have never been surpassed, were due primarily to the feeling of loyalty to the city and its undertakings; and secondly, to the habit of entrusting great works to men trained in the practice of such undertakings."

THE POPE'S LETTER

The letter of the Pope, Leo XIII, lent great encouragement to the friends of the Fair at a time when they were looking with keen interest towards foreign people for sympathy and co-operation. The letter was written in Latin, and was addressed to Thomas B. Bryan. It was dated February 27th, 1892, and in the letter he said: "While we see on all sides the preparations that are being eagerly made for the celebration of the Columbian quarto-centenary in memory of a man most illustrious and deserving, . . . we hear with great pleasure that the United States has, among other nations, entered this competition of praise in such a manner as befits the vastness and richness of the country, and the memory of the man so great as he to whom these honors are being shown. Nothing, certainly, could be more splendid than what is told to us of the grand and magnificent Exposition which that nation will hold at Chicago, bringing together every kind of produce and work which fruitful nature bears, and the artful industry of man creates."

CHANGES IN OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

Mr. Lyman J. Gage resigned as president of the Board of Directors in April, 1891, because of the pressure of his private business. Shortly before he had presented his report, which was printed and distributed as the first annual report of the exposition. "It was an admirable presentation," says Mr. Higinbotham, in his report made at the close of the Fair, "of the clear ideas and the firm grasp which Mr. Gage had of the conditions and demands of the World's Columbian Exposition."

Mr. William T. Baker, one of the original directors, was then elected president, a man who had previously held the honorable position of president of the Chicago Board of Trade, and while on the Directory had worked effectively for the success of the Fair. The great problems before the Directory during the

year 1891 were those of finance, of adequate transportation facilities, and the awakening among foreign nations of a sufficient interest in the Exposition. In all these matters Mr. Baker was a master hand at the helm of affairs.

Mr. Baker was again elected president of the Directory at the annual meeting in April, 1892, and at the same time Mr. Harlow N. Higinbotham was elected vice-president. Howard O. Edmonds was elected secretary to succeed Benjamin Butterworth. Mr. Baker's health failed in the following July, and he resigned soon after. Mr. Higinbotham was then elected president of the company, a position which he thenceforth occupied with great ability throughout the whole remaining period during which the Fair was in preparation, and afterwards when it was open to the world. In fact, owing to his able and efficient administration of affairs he has continued ever since at the head of the company, and through its long period of liquidation down to the present time.

Mr. Higinbotham was elected president of the World's Columbian Exposition in August, 1892, though as vice-president he had acted in that capacity for a considerable period before that time, by reason of the absence of the president in Europe. It will be remembered that Mr. William T. Baker was the president before the election of Mr. Higinbotham. Thus, during the most active period of preparations for the Exposition, Mr. Higinbotham was the guiding spirit in all the multifarious affairs that preceded its opening. The first great event in his administration was the dedication of the Exposition on the 23d of October, 1892, where more than 100,000 people were gathered in the great Manufactures building, then barely completed; the dedication was followed by the formal opening on May 1st of the following year. Few of us can understand, unless personally familiar with its affairs, what strain and stress were endured by the president and his associates during the whole period of the Exposition, and especially during the period when twenty millions of money had to be provided, and was actually spent, before returns could begin to be realized.

The corporation known as the World's Columbian Exposition is still in existence, and Mr. Mr. Higinbotham is still its President. It was often said after its close that the great World's Fair "had passed into history." But no doubt Mr. Higinbotham has realized often enough since that time that for him, at least, the Exposition had not by any means passed into history, and that the closing of its immense and world-wide affairs has required years of his time.

The glorious success of the Exposition is to be attributed to a variety of favoring circumstances, to a public spirit that perhaps could only have been aroused in such abundant measure in the City of Chicago, but more than all to the President of the Exposition who was the genius, the gifted leader, the one who bore the burden of the tremendous responsibilities thrust upon him. It is no doubt true that our late fellow townsman, Mr. Daniel H. Burnham, the wonderfully efficient Director of Works, is entitled to a large share of the glory and honor of what was achieved at the great Exposition. His share of the honors is and must be recognized in any comprehensive and adequate account of the building of the Great Fair.

MR. BURNHAM AS DIRECTOR OF WORKS

Of Mr. Burnham's activities during the period of construction President Higinbotham says in his report: "The Director of Works seemed omnipresent.

No hour was too early, no weather too severe for him to be abroad, inspecting and directing the progress of the work and urging on his lieutenants. It was his custom to drive through the grounds in an open vehicle at daybreak or earlier, accompanied by his secretary, Montgomery B. Pickett, and a stenographer, and occasionally by one or more of his officers, making notes and informing himself as to the condition of the work in every part of the grounds. When the enormous space to be covered is considered, the labor and exertion of this feat can be appreciated. The wonderful physical strength of the director of works enabled him to perform this exertion without apparent effort or detriment to his health. At seven or half past seven o'clock his officers held a 'bureau meeting,' usually presided over by the assistant director of works, Ernest R. Graham, at which the director of works generally assisted. Officers were enabled to secure information, prefer complaints, and make requests, and minutes were kept of the proceedings. It was possible at these meetings for the director of works to urge on portions of the work which were behindhand, calling to account any one who appeared to be delinquent, and settling every complaint by prompt and vigorous measures. It can easily be seen that by these morning inspections and bureau meetings a vast amount of actual work could be planned ready for execution while the people of Chicago were arsing from bed and preparing for breakfast. It is no wonder that the efficiency of the department was so great as to render easy of accomplishment things which would ordinarily be thought impossible within the time alloted."

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

When, on June 12th, 1890, the Illinois corporation changed its name from the "World's Exposition of 1892" to the "World's Columbian Exposition," the capital stock of the company was at the same time changed from $5,000,000 to $10,000,000, thus to enable it to comply with the terms named in the Act of Congress. "It was hoped," says the History from which we have quoted already, "that a considerable portion of this additional stock would be subscribed, thus giving the company additional funds with which to carry on its work, but it could not reasonably be expected that, after the vigorous canvass of the city made to secure the first $5,000,000, it would be possible to go over the ground again and raise an equal amount. The company was therefore compelled to look to other sources for the remainder of the sum that Congress required it to furnish.

"There was but one other source, an issue of city bonds in aid of the Exposition. This was impossible under the constitution of the state, the city having already a bonded debt as great as the constitution permitted. To accomplish the desired result it was necessary to obtain an amendment to the constitution. The situation was properly represented to the Governor, Hon. Joseph W. Fifer, who thereupon convened the Legislature of Illinois in special sesison on July 23d, 1890. The Legislature promptly passed a joint resolution authorizing an amendment to the constitution of the state, and providing for its submission to the people at the election to be held in the following November. This amendment, which empowered the city of Chicago to issue $5,000,000 of bonds in aid of the

World's Columbian Exposition, received a substantially unanimous vote of the people of the state."

FIVE MILLIONS IN CITY BONDS

Immediately after the election, the City Council passed an ordinance providing five millions of dollars for the use of the Exposition. The list of subscriptions previously taken was now freshly scrutinized by the officers of the Directory and wherever delinquencies appeared it was found that they were more than made good by new subscriptions, so universally popular was the Fair with the people. In fact the first five millions subscribed was increased by more than a million of new subscriptions, and when a financial statement was made up the next year after the Fair had closed, there was shown a total of $5,614,425, collected on account of the capital stock subscribed by firms and individuals.

The time had now arrived to make known to the Commission that the required ten millions of dollars would be available for the uses of the Exposition. The Commission, which was the official channel of communication with the President, thereupon adopted a resolution declaring that it was satisfied "that an actual *bona fide,* legally binding subscription existed, from which the company would realize five millions of dollars, and that satisfactory guarantees existed for five millions more, thus complying fully with the obligation placed upon the City of Chicago by the Act of Congress." The President upon receiving this assurance from the Commission issued the proclamation, now eagerly awaited, inviting foreign nations to participate in the Exposition.

The President's proclamation was dated December 24th, 1890, and recited as follows: That "whereas, satisfactory proof has been presented to me that provision has been made for adequate grounds and buildings for the uses of the World's Columbian Exposition, and that a sum not less than ten millions of dollars, to be used and expended for the purposes of said Exposition has been provided in accordance with the conditions and requirements" of the Act of Congress of April 25th, 1890, authorizing "an international exhibition of arts, industries, and manufacturers, and the products of the soil, mine, and sea, in the City of Chicago," therefore it is declared and proclaimed that such international exhibition will be opened on the first day of May, 1893; and an invitation was extended to all nations of the earth to take part in the same "by appointing representatives and sending exhibits to the World's Columbian Exposition as will most fitly and fully illustrate their resources, their industries, and their progress in civilization." The proclamation was signed by Benjamin Harrison, president, and James G. Blaine, secretary of state. Thus the world was officially notified of the great approaching event, and preparation for the participation of foreign nations at once began.

ESTIMATES OF COST

The total cost of construction of the proposed buildings, and the improvement of the grounds, was estimated by the Construction Department at $12,766,890. A Budget Committee, appointed by the Directory, also made an estimate, increasing the amount required for all branches of the Exposition until

May 1st, 1893, to $16,075,453. The estimated cost was based upon the supposition that the entire Exposition would be located in Jackson Park. "The committee pointed out that the limited area available on the Lake Front without filling would undoubtedly increase this estimate at least one million dollars."

After M. Berger, formerly Director-General of the Paris Exposition of 1889, had made a careful study of the conditions existing at Chicago at this period, he named $17,000,000 as his estimate of the needed capital that would be required, a figure that coincided strikingly with the total amount named by the Budget Committee.

The estimates of the Budget committee were adopted by the Directory, which now began to realize the magnitude of its task. "During the following spring," says the author of the History, "while the work of dredging and filling was being rapidly pushed at the park, the plans of the buildings came in, one by one, from the distinguished architects who had them in charge. These were promptly taken up and prepared for contracting in the Construction Department. This department grew and extended itself rapidly from day to day as the needs of the work increased. With but little friction and without delay that splendid organization sprung up around the Chief of Construction which played such a great part in the results achieved. The discipline and efficiency of the force was greater than that of a veteran army, for it was composed of intelligent, well-educated professional men, each one eminent in his particular line of work. The Chief of Construction possessed wonderful enthusiasm, and he had the ability to impart it to those about him; he had success in choosing his assistants and lieutenants; he had wonderful capacity for attracting to him young men of ardent temperament but extraordinary capacity, whose vigor and enthusiasm, when tempered with the discretion of older heads, formed the best possible combination for the purposes in view."

GROUNDS AND BUILDING COMMITTEE

One of the committees created by the Directory in the early part of 1890 was the "Grounds and Building Committee," which was recognized in the "Compact" previously referred to. This committee of seven members sat almost daily from the spring of 1890 until the 18th day of August, 1892. On this date the committee on Grounds and Buildings went out of existence after its splendid career of services, and its functions were assumed by the "Council of Administration" composed of four members only, two directors and two commissioners. The title of the Chief of Construction was, at the same time, changed to that of Director of Works. The Council of Administration was composed of the following gentlemen: H. N. Higinbotham, and Charles H. Schwab, of the Directory, and George V. Massey, of Delaware, and J. W. St. Clair, of West Virginia, the two latter being members of the Commission.

CHANGES IN THE DIRECTORY

Owing to changes occurring in the Board of Directors during the period of the Exposition, the following gentlemen became directors in place of others who had resigned for various reasons, or whose terms had expired: C. K. G. Billings,

Benjamin Butterworth, Isaac N. Camp, William J. Chalmers, Charles H. Chappell, Robert C. Clowry, Arthur Dixon, George P. Engelhard, George B. Harris, Charles Henrotin, Egbert Jamieson, William D. Kerfoot, Milton W. Kirk, William P. Ketcham, Herman H. Kohlsaat, Washington Porter, Alexander H. Revell, Edward P. Ripley, A. M. Rothschild, George W. Saul, George Schneider, James W. Scott, Paul O. Stensland, Henry B. Stone, Bernard E. Sunny, Hempstead Washburne, John C. Welling, George H. Wheeler.

FURTHER ASSISTANCE REQUIRED

As we have seen by the estimates made, even the ten millions of dollars required by the Act of Congress would not nearly provide the necessary funds to carry out the plans. Mr. Gage, the president of the Board of Directors, pointed out clearly the broad, general features of the situation. He said: "Why should this company assume the burden and risk of creating an Exposition to cost fifteen or sixteen millions of dollars? Why not, instead, restrict the undertaking to a cost of ten millions of dollars, unless the National Government, or some other responsible and equally interested party, shall first agree to provide the difference?" In answer to these questions he further said: "Neither the people of our city, of our state, of our country, nor the world would be, or ought to be, satisfied with any exhibition that will not worthily exemplify the progress of the world in art, science, and industry, and typify the highest achievements in architecture, in art, and in all things that illustrate the utilization by man of the resources and powers of Nature."

But the friends of the Fair had been frequently warned that the general government would do nothing in aid of the enterprise, further than the appropriation for its own building and exhibit. "The opposition of other cities that had competed for the location of the Exposition was an additional ground for doubt as to the possibility of securing aid from the national treasury, yet it was the firm belief of every director that when the company and the city had met their fair share of the enormous cost of the great work, in which every citizen of the republic was interested, the generous recognition and co-operation of those outside of Chicago could reasonably be demanded. If this expectation should not be realized, there remained a last alternative of carrying the enterprise through and compelling the patriotic citizens of Chicago to bear the heavy burden unaided. And there is little reason to doubt that this would have been done had the necessity arisen."

THE APPEAL TO THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT

Meantime the scope of the Exposition and the vast extent of its undertakings rendered it necessary that its case should be presented to Congress with a request for its aid. The Commission, in the autumn of 1891, gave its approval to the work already undertaken and completed by the Directory, and adopted a resolution approving the plan of making an appeal to Congress for a loan in aid of the Exposition. This, however, did not meet with the approval of the Directory. Their plan was to secure an appropriation outright rather than a loan. "They did not consider it proper that the Government, in granting financial

aid to this national undertaking, after the city had expended over ten millions of dollars upon it, should receive in return a first lien upon the proceeds of the entire investment," thus exhausting the company's capacity to borrow, which would still possibly be necessary before the Fair could be opened and the returns begin to flow in. "What the company insisted upon as the proper expression of the financial responsibility of the government for the Exposition was an appropriation in its aid without any requirement as to repayment."

Little doubt had been felt that aid from the national government would be forthcoming, provided the company fulfilled its duty, administered its affairs properly, and energetically carried the work forward on the grand plans that it had caused to be prepared. In December, 1891, Congress began to consider the matter seriously, and a bill was introduced providing for an appropriation of five millions of dollars in aid of the Exposition. A committe of Congess visited Chicago in the following March and made an investigation on the spot. Their report closed with this tribute to the Exposition: "Your committee express without reserve their confidence in the assured success of the Exposition. Fifty-six nations and colonies have accepted the invitation to participate in the enterprise, and have appropriated $3,783,000 for that purpose. It is expected that twenty other foreign nations will also be represented. Complete exhibits will be made by all countries which promise attendance, twenty-six of which will erect special buildings for their own displays. Thirty states and territories of our own republic will erect buildings and make special exhibits, for which $3,182,500 has already been provided. It becomes obvious, therefore, that the expenditures of the local corporation, of individual enterprise of the states and territories, and of our own and all foreign governments, will reach the stupendous aggregate of not less than thirty millions of dollars for exhibition purposes. In its scope and magnificence the Exposition stands alone. There is nothing like it in all history. It easily surpasses all kindred enterprises, and will amply illustrate the marvelous genius of the American people in the great domains of agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and inventions, which constitute the foundation upon which rests the structure of our national glory and prosperity."

There were many difficulties, however, in the way of enacting the proposed legislation. The political situation entered into and complicated matters. "A presidential election was approaching, and public measures were invariably considered with a view to their bearing upon this event. It was intimated that if the company would accept a loan instead of a direct appropriation, this form of aid might be secured. The Board of Directors rejected this proposition, and refused to be put in the attitude of suppliants for favor, when they were conscious of the justice of their demands. The struggle continued during a great part of the following summer, until it became apparent that the bill as introduced could not pass. Further efforts along this line were abandoned.

At length, however, a compromise was proposed, and the "Souvenir Coin Measure," as it was called, was introduced and passed without material opposition. This measure became a law on the 5th of August, 1892, and provided that two and a half millions of dollars in the form of "Columbian Half Dollars" should be coined, according to devices and designs prescribed by the Director of the Mint. These coins were to be paid out by the Secretary of the Treasury to the World's Columbian Exposition upon estimates and vouchers

certified to by the president and Director-General, "for the purpose of aiding in defraying the cost of completing in a suitable manner, the work of preparation for inaugurating the World's Columbian Exposition." This appropriation was coupled with a condition that the Fair should be closed to the public on Sundays. Immediately afterwards a plan was devised to sell these souvenir coins at a premium, which eventually increased the amount received by the Exposition from this source to a considerable extent.

The advantage thus derived, however, was offset by the subsequent action of Congress in saddling upon the Exposition the expenses incurred by the Commission in providing for judges and awards. These expenses were estimated to be $570,880, and this amount was ordered by Congress to be deducted from the two and a half millions already appropriated, and thus the net amount of the appropriation was reduced to $1,929,112. But the premiums received brought this up again to a total of $2,607,854. It was hoped that all the five million half dollars would be sold at one dollar each, but owing to the delay in delivery by the mint the enthusiasm, shown at the beginning of the sale, and which at first ran high, soon evaporated, and a large number of them were left to be disposed of eventually at their face value.

WITHHOLDING THE FUND FOR "JUDGES AND AWARDS"

The action taken by Congress, six months after passage of the "Souvenir Coin Measure," in charging against it the amount of $570,880 required by the Commission for "judges and awards," was looked upon by the Directory as unjust and wholly beyond the purposes expressed in the Act itself. The Act, as we have quoted above, specified that the souvenir coins were to be paid out "for the purpose of aiding in defraying the cost of completing, in a suitable manner, the work of preparation for inaugurating the World's Columbian Exposition." It was a departure from the original intention of the Act, therefore, to require that the Exposition company should bear this new burden at all. The subject of awards was wholly within the jurisdiction of the Commission, and the company had no control over it nor responsibility for it. "The Commission, through its committee on awards," says President Higinbotham, in his report, "had prepared plans and estimates for judging exhibits and making awards thereon, and it asked for an appropriation from Congress to defray its expenses, as in the case of other branches of the Commission's work. The amount estimated by the committee on awards to be necessary was $570,880. Instead of making an appropriation for the purpose, Congress directed that an equal amount of souvenir coins be withheld from the company until it gave security to the Secretary of the Treasury that an appropriation of the amount needed for this purpose would be made out of the company's funds."

In the report we have just quoted from, President Higinbotham vigorously denounces the action taken by Congress in this matter. "At this time," he says, "when the company was relying, almost from day to day, on the remittances of souvenir coins to replenish its treasury, Congress diverted this $570,000 of its appropriation to a purpose not in any way connected with the 'completing of the work of preparation for inaugurating the World's Columbian Exposition.' Such a thing could not have been attempted between individuals in the great

business world without speedy redress through legal process. This act aroused great indignation among the citizens of Chicago. The recollection of it is still bitter to the officers and directors who were compelled to bear the additional burden thus laid upon the company in the hour of its need."

ISSUE OF EXPOSITION BONDS

During the last few months of the period before the Fair was opened the financial problem hung heavy on the hands of the Directory. The bonds issued by the city of Chicago for five millions of dollars were readily sold and became available for the purposes of the Exposition. The financial situation at this time showed the resources of the Exposition to consist of the following:

Capital Stock and City Bonds	$10,700,000
Souvenir Coins	2,500,000
Receipts Prior to Opening	330,000
Total	$13,530,000

It became necessary now to resort to the anticipated issue of Exposition bonds, and, accordingly, an issue of five millions in bonds were authorized. The estimates in the later revised budgets showed such an increase in the amount required before the opening day that the total sum necessary would be $19,437,827. Thus even with the proposed sale of Exposition bonds the total of resources would only amount to $18,530,000, still nearly a million below the requirements. But there were amounts which would become available in the meantime, such as refunds from various exhibits, state and foreign governments, and premiums from souvenir coins; and these helped to bridge over the deficit.

The situation was made more difficult by the failure of the Exposition bonds to find a ready sale as it had been hoped they would. This source of trouble, however, was happily averted by the aid of the railroad companies, several of which took large blocks of the bonds; and of the banks, which made heavy advances on the security of about a million dollars' worth of souvenir coins still held by the Exposition awaiting sale at the premium it was hoped to be realized.

When, at last, the opening day arrived, on the first of May, 1893, it found the financial managers of the Exposition at the end of their resources. The long period of disbursements without earnings was at an end. "For three years," says Mr. Higinbotham, "while we had been building, we had been struggling to provide the means to reach with credit and success the opening day of the Exposition. That day dawned, and the first great financial problem, that which related to the raising of funds required to open the Exposition, was brought to a final solution. I repeat that one who had not shared in some way in that task can not appreciate its gravity and the deep, heartfelt thankfulness of those who had borne it, when they saw the end of their labors, and the great Exposition practically complete, unfolding its noble and beautiful proportions to the eyes of the world."

We will now return to the great occasion of the dedication in the month of

October preceding, a proper account of which should here be given, before describing the opening and continuance of the Fair through the six months of its existence. It must be remembered that the "Dedication" and the "Opening" were two different events, the significance of and reasons for which will be explained in the following pages.

CHAPTER XIV

DEDICATION AND OPENING OF THE WORLD'S FAIR

FORMAL DEDICATION IN OCTOBER, 1892—IMPRESSIVE CEREMONIES—IMMENSE CONCOURSE OF VISITORS—PERFECT WEATHER CONDITIONS—THE COLUMBIAN ODE—INTERVAL OF SIX MONTHS—INCOMPLETE PREPARATIONS—UNEXAMPLED RAPIDITY OF BUILDING OPERATIONS—THIRTY-ONE MILLION ADMISSION TICKETS PRINTED—THE FIRE INSURANCE PROBLEM—OPENING DAY, MAY 1ST, 1893—PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S ADDRESS—STARTING THE MACHINERY—DEPRESSING CIRCUMSTANCES—FINANCIAL PANIC EMBARRASSES THE MANAGEMENT—DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED BY THE DIRECTORY—ATTENDANCE RECORDS—FOURTH OF JULY VISITORS—ADMINISTRATION DETAILS—MR. HIGINBOTHAM'S HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES—EFFICIENT COOPERATION OF ASSOCIATES—THOMAS B. BRYAN'S SERVICES—THE "I WILL" MOTTO—ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGIN—SYMBOLISM OF THE FIGURE—ORIGIN OF THE "Y-EMBLEM" AND THE MUNICIPAL COLORS—THE MUNICIPAL FLAG OF THE PRESENT DAY.

THE FORMAL DEDICATION

The date fixed for the dedication of the World's Columbian Exposition was October 21st, 1892, the four hundredth anniversary of the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. This was the first great task encountered by the Exposition managers, and caused them much labor and grave anxiety; but the experiences gained on this occasion were of great value in the management of the multitudes of visitors during the progress of the Fair. The opening of the Fair to exhibitors and visitors was not to take place until the first of May following, but "the dedication of the Exposition buildings six months before the enterprise was to be actually inaugurated," says the report, "was approved as a means of disseminating throughout the country a knowledge of the grandeur and extent of the Exposition, and of the completeness of the equipment which Chicago had prepared for it." The grounds and the buildings were yet in an incomplete condition, but the entrances and driveways had been made passable, while the great building in which the exercises were to be held, though still far from complete, had been enclosed and was temporarily fitted up for the purpose.

"The civic parade, upon the day preceding the dedication, was participated in by many thousands of people, including all the non-military organizations of the city, and the Governors of most of the States of the Union, accompanied by the members of their respective staffs. It was a most inspiring scene. The procession occupied more than four hours in passing the grand stand at the custom house, where it was reviewed by Vice-President Morton."

THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES

The task of handling the crowds on the day of the dedication exercises was the first severe strain placed upon the managers of the Fair. The means of travel were yet far from having reached the degree of completeness that was afterwards attained. Only those who had received invitations, one hundred thousand of which had been issued, were supposed to attend the dedication exercises, but as it was observed that great crowds had gathered at the entrances, the gates were thrown open later in the day and everyone admitted regardless of whether they were invited or not. The transporation lines, however, did effective service, the day passed without accidents and the crowds were handled to the satisfaction of all.

The entire central part of the city was cleared by the police for the convenience of private conveyances. Carriages conveying persons officially connected with the ceremonies were passed through the police lines by means of cards previously issued. The members of the Board of Directors, the World's Columbian Commission, and the Board of Lady Managers, and the distinguished guests of the occasion formed in line, in carriages, on Michigan avenue near the Auditorium, whence they were escorted by United States troops south on that avenue to Twenty-ninth street, where they were joined by Vice-President Morton and party and President Palmer of the Commission. From this point the procession moved to Jackson Park by way of the Midway Plaisance.

Across the tracks of the Illinois Central Railroad, which had not yet elevated its road-bed, a large temporary wooden viaduct was constructed, over which the procession passed to the great Manufactures Building, in which the exercises were to be held. At the middle of the east side of this building was erected a stand or platform capable of seating twenty-five hundred people. Over it decorations of flags and bunting were effectively massed, and at the south end, five hundred feet away, was another stand for the chorus of five thousand voices under the direction of William L. Tomlins, assisted by an orchestra of over two hundred pieces led by Theodore Thomas. In front of the platform for the speakers were seats for sixty thousand people. "The scene in the Manufactures Building will never be forgotten by those who witnessed it," says Mr. Higinbotham in his report. "The grand platform was occupied by officers of the national government, members of the diplomatic corps, officers of the various states, senators and representatives, directors and commissioners. The eye and brain could scarcely comprehend the vastness of the audience stretching out before this platform, nearly every one seated or being conducted to seats by soldiers and the Columbian Guards in the most orderly manner. There was little motion, but the air was resonant with an indescribable hum of voices." On great battle-fields, where immense numbers of men are present, the shouts, outcries and rumbling thunder of cavalry charges, blends itself and is softened by distance into a continuous hum, often described by participants. An artillery officer at the battle of Waterloo noticed this humming noise, a noise quite apart from the rattle and roar of the firing. He wrote of it as follows: "We were enveloped in thick smoke, and, in spite of the incessant roar of cannon and musketry, could distinctly hear around us a mysterious humming noise, like that which one hears of a summer's evening, proceeding from myriads of insects."

This remarkable humming noise, characteristic of vast assemblages, strikes the ear with a sense of strangeness and mystery. It was referred to by Dr. Peabody in the following passage:

"The day of dedication gathered the largest audience ever assembled under one roof. It mattered not that the ostensible purpose of the occasion was absolutely defeated by the vastness of the multitude. The immense hall was filled with a resonant murmur, which resembled the soughing of the foliage in a boundless forest or the rhythmic laughter of unnumbered waves, and yet overpowered the reverberating hoof beats of a troop of cavalry riding through the adjacent aisles. The impressive ceremonies were duly observed; but the oracles were dumb, no voice rang through the arched roof. The audience only saw the prayer of the right reverend ecclesiastic, saw impassioned bursts of oratory and lofty strains of poetry; they heard but faintly strains of far-off music, swelling and receding; yet no one of that great assemblage will ever forget the sense of exultation that he was permitted to share in the grandeur of that unique and most impressive ceremony."

So great was the assemblage of people in this building that the majority of them were beyond the reach of the speakers' voices. One who was present said: "We found that although seated only about half way between the platform and the rear seats, we could not hear a word uttered by the speakers on the platform. Indeed, we could not hear a sound even, and the movements and gestures of the speakers were complete pantomime, producing a very singular effect." There were twenty-five acres of human beings in the audience, which numbered from one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand people, according to different estimates, said to have been the largest assemblage ever gathered under one roof. Perfect order prevailed. The dignity of the occasion seemed to have cast a spell over the audience.

THE EXERCISES WITHIN THE BUILDING

The dedicatory ceremonies were opened with the "Columbian March," composed by Professor J. K. Paine of Cambridge. This was followed by a prayer offered by Bishop Charles H. Fowler, of the Methodist Church, after which an address was made by the Director-General, Colonel George R. Davis. Hon. Hemptstead Washburne, mayor of the city, delivered an address of welcome and a tender of the freedom of the city of Chicago to the Vice-President and the representatives of foreign nations. A portion of the "Columbian Ode," by Miss Harriet Monroe of Chicago, was read, and other portions, which had been set to music, were rendered by the chorus. The President of the Board of Lady Managers, Mrs. Potter Palmer, then delivered an address on the work of the lady managers. President Higinbotham, of the Board of Directors, then tendered the buildings to the President of the Commission, Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, who in turn presented them to the Vice-President of the United States, Hon. Levi P. Morton. The Vice-President then, on behalf of the President of the United States, formally dedicated the buildings in an address closing with the following words: "In the name of the Government of the United States I hereby dedicate these buildings and their appurtenances, intended by the Government

of the United States for the use of the World's Columbian Exposition, to the world's progress in arts, and in manufacture. I dedicate them to humanity."

An oration followed delivered by Hon. Henry Watterson of Kentucky, which was followed again by an oration delivered by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew of New York. The ceremonies were concluded with prayer offered by Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore clad in the full robes of his office. A national salute was fired by the artillery as the ceremonies came to a close. "The fact that the immense assemblage gathered in the Manufactures Building," says Mr. Higinbotham, "witnessed the impressive program, and dispersed without an accident worthy of note, either within or without the half finished grounds, spoke well for the care, intelligence, and efficiency of the officers and employes of the company, of the officers of the army, and of the various transportation lines."

The authorities had even provided a luncheon for the multitude of guests on the occasion. It was served in the galleries for those within the building, and at other places for those without. More than seventy thousand persons were supplied with refreshments at the cost of the Exposition. "From the number of invitations issued," says the report, "the magnitude of this undertaking will be understood. It was manifestly impossible to serve a satisfactory meal; the purpose was to offer merely a slight refection to enable persons within the park to withstand the fatigue of waiting for the grand event to take place."

ABSENCE OF THE PRESIDENT

President Harrison was prevented from attending the dedication by Mrs. Harrison's severe illness, which soon afterward proved fatal. Vice-President Morton represented the President upon this occasion.

It will be remembered that the country was on the eve of a presidential election at this time. Mr. Harrison was the candidate of the Republican party for a second term, and Grover Cleveland, who had ended his first term as president four years before, was the candidate of the Democratic party.

An invitation had been sent to Mr. Cleveland to attend the dedication exercises, but he declined in a letter which showed an intelligent appreciation of the situation as it existed and a characteristic delicacy of feeling: "I should be very glad," he wrote, "to be present on this occasion, and there show my appreciation of its importance, if I could do so solely as an ex-president of the United States. I am sure, however, that this is impossible; and I am unwilling to undertake a trip which from beginning to end, despite all effort on my part, would be regarded as a political tour, made by a candidate for the presidency." To this he added that his general aversion to such a trip, in this particular instance, was increased by his knowledge of the circumstances "which detained at the bedside of his sick wife, another candidate for the Presidency."

"The representatives of the press who attended the ceremonies included many distinguished journalists, and all were so thoroughly impressed with the magnitude of the preparation and the grandeur and scope of the Exposition, that praise and commendation for the great enterprise awoke all over the country, even in quarters where only adverse criticism had been heard before." "The perfect weather," says the report, "contributed to the success of the occasion. The sunshine, the cloudless sky, and the spring-like air lent a charm

to the grounds that seemed to more than atone for their unfinished condition. We may count the dedication on October 21st, 1892, as possibly the most successful of all the pageants, ceremonies, and celebrations which occurred in connection with the Exposition."

THE COLUMBIAN ODE

The Columbian Ode, written by Miss Harriet Monroe, was a distinctive feature of the dedication. It was a poem of about four hundred lines in length. Some passages are here quoted which will give an idea of its quality and the dignified sweep of the metrical arrangement. The poem should be read in its entirety. It opens with these lines:

"Columbia! on thy brow are dewy flowers
Plucked from wide prairies and from mighty hills;
Lo! towards this day have led the steadfast hours,
Now to thy hope the world its beaker fills.
The old earth hears a song of blessed themes,
And lifts her head from a deep couch of dreams."

Continuing, the poet refers to the assembling of the nations in honor of the great event:

"Spain, in the broidered robes of chivalry,
Comes with slow foot and inward-brooding eyes."

Following next in the procession of the "queenly nations, elder-born of time," comes England,

"Hearing in thine her voice, bidding thy soul
Fulfill her dream, the foremost at the goal."

Next comes Columbia's first friend and ally,

"And France, who once thy fainting form upbore,
Brings beauty now where strength she brought of yore."

Then tribute is paid to the Norseman who sailed "to the green vineland of the long ago;" to Russia, coming "from realms of sun and snow;" to Germany, who "casts afar her iron robes of war;" and Italy, opening "wide her epic scroll;" and the "calm Orient," saluting "thy conquering youth."

"Lo! unto these the ever living Past
Ushers a mighty pageant."

The poet then goes back to the Discovery. She continues thus;

"And the forests, heavy and dark and deep
With the shadows of shrouded years,
In a murmurous voice, out of age-long sleep,
Ask the winds; What creature rude
Would storm our solitude."

The reference to the Father of his Country follows in these lines;

"Ah! hero of our younger race!
Great builder of a temple new!
Ruler, who sought no lordly place;
Warrior, who sheathed the sword he drew."

On down the generations the poet passes to Lincoln, one

"Who held a warring nation in his heart;"

whose mighty task was performed

"Through blood and tears that we might walk in joy."

The combatants in the great strife for the Union are also celebrated, the men "who in a noble conflict fell, the brave, who having fought, can never die."

The scene is changed and the poem closes with an apostrophe to Columbia, uttered as if by a goddess rising "from the misty sea."

"Thy brows were flushed with dawn's first light,
By foamy waves with stars bedight
Thy blue robes floated free.

* * * * *

Lady of Beauty! thou shalt win
Glory and power and length of days;
The sun and moon shall be thy kin,
The stars shall sing thy praise.

All hail! we bring thee vows most sweet
To strew before thy winged feet,
Now onward be thy ways."

THE INTERVAL OF SIX MONTHS

Between the Dedication and the Opening day an interval of a little more than six months intervened. After the dedication the temporary fittings for the accommodation of the visitors on that occasion were removed, and the work of completing the unfinished buildings and preparing for the exhibits was resumed with redoubled energy. "After the dedication had occurred," says the President's Report, "the final goal, May 1st, 1893, was in sight, and every nerve was strained in the effort to reach it in satisfactory condition. The work to be done was enormous. Doubts as to the possibility of completing the Exposition were freely expressed, not only by those outside of the organization and coming in contact with its work only as spectators and critics, but by many of those identified with its management."

The situation, indeed, looked serious enough. "The dedication, with its beautiful weather and its many triumphs, revealed a glimpse of the park as it was expected to appear later. The day seemed to prefigure the ultimate success

and to indicate that it was within easy reach. Nothing could have been farther from the truth. Winter set in with unusual severity, and manifold difficulties appeared. Thousands of cars, containing hundreds of thousands of packages of exhibits of every size and weight, were expected to come into the park within the next few months, to be handled and installed by May 1st. Few of them were arriving, and a traffic congestion later seemed unavoidable.

"But the alarming feature was not the delay in the arrival of the exhibits so much as the fact, now evident, that the buildings were in no condition to receive them. A snowfall, succeeded by a thaw, revealed acres of leaky roofs, insuring the irreparable damage of exhibits placed beneath them. The most serious case was at the building for Manufactures and Liberal Arts, both on account of the vast number of exhibits which it would contain, and the great difficulty of working upon this roof during cold and stormy weather." The Construction Department, under Mr. Daniel H. Burnham, took hold of the matter in characteristic fashion, and hundreds of roofers were put to work upon the building, and at length it became fairly satisfactory. "At one time the building was damaged by avalanches of snow, whch slid from the great curved central roof and fell into the valley between the central hall and the lateral roofs. The falling masses of snow and ice destroyed the lower roof, and in some instances both the gallery floor and the ground floor beneath."

FALSE REPORTS CIRCULATED

"Owing to delays," continues Mr. Higinbotham's Report, "which had occurred in some departments, in the allotment of space, and the inevitable dissatisfaction of some exhibitors with the space allotted to them, withdrawals of applications for space became frequent, and much alarm was felt over the loss of exhibits for various causes. Some of these losses were irreparable and were greatly deplored by the management, but in most cases their importance was exaggerated, particularly by the newspapers of the several localities in which the resigning applicants were engaged in business. Indeed, the temper of the press was such as to cause many misgivings, especially as the management was naturally sensitive to criticism, and because only the unfavorable criticisms came to its attention. Doubtless much was said in the way of praise and encouragement, but of this the management seldom heard. Only the exaggerated reports and false statements came to its ears.

"The erroneous statements so widely circulated seemed sufficiently general to justify the fear that the Exposition was being put in an unfavorable light before the world, to the detriment of the expected patronage. The condition of the roofs was widely published, and made much worse than was the fact. The incomplete condition of the grounds and buildings was noised abroad, coupled with the assertion that the Exposition would not be ready in time, an assertion very easy to make and very hard to disprove. Criticisms as to the general plan and the details of the Exposition; statements that great discomfort would be experienced in viewing it; that the grounds were full of side shows and special attractions, to which admission fees would be charged, each being part of a general plan to defraud the public; that restaurant prices would be extortionate; that hotels and boarding houses in Chicago, and in

fact all lines of trade, were waiting for a chance to practice extortion upon visitors; these were the chief items of news in regard to the Exposition which came to the attention of the management, and which it was bound to counteract and disprove by every means in its power."

The President of the Exposition, recognizing the necessity of giving proper assurances to the public, issued an address on March 25th, in which he stated that "the Exposition will be opened in readiness for visitors May 1st;" that the admission fee of fifty cents will entitle a visitor to see and enter all the Exposition Buildings, with a few named exceptions including the special attractions of the Midway Plaisance; that "imposition or extortion of any description will not be tolerated;" that free medical and emergency hospital service will be provided on the grounds; and that ample public comfort stations will be located at convenient points about the grounds and buildings. These assurances satisfied the public of the intentions of the management, in which a strong confidence was everywhere shown, and the plans announced were fully carried out during the Exposition season.

THE PREPARATIONS CONTINUED

During the winter and spring the exhibits began to flow into the park by rail and truck, until by the time the installations were completed seventy-nine hundred car loads had been received containing about sixty thousand tons of material and exhibits, besides twelve thousand tons received by teams. The empty packing cases were removed to speciaally constructed warehouses, where they could be restored to exhibitors at the close. Nearly sixty thousand packing cases were thus cared for, of which only forty-two hundred were left unclaimed.

Under the provisions of the act of Congress and the regulations of the Treasury Department the buildings and grounds of the Exposition became in effect a bonded warehouse, in charge of the United States Collector of Customs, John M. Clark. All articles imported from foreign countries for the sole purpose of exhibition were admited duty free, but such as were sold in this country paid the usual duty. This involved an immense amount of labor on the part of the Collector and his deputies, and at the end of the period it was found that about one-quarter of all the foreign exhibits remained in this country, and the rest were returned to the countries from which they came. The value of the exhibits which were returned amounted to $12,154,550, while articles to the value of $1,552,230 were acquired by various universities, colleges, schools, museums, etc., and articles valued at $2,566,852 were sold on the grounds. The total receipts of the Collector's office at the Exposition was $836,786, while the expenses incurred were $234,684, thus leaving the amount of $602,102 for the benefit of the United States treasury.

ADMISSION TICKETS

It was during this period that the department of admissions was organized, and a system of admission tickets fixed upon for the enormous attendance which was expected, also for a system of free admissions for those entitled

to this courtesy and for those whose business brought them within the Exposition grounds. The engagement of a force of ticket sellers, ticket takers, inspectors and office employees, was also required. Eighteen separate entrances were established where tickets could be procured, besides many other places at different points throughout the city.

It was at first propsed to use a fifty cent silver coin as a ticket of admission, but this plan was abandoned in favor of a series of finely engraved tickets which would be desirable as souvenirs and often retained by the purchaser, as well as a series in a cheaper style of printing which could be changed at any day. The engraved tickets were artistic in design and handsomely printed like bank notes, and the Exposition profited greatly by their sale. They were in four series, a vignette portrait of Columbus on one, a typical Indian on another, and portraits of Washington and Lincoln for the others. Six millions of these souvenir tickets were ordered, while of those in a plainer form of printing there were twenty-five millions ordered. The Exposition therefore had two forms of general admission tickets, the first being the elaborately engraved ones good for admission on any day, and the second being the inexpensive tickets sold at the gates, and good only on the day of sale. The expectation that the engraved tickets would be purchased and retained as souvenirs, and never presented at the gates, was realized to a gratifying extent, and in fact the sale of these tickets continued even after the Exposition had closed.

For those who were entitled to free admission several forms of passes were used. For most of the free admissions, a photographic pass was provided, in the form of a book, which bore on the inside of the cover, the photograph and signature of the person entitled to use it. The rest of the book was made up of coupons, one for each day of the Exposition. For laborers and temporary workmen another kind of ticket was used, good only for a short period, and to be presented at certain entrances only. "It cannot be said," says the report of the superintendent, "that the pass system was not abused. No one connected with the work ever hoped to prevent such abuse, but the outcry frequently made during the Exposition season against the system in use, and the criticisms urged against the efficiency of the department, were in most cases unmerited." Prompt steps were taken to correct abuses and to bring the details of the system within the requirements laid down by the rules.

In the month of July it became apparent that there was a large number of passes outstanding which were being used by persons no longer entitled to them. The Council of Administration then ordered that the passes should all be freshly scrutinized and countersigned by the superintendent of the department before they were made use of further. "By means of this order," says the Report, "more than three thousand passes were canceled, the owners of which had either left the service and were no longer entitled to a pass, or had never been entitled to one, but had secured it through lack of discipline in certain departments, or through ignorance of the regulations."

INSURANCE ON EXPOSITION PROPERTY

In the course of the various narratives pertaining to the Exposition, the writer has supposed that the reader will be interested in the financial vicissi-

tudes of that great enterprise, involving the expenditure of nearly twenty millions of dollars before returns began to flow in and recoup the vast outlays which had been made. Thus he has given especial attention to the details of procuring the funds, their disbursement, the difficulties encountered, and the burdens borne by those men who courageously advanced at the front and overcame all adverse conditions, finally winning a victory that stands among the greatest achievements in the history of Chicago. It is not enough to recount here the physical features of the Exposition. The writer who would wish to attain some degree of fulness in the account must look behind the curtain, and describe the persevering and prolonged efforts made to bring the enterprise to a successful issue. We have already detailed the obstacles which were overcome in the earlier stages of the work of placing the Exposition on a secure financial foundation, and the following paragraphs will further illustrate some other phases of the problems presented, and the solutions arrived at.

The placing of insurance against fire on the property of the Exposition caused considerable perplexity to the management. "The Exposition property was never properly covered by insurance," says the President in his Report. "The risks were considered extra hazardous and companies were unwilling to write policies. Sufficient consideration was not given to the extraordinary precautions taken to prevent fires, and to the facilities provided for quenching any which did occur. As a matter of fact, while small fires were frequent in the park, and several large fires occurred just outside the inclosure, there was never any serious damage by fire to any of the company's property within Jackson Park. Only one bad fire occurred during the Exposition season, that which destroyed the Cold Storage warehouse. This building was erected under a concession contract and was not the property of the Company.

"During the construction period insurance was written through a committee of insurance agents who endeavored to distribute the risk among the companies doing business in Chicago. . . . While exhibits were arriving the companies began to cancel policies upon buildings and write up to their maxima upon exhibits, leaving the Exposition company unprotected. Thus the amount of insurance upon buildings was constantly shrinking, until the President, in whose discretion the matter had been left, finding that a considerable amount was being expended for premiums without adequate or even partial protection to the company, canceled all remaining insurance. The management thereafter intensified its efforts to protect its property from fire so thoroughly as to render loss from this source a practical impossibility."

INSURANCE ON ART WORKS

The owners of such works of art as formed the loan collections on exhibition required that they should be insured, but it was found impossible to place the risks with reputable companies. The estimated value placed upon the loan collections aggregated about three millions of dollars, the value in most cases being fixed at the amount paid for the work itself by the owner, without making allowance for appreciation. "Finally," says the Report, "The Board of Directors authorized the execution of contracts, in the nature of insurance policies, whereby the Exposition became responsible for these exhibits as an

insurer." No losses occurred, however, which fortunate result "must be attributed to the watchful care of the Chief of the Department of Fine Arts, Halsey C. Ives, and his assistants, and the vigilance of the guard and the fire departments, both of which were strictly and repeatedly enjoined to use the greatest diligence and every precaution that could be devised for protecting the precious contents of the Art Building."

OPENING DAY OF THE EXPOSITION

The weather conditions on the first of May, 1893, were unfavorable for the occasion, offering, indeed, a strong contrast with the ideal weather experienced at the dedication exercises in the preceding October. The climate of Chicago is at its best in the autumn season, while the late spring and early summer months are often cold and backward, as compared with the same season in other parts of the country. Nevertheless the attendance was fully up to the expectations of the managers of the Fair. There had been a heavy rainfall during the night, and the sky remained overcast and threatening during the day, but still more than two hundred thousand people entered the park on the day of the opening.

The Illinois Central line put its World's Fair express trains into operation for the first time, and so well had the plans for transportation on all the lines been carried out that the throngs were easily and promptly carried to and from the Exposition grounds.

The opening ceremonies were held in the open air, as the buildings which might have been available for the purpose, had they been unoccupied, were now filled with exhibits. The platforms and seats were arranged along the east front of the Administration Building, facing the Court of Honor. At the summits of hundreds of flagstaffs along the Court of Honor, and upon the buildings flags and streamers were furled in such a manner that they could be released simultaneously at a signal.

President Grover Cleveland and a great number of others took their places on the platforms. Surrounding the President were Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson and the members of the Cabinet; the Duke of Veragua, a lineal descendant of Christopher Columbus; the Diplomatic Corps; the Governor of the State, the Mayor of the city, members of Congress, Directors of the Exposition, members of the World's Columbian Commission, members of the Board of Lady Managers, members of foreign and state commissions, and the chiefs of the various departments of the Exposition, with their families.

The "Columbian March," which was given at the dedication, was the first number on the program. Prayer by Rev. W. H. Milburn, chaplain of the United States Senate, a poem by W. A. Croffut, and music by the orchestra followed in their order. The Director-General, Colonel George R. Davis, then made an address, concluding with these words: "And now, Mr. President, in this central city of this great republic, on the continent discovered by Columbus, whose distinguished descendants are present as the honored guest of our nation, it only remains for you to direct that it shall be opened to the public: and when you touch this magic key the ponderous machinery will start in its revolution, and the activities of the Exposition will begin."

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

President Cleveland, coming forward, was greeted with tumultuous applause by the vast multitude, which seemed to fill every inch of the space before and around him. In his brief address he spoke eloquently of the "stupendous results of American enterprise and activity," which surrounded those present, and of the warmth of the greeting which was extended "to those who have come from foreign lands to illustrate, with us, the growth and progress of human endeavor in the direction of a higher civilization." "We have built these splendid edifices," he continued, "but we have also built the magnificent fabric of a popular government, whose grand proportions are seen throughout the world. We have made and here gathered together objects of use and beauty, the products of American skill and invention; but we have also made men who rule themselves. It is an exalted mission in which we and our guests from other lands are engaged, as we co-operate in the inauguration of an enterprise devoted to human enlightenment; and in the undertaking we here enter upon, we exemplify in the noblest sense the brotherhood of nations."

The President now pressed the button which started the great two-thousand horse power engine, the largest of the seventy-seven engines supplying power to the Exposition. At the same moment, says a writer from whose article we have gathered some of these details, a young man waved his hat, and at this signal there fluttered in the air the banners and flags from eight hundred flagstaffs. At the same moment also the veil fell from the golden statue of the Republic, at the east end of the lagoon; and two hundred white doves were set free and circled over the waters. The fountains began playing, and from the lake, beyond the Peristyle, the revenue cutter, "Andy Johnson," fired the presidential salute of twenty-one guns.

THE MULTITUDE DISPERSE TO VIEW THE ATTRACTIONS

This stirring scene was followed by the scattering of the throngs among the buildings of the Exposition, to view the wealth of treasures gathered for their benefit. Although the attendance was large the paid attendance was only about 129,000, the remainder of the number present being made up of invited guests and employes. The following day President Higinbotham gave a breakfast to a large party of the guests and citizens in the Music Hall. This was the first social event of the Exposition, and, because of the distinction of the guests and the beauty of the surroundings, one of the most notable. The party then inspected the grounds and buildings, and were conveyed in steam launches out upon the open lake from which point a grand view was obtained.

DEPRESSING CIRCUMSTANCES

The days following the opening marked a great falling off in the attendance, the first five days thereafter running from ten to eighteen thousand of paid admissions a day. Meanwhile the approaching storm in the financial world became apparent to the managers of the Fair. They recognized the danger there was to the success of the enterprise in the threatening state of affairs.

The Chemical National Bank of Chicago had obtained permission to open a branch in the Administration Building, and had received deposits from exhibitors, concessionaires, and foreigners, amounting to some sixty thousand dollars as at first stated. Eight days after the opening the bank failed. Its condition came to the knowledge of the managers of the Fair the evening before the failure was publicly announced. The deposits in the bank "represented the available cash of several hundred persons," says the report, "many of them strangers, thousands of miles from their homes, and depending upon their deposits to maintain themselves in Chicago. The discredit to Chicago, and particularly to the Exposition management, by reason of the failure of the bank which the directors had licensed, would have been complete, and would have seriously impaired the dignity of the enterprise and its patronage by our countrymen, had not steps been taken to meet the emergency.

"On the night of May 8th, before the failure could be announced in the morning papers, and before the amount of the deposits at the branch bank had been ascertained, the president of the Exposition (Mr. Higinbotham) and the secretary (Mr. Edmonds) obtained, over the telephone, from thirty-five gentlemen, pledges of an amount sufficient to pay at once those depositors who were exhibitors or foreigners, thus relieving their embarrassment. These gentlemen undertook to furnish the funds needed for this purpose without knowing definitely the amount which they might be required to pay." Later, President Higinbotham learned from the officers of the failed bank that the amount of the claims of exhibitors and foreigners would probably be between $80,000 and $135,000, and within two hours the fund was raised. A few days afterward each of the gentlemen who had made pledges for this purpose sent their checks, and the claims of the depositors were paid. All the gentlemen were, in fact, afterwards reimbursed by the receiver, but considering the tension that then existed in financial affairs the sacrifices made by these men at that critical moment when every one was anxious for his own safety, were worthy of great praise.

NAMES OF THOSE WHO SHARED THE BURDEN

The names of those who thus nobly rallied to the support of the management at this trying moment are worthy of being recorded in this place. Their names are as follows: Erskine M. Phelps, Edward B. Butler, Byron L. Smith, Thies J. Lefens, Andrew McNally, George H. Wheeler, Harlow N. Higinbotham, Charles L. Hutchinson, Frederick S. Winston, Albert A. Sprague, Milton W. Kirk, Lyman J. Gage, Ferdinand W. Peck, Arthur Dixon, Otto Young, John W. Doane, Washington Porter, Elbridge G. Keith, William J. Chalmers, William D. Kerfoot, Adolph Nathan, Herman H. Kohlsaat, Robert A. Waller, Melville E. Stone, Norman B. Ream, William T. Baker, Charles H. Schwab, John J. Mitchell, Edward F. Lawrence, Martin A. Ryerson, George M. Pullman, George Schneider, Edwin Walker, Charles H. Wacker, John J. P. Odell.

"The panic grew apace, and the attendance at the Exposition increased very slowly. Heavy obligations for construction work matured, but there were no funds with which to meet them. The heavy liquidation and the severe contraction of credit throughout the country made the demand for money every-

where very pressing, and it was not easy to withstand the just demands of creditors greatly in need of moneys due them. Little or nothing could be done, as the small receipts left only a narrow margin above actual expenses. In a short time unpaid vouchers amounting to over a million dollars were piled up in the treasurer's office awaiting the accumulation of funds."

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES

At various times during the period of construction there had been estimates made, each time showing a large and alarming increase in the amounts. The estimate made at the beginning of the year in which the Fair was opened showed the appalling total of twenty millions of dollars which would be required before the opening day, a great part of which had, of course, been already provided; but an alarming deficiency still remained.

As the month of May advanced the attendance slowly increased, the admissions averaging 37,510 per day. In June, however, the attendance grew rapidly, averaging 89,170 per day. The total receipts for May were $583,000; and during June they were $1,256,000. These increasing receipts made it possible to reduce the great amount of unpaid obligations that were pressing for settlement. "Thus as the weather settled into a clear, bright, pleasant, early summer, with soft and refreshing breezes from the great lake blowing over the park," says the report, "the Exposition received a foretaste of the enthusiastic patronage which it enjoyed so fully in the fall. Gradually the attendance increased until it frequently exceeded one hundred thousand paid admissions per day, and on 'German Day,' June 15th, it reached 165,000." But the staggering load of indebtedness was not quickly relieved, as the language of the report shows. Care and anxiety pressed heavily upon the members of the Council of Administration sitting in continuous session in the Administration Building, from early morning until late at night.

"The most threatening and oppressive embarrassment of the company was its heavy indebtedness, the true extent of which was thoroughly understood about this time, July 1st. Frequent reference had been made to the difficulty of preparing budgets of estimates and the rapidity with which they were outgrown by the needs of the Exposition. The latest budget had been prepared on January 1st, 1893. It showed a total estimated requirement for completing the Exposition, including payments on account of construction, the expenses of the Director-General's departments, and the general offices of the company, amounting to over twenty millions of dollars, a large part of which was not expected to fall due until after May 1st. When this budget was prepared it was thought possible, by using every resource at the command of the Board of Directors, that the work might be successfully carried through to May 1st; that this date would be reached with the treasury not entirely exhausted, but with a considerable amount of obligations on contracts which would not become due until some weeks later; and that the total amount of such obligations would not be great enough to seriously obstruct the payment of the Exposition debenture bonds. The Board of Directors had limited the amount of the bonds of the Exposition to five millions of dollars, and had, by implication at least, limited its power to create debt to this amount also."

On the Fourth of July the attendance reached the gratifying total of 283,273, and this, the highest number yet registered, it was predicted by many would be the greatest which the Exposition might expect for any single day's attendance. This prediction was destined to be disproved by later experience. "Soon after July 4th," says the report, "the attendance again fell off, owing to the heat and the fact that many who had visited the Exposition en route for places of summer resort had gone away, while others were delaying their visits until more favorable weather should prevail. The same falling off was noticeable in the attendance at the Centennial Exposition in 1876. Nevertheless, it served to discourage the hopes of officers and to add to the burden of their cares."

ANXIETIES OF THE OFFICERS

"The infinity of details which burdened the President and the Council of Administration at this time was overwhelming. There was no opportunity for strengthening or enlarging our organization, for meeting new business, or for disposing of arrears. The services of persons unfamiliar with the complex organization and the duties of hundreds of officers were useless. Directors who full of sympathy, were anxious to aid the overworked officers found themselves unable to assist unless they had kept pace with the business for months before or went resolutely to work to acquire the necessary information.

"The President found in Mr. George V. Massey of the Council of Administration a firm friend, an industrious fellow-laborer, and a counselor wise, firm, and temperate, whose advice proved invaluable in many emergencies." The President, Mr. Higinbotham, together with the secretary of the Council of Administration took up their quarters in the Administration Building, seldom leaving the park by day or night. "The days were occupied with personal interviews with officers and employes, or with concessionaires appealing their grievances from the superintendent of collections or the Committee on Adjustment. The evening was given to correspondence or the clearing up of matters which had accumulated during the day." It frequently happened that one o'clock in the morning found the president and secretary still at their desks.

DETAILS OF ADMINISTRATION

"An estimate of the floating indebtedness made on May 1st, showed balances due on construction accounts alone in the neighborhood of two millions of dollars. In addition to this . . . material of all sorts had been purchased, under the pressure of grave emergencies, and without proper authority, to an enormous amount, which in the confusion of affairs at the opening day, could not even be approximately summed up. Not infrequently bills were presented for payment, regarding which neither the president, the Council of Administration, nor the auditor had been able to get any information, although the obligation had been incurred by some subordinate officer weeks or months before. The opportunity of subordinate officers seriously to embarrass the company by contracting liabilities to large amounts was quite ample. Nor was it possible to prevent this state of things, for the president and the Council of Administration, in the main, had confidence in the officers

under them, and felt that it would be unsafe to hamper them as to expenditures at a time when the paramount object was the completion of the Exposition by the time fixed.

"My only regret is that we were unsuccessful in creating some system which would have enabled the management to have a better knowledge of the liabilities as they were incurred. Because of the lack of this knowledge, the President and the Council of Administration were frequently criticised and censured, although they felt that they had done as well as was possible under the trying circumstances. In the orderly conduct of an established business it is the duty of the president or the general manager to have full knowledge of the details of every line of expenditure or obligation incurred. In a heavy and costly work of construction it is never possible to estimate so closely as in an old established business. This every one knows who has been identified with the construction of a railroad or a great building.

"In a military campaign, in time of war, questions of expense are utterly disregarded, the only object worthy of consideration being the achievement of victory over the enemy. I have mentioned a great private business, a work of construction, and a military campaign. The World's Columbian Exposition, from start to finish, resembled the latter more than it did the two former. Great and unusual powers had to be entrusted to subordinate hands for the accomplishment of one result, without accurate count of the cost."

When it is considered that the President of the Exposition, Mr. Higinbotham, was himself in the front rank of able and successful business managers, a partner in the great firm of Marshall Field and Company, the weight of his words on these matters may be realized. Like a commander in a campaign he was placed in a position of responsibility requiring resourcefulness, the power of making instant and far-reaching decisions, and the exercise of a clear judgment in directing affairs. His long experience in active business, his knowledge of men, his high sense of honor and business integrity, his proved ability, were qualities that combined to make up a leader who came upon the scene of action at a most critical time. The successful conduct and results of the great Exposition were largely due to the Herculean labors of Mr. Higinbotham. In his work he had at his back the universal sentiment of loyalty to the Fair which was shown by the people of Chicago. The spirit of loyalty, so generally manifested, was the great contributing cause, in the last resort, to the success of the Exposition, a spirit shared by almost every man, woman and child of the population.

And yet there were times when even this support failed, for when the bonds of the Exposition were issued, and Mr. Higinbotham himself visited the offices of men who could have purchased the securities thus offered, he was unsuccessful on many occasions. "I have been as good as shown out of the door, when I called upon men to urge their purchase," he exclaimed in despair to a friend.

Mr. Higinbotham in his exhaustive report as president of the Exposition, has accorded high praise to his distinguished associates in the conduct of affairs, who were indeed well entitled to the high encomiums he passed upon them. But his own services were naturally passed over in his report with brief and modest mention. It is therefore necessary to go to other sources for a proper

appreciation of his own great part in the work, and it is thus clearly seen that the chief figure in the galaxy of honorable men who brought the great Exposition through its difficulties to its glorious accomplishments was that of Harlow N. Higinbotham.

We cannot dismiss this subject without a mention of the great personal sacrifices, both to his business affairs and his own comfort, that was involved in Mr. Higinbotham's devoted attention to the affairs of the Exposition. Something may here be said as to the attitude of Mr. Field, the head of the house of Marshall Field and Company, towards the Fair and the necessary and prolonged absence of Mr. Higinbotham in its service. In general it may be stated that Mr. Field disapproved of Mr. Higinbotham's temporary abandonment of his business duties, and frankly expressed his opinion to that effect. But after the Fair was over he generously accorded to Mr. Higinbotham praise and approval of his course, and said to him: "If it hadn't been for you we wouldn't have had a Fair." Besides saying this he complimented him on the general management of its affairs. Mr. Field, unquestionably one of the greatest merchants of his time, was a man of great reserve, and it oftened happened that for long periods together his most intimate business associates and employes knew little or nothing of his views regarding their services. "In the forty years of my association with Mr. Field," said Mr. Higinbotham, "he never interfered further than to consider results, and upon them his judgment was solely based."

Mr. Field abundantly made good any deficiency of interest he may have felt towards the Fair in the beginning, when, near its close, he placed a million dollars in the hands of the board of Trustees to purchase objects then available for a collection to be known as the Columbian Museum, which in his honor was afterwards called the Field Columbian Museum. Elsewhere is given a more detailed account of this great project, and of the increase of Mr. Field's contributions.

THOMAS B. BRYAN

Praise should be accorded unstintingly to Mr. Thomas B. Bryan for the great service he performed in the cause of the Fair. When it was seen that the Easterners must be won over to an approval of the plan for a Fair to be located at Chicago, Mr. Bryan visited the East, and was instrumental in gaining a hearing in many influential quarters. His speech before the Congressional committee far surpassed in convincing power the pleas advanced by the men from New York; and his able defense of the Fair in the public prints when it was attacked, his declining the salary attached to the office of vice-president of the Board of Directors, his entertainment of distinguished guests from abroad, all go to prove his enthusiastic devotion to the interests of the Fair. Mr. Bryan was also one of those who visited Europe on behalf of the Exposition where he made a very good impression and won many friends for the enterprise. The time and money expended by him in this cause must have been very great, and it was always done in a spirit of self effacement truly admirable.

An account of Mr. Bryan's distinguished public services at the time of the World's Fair is but a repitition of his activities in all periods of Chicago's history with which he was contemporary, during his long residence here. From the days of the great Sanitary Fairs held in Chicago in the period of the Civil

War down to the last days of his life, there has never been a crisis of any kind requiring an exercise of public spirit on the part of its citizens, but that Mr. Bryan has always been found ready to lend effective aid and service. As a writer said in a newspaper article, nothing less than a statue should be erected in some suitable place as a testimonial to this public spirited citizen and friend of the Fair.

THE "I WILL" MOTTO

A figure or design of an emblematic nature enjoyed a high degree of popularity during the World's Fair season. The figure represented a goddess in a heroic attitude wearing a breast-plate on which was inscribed the motto, "I Will." This was intended to represent the spirit and genius of the Chicago people, but it was looked upon unfavorably by the art critics and leaders of culture. About the same time a statue of Columbus was erected by the World's Fair authorities on the Lake Front as a gift to the people. The statue was a colossal figure in bronze which was supposed to represent the great discoverer at the moment when he beheld the shores of the New World for the first time. The work was condemned by the critics who considered that the attitude of the figure, as conceived by the designer, was lacking in dignity and in general without artistic merit; and a year or two after its erection it was pulled down from its pedestal and ignominiously flung into the junk heap. While the merits of these designs were under lively discussion in the newspapers, one writer made the amusing suggestion that the "Lake Front Columbus" and the "I Will girl" ought to elope together. But the "I Will" goddess survived all unfavorable criticism, and in the form of statues and pictures, has been constantly before the eyes of the public to the present day. Its first presentation was in the form of a drawing, but it has been often modeled in clay and cut in stone since that time, and continues to do excellent service as one of the stock figures of the cartoonists.

AN ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGIN

An account of the origin of the "I Will" motto will be of interest to the readers of this work. In the fall of 1891, at a time when the people of Chicago were making huge preparations for building the World's Fair, William Hudson Harper, then a member of the editorial staff of the Chicago Inter Ocean, proposed to H. H. Kohlsaat, the proprietor of the paper, that a figure typical of the Chicago spirit might well be adopted. "A mighty spirit was aflame and in action," wrote Mr. Harper in reviewing this period. The World's Fair was "an achievement of vision, idealism and optimism without precedent in its class in all the world's history."

Mr. Harper's idea was approved by Mr. Kohlsaat and he at once offered, through the columns of the Inter Ocean, a series of three prizes for a suitable design, a first prize of $200, a second prize of $100, and a third of $50. Having published his purpose of securing a design typical of Chicago, Mr. Kohlsaat selected a committee of representative citizens as judges of the competition. This committee was composed of Thomas Nast, the famous New York cartoonist; Mrs. Potter Palmer, president of the board of lady managers of the World's

Fair; Miss Harriet Monroe, author of the "Columbian Ode"; W. M. R. French, director of the Chicago Art Institute; and Lyman J. Gage, former president of the World's Fair.

On March 15, 1892, the Inter Ocean announced the decision of the judges; on Sunday the 20th, it published the drawings of the three prize winners, together with thirty-three others. About three hundred drawings from competitors in all parts of the country had been submitted. The successful artists were: Charles Holloway, Chicago, first prize; George H. Petet, New York City, second prize; and Johannes Scheiwe, Ottumwa, Iowa, third prize. "The three hundred drawings had been forwarded by the Inter Ocean to the Art Institute and there assembled for review by the judges," writes Mr. Harper, in the issue of Chicago Commerce, April 20, 1915, "who in their decision were governed by considerations of conception, drawing, practicability and permanence. Many of the drawings were crude, amateurish, whimsical and impossible, but the fitness of Mr. Holloway's design, coming from a man of culture and imagination, is yet to be seriously challenged."

THE DESIGNER OF THE "I WILL" MAIDEN

A brief sketch of the designer of this typical figure which has been given so large a space in numerous graphic presentations to the Chicago public is recorded by Mr. Harper: Mr. Holloway was born in Philadelphia, June 14, 1859. At the age of eleven he removed to St. Louis, eventually studying art in the art school of Washington University. In 1879 he came to Chicago and devoted himself to the art of stained glass production. Steadily he grew in scope and power as a designer, his work commanding more than comparison with that of Tiffany and La Farge of New York, and appearing, whether in the medium of glass or mural decoration, in such representative places as the homes of Potter Palmer and H. N. Higinbotham; in Garrett Biblical Institute, at Evanston; in the store of Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co.; and in public edifices in Denver. But that work by Mr. Holloway, most impressive and enduring in the eyes of Chicagoans, was and is the noble decoration of the proscenium arch in the Auditorium, entitled the "Symphony of Time." At this period he was associated with Louis J. Millett. Mr. Holloway's skill also found appropriate opportunity in one or more of the buildings of the World's Fair.

"And what further of the winning design which has come, in the usage of some, to be designated the 'I Will Girl?'" writes Mr. Harper. "In latter years it seems to have come into greater vogue as an adaptable advertising device, and as an apt medium for the cartoonist, than it stimulated immediately after its publication. Open to criticism though it may be, no design has yet been invented incorporating so much of the resolution, power, and courage of this city, unlike any other city, as is embodied in this unconventional creature—discoverer, builder, poet of the civilization of the new world.

"And be this also said, with more than usual emphasis," continues Mr. Harper, "Charles Holloway was the first interpreter of the genius of Chicago to associate with an artistic personification of this city an expression of the dominant power of its soul. It seems fair to say that to this man Chicago is in-

debted for a declaration of the highest moral value:—'I AM CHICAGO—I WILL.'"

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE FIGURE

In a descriptive comment on the figure and its accessories, the Inter Ocean said: "The strength, vitality and heroism of the conception that earned the first mention leaves nothing to be desired on the part of all who see in Chicago the type of American life. Free from confusing accessories to distract the mind from the true purpose of the pictorial representation the figure stands youthful, energetic and bold. The poise suggests the combination of steadfastness and progress that has made the city materially great, while the expression of the features, the forehead and far-seeing eye particularly, betoken the brain and mentality behind the intellectual development of the city. The symbols, few in number, are all pregnant with suggestion. The leathern strap about the wrist is the device frequently resorted to by athletes for reinforcement of the muscles. The carpenter's square held against the hip has in it the peaceful idea of the scriptural verse when the swords shall be beaten into pruning hooks; and the phoenix crest above the broadening brow recalls the seemingly hopeless cataclysm from which the new Chicago rose rejuvenate, like Herodotus' fabled bird. Upon her breast the figure bears the simple legend, 'I Will.'"

On the same day, that is March 20, 1892, the Inter Ocean in its editorial columns said in part: "Of the sketch taking the first prize, it may be said that it is of the highest type of emblematic figures, expressing dignity, strength, purpose and energy—all that is involved in the motto, 'I Will.' It may be used in any size—as a headpiece, a half-length, or a full figure, and in every case will typify the 'I Will' spirit of Chicago."

In the same year, so prolific in new works of genius in every field of thought and endeavor, there was brought out by the Chicago Tribune, on October 1, 1892, another design of lasting merit, the device of a shield upon which was emblazoned a design resembling the letter "Y." This was to represent emblematically the Chicago river and its two branches. This device has since been in common use by the people in the many ways to which it can be adapted.

THE MUNICIPAL COLORS AND THE "Y" EMBLEM

In the issue of the Chicago Tribune for September 11, 1892, an editorial appeared with the heading, "Fair Opening City Decorations," in which it was said that in view of the forthcoming dedication exercises and ceremonies in October, "the matter of decorations should be left to the taste of those who have professional experience, and are qualified to make suggestions. One such, Mr. Frank D. Millet, the decorative artist, has already by request thrown out some general hints which can safely be followed by the committee, such as the use of two colors, red and white," to be used on flags, streamers, gonfalons, and hangings of every description. Mr. Millet further suggested "the propriety of selecting colors which shall be known as Chicago's 'municipal colors,' after the manner of European cities." It will be recalled in this connection that Frank D. Millet lost his life when the ill-fated steamer "Titanic" foundered, April 15, 1912.

On the next day, that is, September 12, 1892, the Tribune printed the following announcement: "For the best suggestion of color or combination of colors for a 'municipal color' for Chicago, one hundred dollars in cash will be paid." In its issue of October 1st, the Tribune announced the award of one hundred dollars for a "municipal color." The winner of the prize was Alfred Jensen Roewad, a native of Denmark. Roewad had been in Chicago only two years where he was at the time practicing his profession as an architect. The design submitted by Roewad is described as follows: A shield, banner or flag with a field or background of terra-cotta or red color, upon which is placed a band in white or silver, shaped like the letter "Y," intended to divide the field into three parts, the outer edges the same as the band. Roewad accompanied the design with a letter as follows: "The three parts indicate the three Chicago divisions—North, West and South—united with a white or silver band—the river. Red and white are the best colors for decorating, both with house fronts and green leaves as backgrounds." The design, shaped like the letter "Y," was shown on the shield in an inverted position, that is, the main stem was above, and the branching parts below. This can be seen in the illustration printed in the Tribune in its issue of October 1st, 1892. But in popular usage the position was reversed, and the main stem of the design began at the bottom and branched off towards the top.

The committee who made the award was composed of Walter Shirlaw, Walter McEwen, and Edwin H. Blashfield. This committee was appointed by F. D. Millet, who, in his letter to the Tribune enclosing the report, said of the design: "It is significant and simple, and recalls a heraldic device, or, rather, is a reminiscence of the way coats of arms and banners were designed in the days of chivalry." The Tribune of Sunday, October 2d, announced that the new design would be displayed at the entrance of its building the next day. Later issues of the Tribune show that business men very soon began to make use of the design in their advertisements. It became popular at once and its use has been increasing ever since that time. The first draft in colors of the shield designed by Roewad, having a background of terra-cotta or red with a band of white or silver, was at once made the target of ridicule by those critics who always seize upon occasions of this sort for the display of cheap wit. Among the different epithets applied to the design the one which obtained the widest currency was its description as the "liver and lard" design.

The first proposal, it will be observed, was for a "municipal color," no mention being made of any design whatever to be connected with it. No one seemed to have thought of a combination such as eventually was made. The idea seems to have grown in the mind of the designer to include a device which, as Millet said, was reminiscent of "the days of chivalry," and has given to Chicago a unique and significant emblem. Its widespread popularity has, in fact, given ample proof of its lasting merit.

THE MUNICIPAL FLAG OF THE PRESENT DAY

On the 4th of April, 1917, the City Council of Chicago passed an ordinance prescribing the form and colors of the "Municipal Flag," with the devices to be shown upon it in connection with the various official and non-official uses

for which it was intended. This flag was designed by Mr. Wallace Rice who has similarly designed a state flag to be shown conspicuously in the pageants of the present centennial year. One of the devices shown on the municipal flag is the emblem of which we have given the history.

The ordinance provides that the forms, emblems, symbols and colors of the municipal flag—including a standard, pennant and badge—shall be two bright red, six pointed stars set side by side between two blue bars running lengthwise of the flag, on a white background. Also that the municipal flag shall be the official flag of the several departments of the city government, each such department to place upon it its own appropriate symbol or emblem. Thus some twenty-three city departments may each have a special flag for its own use and display.

One of the sections of the ordinance provides for a "municipal device," for use "by the varied unofficial interests of Chicago and its people, which shall show a Y-shaped figure in a circle, colored and designed to suit individual tastes and needs." The city clerk has the custody of these various flags, a full description of which is given in the ordinance.

In this connection it is interesting to mention that the ordinance forbids the use of the municipal flag for advertising purposes, and contains a special provision that "such municipal flag shall never be displayed in any position that shall indicate superiority to, or precedence of, the flag of the United States."

The recognition of the value of the Y-emblem, as shown in the section of the ordinance quoted above, prescribing its use by the "varied unofficial interests of Chicago and its people," as well as the numerous uses to which it has already been applied during the twenty-five years since its appearance, amply justifies the favorable initial reception it received from the public, and its continuing popularity. Thus the two figures which have come down to us from the glorious World's Fair days—the "I Will Goddess" and the "Y-emblem"—are worthy not only of our admiration for the designs, but also the deep respect we must feel for the genius and inspiration of their designers.

CHAPTER XV

IMPORTANT RESULTS OF THE WORLD'S FAIR

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PANIC OF 1893

In a history of the State Bank of Chicago the writer relates some of the early symptoms of the panic of 1893, which culminated in the failure of the Chemical National Bank of Chicago on the 9th of May in that year, and which event we may regard as the beginning of the panic in Chicago. For some weeks previously there had occurred "runs" on savings banks in various parts of the country, and towards the end of April a rumor obtained circulation that the Secretary of the Treasury might redeem the paper money in silver instead of gold coin, which aroused a general protest. The Secretary, who at that time was John G. Carlisle, issued a statement in denial, and this was followed by a stronger statement by President Cleveland rebuking the public for crediting such rumors.

After the failure of the Chemical National Bank, mention of which was made in the previous chapter, the Columbia National Bank likewise failed and carried down with it a group of country banks scattered about in the states of Indiana, Illinois and Ohio. The general alarm culminated in Chicago in runs on all savings banks, both large and small, strong and weak. These runs were most severe on June 5th, 6th and 7th. Long lines of anxious savings depositors stood before the doors of all savings banks in the city, many of them

remaining until after midnight before their turn came. For three days the teller at the State Bank, says the writer, "paid out gold uninterruptedly to long lines of timid depositors stretching through the office, down the stairways, and some distance on the street. When the run was over the bank had paid out several hundred thousand dollars in gold."

A week later confidence was restored as suddenly as it was lost, and a stream of gold flowed back into the bank's vaults. It may be added here that as a consequence of the runs above referred to, all the Chicago banks took unanimous action on January 1, 1894, in an agreement that interest allowed on savings deposits should thenceforth be reduced from 4 per cent to 3 per cent, and this reduction proved timely in view of the unsatisfactory condition of general business during the ensuing three years.

THE PANIC A HARD BLOW TO THE EXPOSITION

The Panic of 1893 was a hard blow to the World's Fair which at the time of the bank failure referred to was engaged in a gigantic struggle to maintain its financial footing, until the proceeds from the expected throngs of visitors would enable the management to liquidate its enormous accumulation of obligations. It will be remembered that the dedication of the World's Columbian Exposition, usually referred to more briefly as the World's Fair, took place on the 21st of October, 1892, but its opening was postponed to May 1st of the following year. The approaching storm in the financial world had become apparent to the Fair managers for some time. They were leading men of affairs in the business world, and they recognized the serious menace there was to the success of the great enterprise in the threatening conditions. It was a singular misfortune that the management, in addition to their other anxieties, should be the first to feel the blast from the gathering storm breaking upon their devoted heads, but such was the case.

The effects of the panic on the business life of Chicago continued for some years, eventually wearing off by slow degrees before the succeeding period of prosperity. Two years after the panic the largest bank in the city charged off its books a million dollars' worth of "impaired notes and bills." The language of the resolution passed by the directors of the First National Bank of Chicago, which at that time had a line of upwards of $29,000,000 of deposits, advising its stockholders of the action taken, was as follows: "We have been passing through a period of shrinking values and commercial depression, unparalled in twenty years. Whether this period is fully past cannot yet be determined with certainty. Until so determined it will be our policy to restrict operations and to carry large cash reserves against all contingencies." Mr. Henry S. Henschen, in his history of the State Bank, remarks that "the years from 1893 to 1897 were years of financial depression, but brighter times came in the latter year with the inauguration of President McKinley, most appropriately named 'the advance agent of prosperity.'"

MANUFACTURES BUILDING

There were many wonders at the World's Fair, and perhaps the great building known as the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building was the most won-

derful structure of the "White City." In size it was far and away the largest on the grounds.

The following description of this building is quoted from the "History of the World's Columbian Exposition," published under the authority of the Board of Directors. "The location of the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building was prominent, as its importance and great size would merit. It was on the lake shore, its south front forming the north side of the Court of Honor. The west side faced the Electricity Building and the Wooded Island, and the north front looked toward the United States Government Building.

"This was the mammoth structure of the Exposition. It covered about thirty acres and a half, and was therefore about twice the size of Machinery Hall. Compared with notable buildings of the world, it was about six times as large as the Coliseum at Rome (five acres and a half), which seated 80,000 spectators, had five times the area of St. Peter's Cathedral (six acres), and nearly three times the area of the largest Pyramid of Egypt (eleven acres). The extreme length of the building was 1,687 feet and the extreme breadth 787 feet, so that the distance around it was about ninety-five one hundredths of a mile. The height was 237 feet from the floor level to the peak of the highest roof. This would be equal to a building nineteen stories high with a height of twelve feet for each story. Its galleries had an area of twelve acres and a half, so that the total floor area was about forty-three acres. It was rectangular in outline, with projecting pavilions at the centers of the four façades and at the four corners.

"Architecturally considered, the building consisted of a series of naves 175 feet wide and 133 feet high, surrounding a large hall or covered court 382 feet wide and 222 feet high, supported by steel arches without intervening columns. This hall, or court, constituted about one-third of the ground area of the building (eleven acres and a quarter). The façades were treated in the Corinthian style of architecture, ornamented at the centers by triumphal arches suggestive of the Arch of Constantine at Rome, while the corners were accentuated by others that recalled in some measure the Arch of Titus. The central pavilions, which marked the main entrances of the building, rose to a height of 124 feet above the ground. Their walls were decorated with sculpture and relief ornament, descriptive tablets, and symbolic figures, and the domed ceilings were painted in fresco by noted American artists. The corner pavilions, 94 feet high, were similarly treated and were in harmony with the center.

"Between these main points extended the long vista of arches, which made up the facades, with broad *loggias* which served for cafés, promenades, etc., and as resting places for tired visitors. The entire surface and decoration of the exterior were of staff, which in its appearance has something of the massive character and repose of marble, and is capable of the most elaborate treatment in reproducing the various ornamental forms used in classic work.

"The main aisle, fifty feet wide, running north and south through the center of the building, was known as Columbia Avenue, and a similar aisle crossing the building from east to west divided the exhibit space into four main sections. Along these broad avenues were arranged the most notable exhibits according to their nationalities, and through them moved the great currents of sight-seers.

"The galleries, about twenty feet above the ground floor, were constructed throughout the entire length of the naves, along the outside walls, and against

the great steel trusses of the inner court. Frequent cross galleries connected these along the walls, so that about half the area of the naves was covered by galleries. In the original plans access to them was provided by thirty staircases, twelve feet wide, at different points in the building. During the Exposition period two additional stairways, twenty-five feet wide, leading directly from the main avenues of the great court, were supplied by the exhibitors in the American section, which materially increased the attendance in the galleries. The estimated cost of the building was $1,812,691. The light was provided by windows in the outside walls and by skylights in the roof. The total amount of skylight surface was thirteen acres and a half, or about three-sevenths of the entire ground area of the building. The architect was George B. Post, of New York.

"The difficulty in the designs of the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building lay in its enormous length of façades. The architect became convinced, upon giving the matter careful study, that, in order to produce an effect of dignity and grandeur, the *motif* of the design should be as large and simple as possible; that any attempt to break the horizontal lines, except at their ends and centers, would belittle the effect; and that the introduction of sculpture or any serious amount of mural enrichment, except at the centers and ends of the façades, would have the same result.

"On his demonstrating, to his own satisfaction, the accuracy of these conclusions, the selection of a *motif* for the design followed naturally. It had been decided that the work should be pure Italian Renaissance, and in carrying out the design no attempt was made to improve the proportions of details of columns or entablatures established by the great examples of the Renaissance; the form of the triumphal arch for the central and corner porches, and of the repeating arches found in the Roman aqueducts for the screen walls seemed to meet all the requirements. The Temple of Jupiter Stator, in Rome, was selected as a model, and was copied as literally as was possible."

The great building was very impressive in all respects. "The visitor," as an observer, viewing it while it was under construction, said, "standing at the foot of one of the great trusses, and tracing its course upwards with his eye, seems to see it soar like a rocket into the sky, gracefully curving until it meets and joins its mate from the opposite side, 'grappling in the central blue.' "

SPECIAL DAYS AT THE FAIR

It was the custom to distinguish certain days during the continuance of the Fair by names, which were supposed would arouse special enthusiasm, and thus cause an increased attendance. Thus there was an "Illinois Day," a "British Empire day," a "Grand Army day," a "Michigan Day," and the like. The twenty-second anniversary of the great Chicago fire occurred on the 9th of October. This day was set apart as "Chicago Day," and it was celebrated by a remarkably large attendance, amounting to the extraordinary total of 716,880 paid admissions. The largest attendance in any one day at the World's Fair held in Paris in 1889, was 397,000, which established the record of the greatest number of persons ever in attendance at a World's Fair up to the time of the "Chicago Day" celebration.

ATTENDANCE ON "CHICAGO DAY"

In addition to a great number of visitors from elsewhere the people of Chicago turned out in multitudes. By railroads, elevated trains, electric cars, carriages and every other sort of vehicle, on foot, in pasenger boats, the people poured into the grounds all day and evening through the numerous entrances. The celebration of this day appealed to the pride of almost every inhabitant of the city, and it seemed the determination of everyone to make "Chicago Day" the red-letter day of the Fair. The results exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the management and people. While the displays and amusements were at the height of their attractiveness at that period of the Fair, the vast concourse of people moving about on the grounds and in the buildings was the greatest sight of all. The broad avenues between the buildings were packed, and the buildings were overflowing with humanity, and yet a more happy and merry lot of human beings was never collected together.

"On the anniversary of an unprecedented calamity," wrote Dr. Selim H. Peabody, "rehabilitated Chicago showed that she remembered her destruction only as the day from which to reckon her grandest achievements, and on that day, October 9th, she passed nearly three-fourths of a million people through the portals of the Exposition. The avenues, the plazas, the buildings, every acre of the great enclosure, were filled with an ever-moving throng, which was thoroughly responsive to the inspiration of the occasion and the environment. There was no symbol of control, for no control was needed. There was no instance of excess, or intoxication, or disorder. There was no soldiery, and no police other than the uniformed servants of the Exposition, who were guides rather than guards. "This vast multitude, intelligent, interested, happy, was itself an exposition of the progress and social status of an educated and free people, moving amid such scenes of beauty and such treasures of information."

The New York Tribune of the 10th commented on the event as follows: "It was Chicago's own day, and right royally did she celebrate it. No previous World's Fair ever saw such a host of people as swarmed in Jackson Park yesterday, and the world will be considerably older before this unprecedented scene is repeated. Chicago doesn't do things by halves. She didn't when she erected the splendid group of buildings on the lake shore, and of course she didn't on the day set apart for her own special glorification. Chicago Day was a stupendous success."

Mr. Higinbotham, the president of the Fair, was highly gratified at the result. "Everything favored the Fair," he said. "The weather was perfect. I was prepared for a big crowd, but the most extravagant estimate I had made on the day's attendance did not reach more than 500,000, and I would have been satisfied with that figure, for it would then have been the largest number of persons ever assembled at one time within an enclosure."

There were many other special days during the progress of the Fair, but none approached the number in attendance on Chicago day. The attendance on the Fourth of July was 283,273, which up to that time exceeded all previous records. Other important days in the attendance record were Illinois Day, (August 24th), 243,951; Wisconsin Day, (September 6th), 175,409; Iowa Day (September 21st), 199,174; Indiana Day (September 27th), 196,423; and Man-

hattan Day (October 21st), 298,928. Some other "days" exceeded even these figures, but the increasing interest among those visitors who had deferred their visits until the late days of the Fair was largely responsible for the attendance records shown.

ATTENDANCE AT WORLD'S FAIR

The total attendance at the World's Fair for the six months during which it was open, from May 1st to October 30th, inclusive, was 21,480,141; to which may be added those admitted on passes—officials, workmen, concessioners, and exhibitors—6,059,380; making a grand total of attendance 27,539,521. At the Paris Exposition of 1889, the total attendance was 28,149,353; but as the rates of admission were lower, their receipts from admissions were only about six millions of dollars, whereas those of the Chicago Fair were $10,626,330. The attendance at the Chicago Fair considerably exceeded that of the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, in 1876, which was 9,910,996; with receipts of $3,813,724.

LOCATING THE ART INSTITUTE

That part of the original plan for locating the whole or part of the Fair on the Lake Front was finanally modified to a contribution towards the building of the proposed Art Institute on that site. The plans for a permanent building had been matured by the managers of the Art Institute and in aid of this the Exposition appropriated two hundred thousand dollars, with the understanding that the Art Institute, with the assistance of this appropriation, would construct a building at a cost of six hundred thousand dollars, which should be used by the World's Congress Auxiliary during the Exposition season, and at the close become the property of the Art Institute.

In 1892, the Art Institute, which had been incorporated in 1879, sold its building on the corner of Michigan avenue and Van Buren street for $425,000, and was therefore prepared to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by the Columbian Exposition to obtain a footing upon the Lake Front. "The Columbian Exposition had determined to expend $200,000 upon a temporary building upon the Lake Front to be used for World's Congresses," says Mr. W. M. R. French, in the historical sketch of the Art Institute, printed in 1904. "It was proposed by the officers of the Art Institute that they should be allowed to add to this sum such amounts as they could raise, and erect a permanent building, which, after serving the purposes of the World's Congresses, should be permanently occupied as a museum by the Art Institute.

"By city ordinance, passed in March, 1891, permission was given for the erection of such building upon the Lake Front, opposite Adams Street. Between February, 1892, and May, 1893, the present building was completed after the plans of Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, architects. During the construction, an injunction was issued, restraining the city from allowing the erection of any building upon the Lake Front, but it was dissolved upon a rehearing, mainly upon the ground that the Legislature of Illinois, by an act of 1890, had authorized the city to permit the erection of buildings connected with the Columbian Exposition upon the Lake Front, and to retain some of them permanently.

"By this decision, and under circumstances quite exceptional, the Art In-

stitute was firmly established in its rights upon the Lake Front. The cost of the original building was $648,000, including two temporary halls removed at the end of the Fair, costing $27,000. Of this sum the Columbian Exposition paid $200,000, and the Art Institute $448,000. The money contributed by the Art Institute was raised partly by the sale of its former property and partly by subscription. The ownership of this building was vested in the City of Chicago, until 1904, when it passed to the South Park Commisioners, while the right of use and occupation is vested in the Art Institute so long as it shall fulfill the purposes for which it was organized, shall open the museum free to the public on Wednesdays, Saturdays, Sundays and public holidays, shall make the Mayor and Comptroller of the city *ex-officio* members of the Board of Trustees, and shall conform to some other simple conditions. This property, comprising four hundred feet front on Michigan avenue, is exempt from taxation of all kinds. The Art Institute thus in effect made a gift to the people of the city of the money expended by it upon the building, and gained a public character very advantageous for the public service at which it aims."

THE FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM

One of the results of the Fair was the formation of the Field Columbian Museum. Towards its close it was seen that the opportunity for forming a great museum was a most favorable one. Many of the exhibitors would be willing to leave valuable articles worthy of a place in a museum, provided there was an organization formed that would be responsible for their preservation. Many rare articles could be purchased at exceedingly low prices, some exhibitors preferring to take a merely nominal sum rather than to take the trouble of removing them. There were many beautiful articles shown at the Fair which were uniques, and if not acquired by an institution here would likely go elsewhere, and disappear from the view of our people forever. There would never in the future be an opportunity that could compare with the present occasion for making a successful start with an institution of this character.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MUSEUM

In the month of September, 1893, articles of incorporation of the "Columbian Museum" were taken out by the following named gentlemen, who had been constituted a committee for that purpose: Messrs. George E. Adams, Emil G. Hirsch, John A. Roche, Carter H. Harrison, Sidney C. Eastman, Adolphus C. Bartlett, Edward E. Ayer, Robert McCurdy, and Charles FitzSimmons. On the 26th of October, Mr. Marshall Field announced that he would give one million dollars for the purposes of the museum, on certain conditions of contributions to be made from other sources. The conditions made by Mr. Field were that $500,000 more in cash should be secured, and donations of $2,000,000 in stock of the Exposition, then thought to be worth about ten cents on the dollar. Subsequently, however, these conditions were waived.

The first Board of Trustees consisted of fifteen members. Their names were as follows: Norman Williams, Cyrus H. McCormick, Edward E. Ayer, Martin A. Ryerson, George R. Davis, Edwin Walker, George Manierre, Harlow N. Hig-

inbotham, Owen F. Aldis, William J. Chalmers, George E. Adams, Watson Blair, Norman B. Ream, Huntington W. Jackson, and Arthur B. Jones. Other large contributors to the Museum were: George M. Pullman, who gave $100,000, H. N. Higinbotham, $100,000, and Mrs. George Sturgis, $50,000. In June, 1894, the name of the institution was changed to the "Field Columbian Museum." This name remained in use until November, 1905, when it was again changed to the "Field Museum of Natural History."

By an act of the State Legislature, dated May 14th, 1903, the Park authorities are permitted to levy a tax of half a mill on each dollar of the assessed valuation of the property in the South Park district for the maintenance of the Museum. By the terms of the act referred to an admission fee of twenty-five cents for adults, and ten cents for children under ten years of age may be charged, but the Museum must be open three days in each week free of charge. Entrance for school children must be free at all times.

THE LOCATION OF THE MUSEUM

The Art Building had been constructed in a more substantial manner than most of the other buildings at the Fair, having in view the safety of the priceless treasures it was to contain. It was regarded as a fire-proof building. This building was fixed upon as the home of the museum. As the exhibits at the Art Building were the first to be removed the Museum trustees obtained possession of it soon after the Exposition closed, under an agreement with the South Park Commissioners, and articles for the Museum were placed there until they could be properly installed.

Frederick J. F. Skiff was chosen Director of the Museum and the work of gathering desirable objects began at once. The donations of articles were numerous, indeed exceeding all expectations. The public took an enormous interest in this splendid sequel of the Exposition just closing, regarding it as a perpetuation in some sense of the glories of the Fair. Foreigners were large benefactors and the Museum came at once into possession of a vast number of articles which under other circumstances it would have taken many years to acquire. With the generous provisions made by Mr. Field and others the plans of the Museum authorities could be made on a broad scale.

After the gifts of Mr. Field and others for the Museum had been announced, the news was commented upon by Harper's Weekly, of New York, in its editorial column, as follows: "What extraordinary givers these Chicago men are! It is exhilarating, even at this distance, to see the superb confidence with which they back up their town. Other cities get bequests now and then, but Chicago's rich men have not had time to die, and neither she nor they can wait for that. They want to see that investment in actual being."

DR. PEABODY'S REVIEW OF THE EXPOSITION

The following extracts from the "History of the World's Columbian Exposition," are inserted here, and are from the concluding chapter of that work. This chapter was written by Dr. Selim H. Peabody, and it is considered by Mr.

Higinbotham as the most satisfactory review of the Exposition in its educational and moral aspects.

"During the later centuries," writes Dr. Peabody, "the people of lands widely remote have frequently assembled in large numbers, and for friendly purposes, but with results as widely divergent as were the inspirations that attracted them. Many of these gatherings have been essentially commercial." At all times the question in the minds of those who resorted to them was the amount of profit they would gain. Fairs, such as were held in various countries of Europe, had the exchange of goods as the principal reason of their existence, though it is not denied that they had an educational value as well, still this was only incidental and casual. "The world's great expositions, held within the past half century, have differed essentially from such fairs in their inception, development, and personality of attendance, and therefore in their results. In them the commercial element, though never eliminated, has purposely been made subordinate."

The exposition, in general terms, has gradually assumed a new aspect. By a natural process of selection, only the best is offered for competition, and the exhibits come from wider and remoter regions. "The exposition stands at the meeting of the world's highways, where gather the nations of earth, burdened each with the evidences of its newest and noblest achievements. It is an epitome of the world's progress, a history and a prophecy. The latest discoveries, the newest inventions, the triumphs in art, in science, in education, in the solution of social and even of religious problems, are here arrayed. Here stand the most effective dynamo, the swiftest locomotive, the telescope piercing the remotest heavens, the most productive printing press, the most destructive artillery; machines that spin, weave, set type, thrash grain, mine coal, drill rock, fashion railway bars; the artist's dream on canvas or in marble, in clustering column or aspiring dome, in woven fabric or in decorated vase; the flower's effulgence and the fruit's alluring blush; all products of the soil, the mine, the sea; whatever testifies to the industry, the skill, the creative and almost divine power of human thought when stimulated to its most earnest endeavors. . . . There is a fascination in the enumeration of such items. In a way, they are properly accepted as indices of the progress they are supposed to record. They are like the mountain summits towering above the masses that stand as their foundations. They are like the flashing waves that run along the sands before the surges of the advancing tide."

THE WORLD'S PROGRESS ILLUSTRATED

"In this presentation of the purposes of a great exposition," continues Dr. Peabody, "the subject has been viewed generically, without reference to specific examples. To none are these propositions more applicable than to the Columbian Exposition of 1893, an example as eminently typical as it was fully developed. The student devoted to any department of research found here his most coveted opportunity for investigation. The chart of the world's progress was spread before him. In certain instances, as in the Department of Transportation exhibits, there was an epitome, not merely of a condition of advanced superiority, but of all the successive periods passed through, from that of the Appian Way

to that of the bridge over the Forth; from the experimental Rocket to the Pullman train and the Empress-Queen locomotive, with all the multitudinous appliances of present railway practice. Such objective instruction was never before so completely organized. . . .

"At no former exposition were the earth's folk so numerously represented. Each quarter of the globe furnished its contingent. Aboriginal tribes came from the Arctic Zone and from the Southern Ocean; from the heart of Africa and from the North American forests. The Aryan, the Mongolian, the Semitic, the Malaysian, met and mingled until the Pentecostal miracle was repeated. From all these exhibits, each typical in its way, might have been arranged the gamut of civilization. . . . While the Exposition thus set forth the peculiarities of every land and every clime, it also illustrated every phase of human progress, from days before those of the Pharaohs and Confucius to the moment" of its opening.

THE EXPOSITION'S EDUCATIVE VALUE

"Thus, by suggestion rather than by exhaustive analysis, do we discover the first phase of the educative value of the great Exposition. It was an epitome of all that was extant in the world as the outcome and the evidence of its advancement in every department of human effort; it was a condensed history of the successive epochs through which the human race has pursued its long and toilsome march toward the realization of its nobler destines. To this may be referred all that is implied in the phrase 'acquisition of knowledge,' the boundless opportunity for laborious examination, note-book in hand, amid a bewildering infinity of exhibits, over which no human being ever won the mastery.

"Education is not instruction so much as it is inspiration. This doctrine is often stated, commonly accepted, and yet, apparently, is but feebly appreciated. Educative values, educational results, are to be estimated not by facilities for imparting knowledge, but by the power of kindling in the soul its latent energies and developing rightly balanced character. Knowledge is power, not *per se,* but as the stimulus of thought, or as the material on which the thinking mind may work. Prometheus bringing fire from heaven typified the true educator.

THE EXPOSITION'S PRACTICAL AND ARTISTIC VALUE

"In numerous instances the history of the great expositions records their power to startle nations from a fancied security into new and vigorous action. The surprises of the Exposition of 1851 are not forgotten. It was there made evident that in certain particulars the people of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland did not maintain the supremacy which they had long fancied was their own, and a commission of Parliament was directed to report upon the facts and their causes. In due time important educational reforms were instituted, and the agitation found a responsive echo in the United States, to which may be attributed the foundation of so many great technological and industrial schools in our country.

"The art exhibits at the Centennial Exposition of 1876 were a revelation to the masses of the American people, and from them flowed an inspiration that

founded art schools and ingrafted art instruction upon many of our school systems, followed by a genuine revival of plastic, pictorial, and decorative art that beautifies and enriches all our life, public and private. To similar sources of inspiration, found also in the great expositions, may be traced the new renaissance which now holds so strong a place in all enlightened nations.

"In the face of well-remembered maxims that forbid premature reckonings it may be hazardous to predict any specific educational movement such as has been cited. But in certain aspects the Exposition was peculiar, and by its peculiarities its capacity for instruction and inspiration was augmented. Its scheme of organization was broadened and was carefully differentiated. As it was evident that no departing visitor could ever boast that he had compassed the whole, it was imperative that none should have occasion to lament that nothing therein concerned or interested him. Proper classification aided the student in finding what he sought, and that in such a collocation as to make its lessons most impressive. Of the eleven exposition departments, five had not before been separately organized in a great exposition. These were the departments of Fisheries, Mines, Transportation, Electricity, and Ethnology. In each case, to the new department and to that from which it had been withdrawn, isolation lent an added dignity, a more elaborate administration, greater richness of detail, a completer presentation, and a much more impressive educational value. If by this arrangement exhibits were sometimes duplicated, it was only that relationships might be more clearly discerned, and that the *ensemble* of a department be more perfectly established. This movement was a step toward a more complete and therefore more desirable method of organization, which would arrange an exposition by subjects, rather than by states or nations; which would collect in one group whatever the world has to offer in any special field of science, discovery, or invention. For a congeries of many displays it would substitute one grand and thoroughly organized exposition. . . .

LANDSCAPE AND ARCHITECTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS

"The lessons that most impressed the millions who visited the wonders of the Exposition, which they accepted with greatest unanimity and which they will most gladly recall as memory reproduces the events and the scenes of their pilgrimage, were those taught by the achievements of the landscape gardener and the architect. Entering upon a spacious area of virgin marsh, occupied only with alternate ridges of sand and lanes of water, vocal with the boom of the bittern, or rustling with the soft whirr of the mousing owl, these artists had absolutely *tabula rasa* for their work. There were no buildings to be removed, no trees to be preserved, no elevations to be leveled, no rocks to impede their progress. Did they wish for a lagoon, a steam dredge entering from the lake and floating in the channel made by itself readily transferred the sand from beneath to the adjacent shore, where the almost fluid material presently assumed the qualities of an unyielding foundation. Upon such foundations, with the swiftness of an exhalation, and with a simulated solidity that appeared to emulate the endurance of the Parthenon, they reared a city whose magnificent grandeur was the delight of all nations. Attuned to a perfect harmony, the different edi-

fices were but the varied tones of one sympathetic chord. There was the deep diapason of the building for Manufactures and the Liberal Arts; the *vox humana* and the *celeste* of Agriculture and Machinery; the falsetto of Transportation; while the aspiring dome of the Administration Building, like the commanding resonance of a mighty clarion, dominated and subdued all into one grand accordant strain, whose reverberations still ring within the memories of man.

"Designed under the influence of a common motive, the buildings presented that motive as interpreted by vigorous minds, acting independently under no restraints but those imposed by a style mutually accepted, a style already made glorious by the genius of two milleniums. The resulting group was such as might have been designed by the architects of the age of Pericles, builded of Pentelic marble, adorned by Phidias, and decorated by Apelles. To the visitor who, from the arch of the Water Gate, saw the Court of Honor under the light of the morning sun, or from the porches of the Administration Building when the steeds of the Quadriga were gilded by his setting rays, or from any coign of vantage beneath the soft effulgence of the midnight moon, came a vision of artistic fitness, perfect, enduring, uplifting. And at the twilight hour, when the lengthening shadows were penciling the lagoons, when by sudden and successive impulses electric rays flashed along the water's edge, along uplifted architrave and gable, and climbed the ribs of the great dome, crowning it with a coronet of glory; when other lights burst into brilliance rivaling the sunshine; when great searching beams, like spectral flails, thrashed the air, or poured upon groups of statuary a pure, cold whiteness like that of driven snow; and then when from the caverns of the earth sprang streams of gleaming color, or the heavens throbbed with the coruscations of jewels that blazed forth like meteors—then the eager and delighted throngs awoke to a full appreciation of the wondrous things that science has revealed from the arcana of Nature, and has added to the joys as well as to the utilities of life.

BLENDING OF NATURE AND ART

"Nor were such lessons to be learned only in the Court of Honor. By a turn of the flashing oar the gondola glided from a scene of artistic beauty, that was nevertheless wholly artificial, to another where Nature seemed to work in her own profusion. No longer within the restraint of marble walls, the waves washed grassy slopes and sedgy banks, where tangled thickets grew and wild flowers bloomed and water fowl concealed their nests. The Wooded Island was equally a creation of art.

"The millions who wandered through the thoroughfares of Jackson Park, who skimmed the lagoons in the electric boats and threaded the mazes of the Rose Garden, and consciously or unconsciously absorbed the beauty and the art revealed by decorated walls and towers and domes, must have carried to their homes impulses whose beneficial results can hardly be estimated. . . . The Exposition will revive among the people of our country, if not of the whole world, a clearer appreciation of the subtle and satisfying value of classic architecture and of its perfect adaptation to buildings erected for large public uses where ample space may furnish the perspective necessary to an intelligent understanding of its harmonies."

WORLD'S FAIR RETROSPECTIONS

In April, 1909, the Chicago Association of Commerce gave a banquet in honor of the Japanese envoys who were visiting this country to gain information to use in the conduct of a World's Fair which the Japanese people were preparing for in 1917. On that occasion Mr. H. N. Higinbotham was present and was one of the principal speakers. In the course of his address he reviewed our own World's Fair of 1893. "I think I am safe in saying," said he, "that what we sought and strove to do was more than accomplished. We installed the very best examples in every department of human endeavor. The landscape gardener and the architect had the fullest opportunity to do their best. Landscape effects were produced as if by magic. The Wooded Island sprang into being, a thing of beauty. The Court of Honor appeared to rise out of the marsh with all the grandeur and lovliness of the dream of St. John on the island of Patmos.

"The Exposition was really the flower or culmination of the civic pride of the citizens of this great city. There was no aristocracy in its creation or management; it was of and for the people, and the joy and profit was theirs. Those of us who stood by and carried out their commands were amply repaid by the great measure of good it accomplished, and the satisfaction everywhere manifested by those who were at once the creators and the immediate beneficiaries."

The gale of popular enthusiasm which reached its greatest force at the World's Fair subsided slowly. It gradually blew itself out. It is not likely that another enterprise of the kind can be inaugurated and carried through for generations to come, indeed some think never.

PROPOSAL TO CONTINUE THE FAIR

The enthusiasm shown by the people for the Exposition was slow to subside, and a strong public sentiment in the closing days began to be manifested for the retention of the buildings in Jackson Park, with a view to reopening them in the spring following the closing date and continuing the exhibition. Mr. L. J. Gage, always a wise counsellor, said on this subject; "My instincts are against continuing it. There are several aspects of that side of the question that have struck me with considerable force. In the first place, the foreign governments would not be represented as they have been this year without new action on their part, and in fact many of the foreign commissioners have been already ordered to remove their installations to Antwerp to be shown at the exposition there next year. I do not think we could afford to have a second year of the Fair of a reduced quality. If the Fair should be carried over I am very much afraid it would be everywhere construed as a purely speculative piece of business, and in fact it would be such. The high lines on which it has been run would be degraded."

Another consideration was, in Mr. Gage's view, that the country towns would regard the continuation of the Fair as a grievance, because their people had spent their money lavishly in attendance at the Fair, and had been obliged to economize severely in their home expenditures to the detriment of the local trade, and another year of it would continue the drain. It was estimated that the visitors spent one million dollars a day during the continuance of the Fair,

which reduced the resources of the people to an alarming extent. "We have made a good record," said Mr. Gage. "Chicago has won bright laurels to adorn it in all history. I should not like to take the risk of soiling them."

Mr. Joseph Medill, editor of the Chicago Tribune, discouraged the idea of continuing the Fair through another season. "International expositions," said he, "are not expected to be permanent. They are, of necessity, intended to exist for a brief period only in any particular city." The official time for closing the Exposition had been fixed, and the exhibits would be rapidly removed, leaving only the buildings without their contents, and it would be almost impossible to fill them again in anything like the profusion and completeness of the Fair period. "Chicago has had her day with the Fair," continued Mr. Medill, "and I believe it would be a mistake to attempt to prolong it. . . . I cannot resist the conclusion that the show is over, and it is time to ring down the curtain."

The dream for the perpetuation of the glories of the Exposition was referred to in a letter of Charles Dudley Warner's in an Eastern paper, after the gates were finally closed: "But is the Fair ended?" he asks. "Not in Chicago," he continues. "Nothing is ended in Chicago. Every day is a day of new enterprise. While thousands were thinking, 'what a pity that this vision of beauty by the lake should vanish,' those men who make Chicago were already recasting a greater future for Jackson Park."

The sentiment at first was in favor of reopening the Fair in the following year, but as this was seen to be impracticable the people were content to build their hopes upon the magnificent provision for a Museum, the nucleus for which could be secured from the treasures that exhibitors would dispose of either by sale or gift. The Art Institute also inherited valuable portions of the art works shown in the Art Building, so that in the city of Chicago to-day there are thousands of reminders of the glorious period of the Exposition.

CLOSING DAYS

"To the management," says the President's Report, "the latter days brought a sense of great relief, with a feeling of extreme weariness. The debts were paid and there was a surplus sufficient to pay all expenses of closing, with a million dollars besides to return to the stockholders. The work was done. There was no more rush and hurry, for the battle was over. Nevertheless there was sadness in every heart as it became realized that the great Exposition was to be closed and removed, and that the waste place which had blossomed and grown so beautiful would soon become almost as barren as it had been at first." Again says the Report in its summing up of the Exposition's glorious career, "With all its shortcomings and failures, with all the false rumors and sensational reports, with the shortness of time, with the heavy financial burden and the coldness and lack of sympathy of the National Government, notwithstanding these and many other difficulties, our Exposition stamped itself indelibly upon the closing years of the Nineteenth century, and has left a mark upon our times, particularly in matters of taste and refinement, that seem to grow deeper as the Exposition vanishes into the past."

"We are turning our backs upon the fairest dream of civilization," said Dr. Barrows, at the closing of the Exposition, "and are about to consign it to the

dust. It is like the death of a dear friend. It is like bidding farewell to one's youth. It is like all those times in the life of a man when the thoughts of the present are choked with the emotions of the past. At such times the call of duty alone can uplift the heart and arouse it to meet the things that are yet to come. That call is upon each one of us now. It echoes in the hearts of all that have been touched by these wonders which God has brought to pass. It bids us learn the lessons of the past season to the everlasting benefit of ourselves and our children. It bids us to appropriate to ourselves the imperishable parts of this high feast of the arts, industries, and sciences, and so embalm them in Memory's treasure house that they may be best preserved, and produce the largest fruits in the generations to come."

THE DEATH OF MAYOR HARRISON

On Saturday evening, October 28th, 1893, Carter H. Harrison, Mayor of the City of Chicago, was shot and killed by an assassin on the threshold of his own home. This tragic event spread a pall of gloom over the closing days of the Exposition. It had been intended that on the last day of the Exposition, a programme of exercises appropriate to the occasion should be carried out; but all the plans that had been formed were suspended, and it was publicly announced that the programme had been abandoned. Instead, a meeting was held at which were present the officials and members of the Commission and Directory, and resolutions were adopted expressive of the sorrow felt by all in the presence of this terrible tragedy just as the closing hours of the Exposition had arrived. "Nothing has ever occurred in our midst," said the preamble, "that has so disturbed and distressed our citizens as the very wicked and wanton termination of the life of Hon. Carter H. Harrison. In the vigor of life, . . . in the enjoyment of the confidence and esteem of all, in the quiet evening of a day with its duties done, he sought rest only to be aroused by the rude entrance of an assassin bent on his destruction for a grievance wholly imaginary. The tranquillity of the city has been shaken as if by an earthquake."

The sense of the meeting was further expressed in these words of appreciation of Mr. Harrison's character; "No official has done more to impress on the Exposition its true character of generous rivalry among nations and individuals in all things that tend to national prosperity and international brotherhood, and none in his representative capacity could have more thoroughly attested the generous hospitality of this city whose chief magistrate he was."

The last day of the Exposition was marked by the display of flags at half mast, and an entire absence of anything like festivity, in view of the great bereavement thus suffered by the people of Chicago. "What would otherwise have been one of the most notable days of the Exposition," says the History, "passed in comparative silence and sadness. All the pageants, both land and water, and the grand spectacular effects that were to have marked the close, were abandoned, and the day ended with the firing of the national salute and the lowering of the flags at sunset."

As the closing moment of the Exposition arrived the flags were hauled down from the flagstaffs on the Administration Plaza, amid an assemblage of silent spectators. "The great flags had been at half mast on the graceful standards

upon the Plaza all day," says the Report, "on account of the recent tragedy. At sunset they were silently lowered to the ground and their folds fluttered down upon the multitude beneath, where they were gathered up by the employes and borne into the building, while the bystanders stood with uncovered heads. Many of those who witnessed this simple act could not restrain tears of sorrow for the sad ending of the glorious Exposition."

Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, writing in Harpers' Weekly and commenting upon the gloom which had enveloped the closing hours of the Exposition, said: "There is always a touch of tragedy in the career of Chicago. It is the pathetic penalty of great achievement. In the hour of triumph is the note of sorrow. It seems to be the law that there shall be no success without sacrifice, and it is the sacrifice as much as the heroism that consecrates. The history of this marvelous city is a record of suffering nobly endured, of disasters made the stepping stones of unexampled progress. Destiny has always some surprise in store for her, and if in the opinion of the world she is the child of fortune, there is the inevitable note of pathos in her life, without which no man and no city is taken to the heart of the world."

FIRES SUBSEQUENT TO THE FAIR

There was but one fire of importance during the Fair, that being the destruction of the Cold Storage building on the 10th of July, with the loss of many lives. After the Fair had closed the exhibitors rapidly removed their goods, and the buildings were thus left after a time without occupants. The care of the buildings was left to the Columbian Guards who were still in service. There was naturally a fear that fires would be started among the great empty buildings. The first of the series of fires, which eventually destroyed nearly all of the large Fair buildings, occurred on the 8th of January, 1894. "This fire," quoting from the Report, "originated in the Casino, which, together with the Peristyle and the Music Hall, was completely destroyed. The fire communicated to the wooden promenade on the roof of the Manufacturers Building, and this walk was consumed for several hundred feet. The fire was finally extinguished, but not until some exhibits which had not been removed had been damaged by falling sparks and brands, or by water used to quench the flames. For some time after this, fires broke out very frequently, indeed almost daily, justifying the suspicion that they were of incendiary origin."

One morning in the following February, the Colonnade at the end of the transverse canal opening out of the Grand Basin towards the south was discovered to be on fire. The fire department arrived promptly on the scene after wading through a deep snow which greatly impeded their progress. The extent of the conflagration was confined to the Colonnade, and the great Agricultural Building and the Machinery Hall connecting at either end of it escaped for the time being. It was no doubt the work of an incendiary whose purpose could only have been the witnessing of the spectacle it would have created.

In the meantime officers of the Exposition endeavored to sell the buildings, and had succeeded in disposing of quite a number. During the following summer, however, the fire-fiend anticipated the work of removal. On the evening of the 5th of July, 1894, the year following the Fair, the great destruction of

buildings occurred. About six o'clock in the evening a fire was discovered in the Terminal building, just west of the Administration building, and though a prompt response by the fire department followed, the flames quickly enveloped the big railroad station and soon it was observed that the Administration Building was also on fire. The blaze started at the base of the dome and quickly burned through, while the intense draft from the interior made the dome in a few minutes a roaring furnace. It was not long before smoke was seen issuing from the top followed by a roar, as a long tongue of flame shot into the air. The spectators waited for the collapse and in ten minutes it came. Using the language of the Tribune reporter, "There was a sort of a shifting of motion around the base of the dome and then the monster dream in gold and white tottered, stood still for an instant, and then shut up as if it were a huge accordion."

Brands from the Administration Building flew across the space and soon the Electricity Building and the Mines Building were seen to be in flames. The moment that the blaze got inside of the Mines Building it seemed to shoot the entire length of the interior with the speed of an express train, and in a few seconds it was a roaring furnace. Then there was an explosion, and one-half of the roof and wall on the west side were blown outward. This gave full play to the flames and it was not long before all that was left were rows of red hot columns standing upright in the air and one by one slowly falling into the ruins.

DESTRUCTION OF THE GREAT MANUFACTURES BUILDING

By this time the Manufactures Building was on fire, at the south end. It took an hour to destroy this huge building. The roof was the first to burn, and in the progress of the fire the great girders were exposed to view. These held their positions for a time, but soon they began to sway, and, with a roar that sounded like a battery of artillery, half of the monster roof fell into the fiery furnace. The walls fell in directly afterwards. "Occasionally a tall pillar reached its way up through the fire and smoke as if it would defy the destroyer, but its reign was brief. Its base was soon melted and it followed its fellows into the burning mass."

Meantime on the other side of the Court of Honor the fire had pursued its resistless course and Machinery Hall and the Agricultural Building were quickly consumed. The papers of the following day contained graphic descriptions of the great conflagration, but it was noticed that no feeling of regret was shown by the people over the destruction and loss of the World's Fair buildings. They had served their purpose and their mission was fulfilled; their final disposition had become an embarrassment to the officers of the Exposition. And while the fire did not by any means sweep away all the buildings on the grounds, the greatest and most difficult to dispose of had been laid low in a few hours, though in such a tangled mass of wreckage that it was still a matter of great difficulty to clear away the ruins. It was a matter of great satisfaction that the fire had not reached as far as the Art Building, now changed in its use to that of the Field Columbian Museum, containing vast treasures.

As a spectacle this fire exceeded anything of the kind that had occurred

since the Great Fire of 1871. After darkness had set in the glow of the fire could be seen to a great distance. People in Waukegan, forty-three miles away, could plainly see the light of the fire. In the city hundreds of persons went to the upper stories of the tall buildings in the down town district to watch the spectacle, and many took cars to the south part of the city in order to obtain a closer view. The masses of spectators in the grounds found a favorable point of observation at the Wooded Island, which was crowded with people. From that point the destruction of the Manufactures building could be seen to the best advantage.

"A grand, a glorious ending," says the report in the Tribune, "was the expressed sentiment of the great crowd that witnessed the forest of fire." The one hundred thousand people congregated made the trip leisurely to Jackson Park, and good naturedly walked around viewing the sight from different points. After a time the thousands became settled in favored spots and quietly gazed upon the magnificent destruction, much as they gazed at the fireworks display last summer. "There was no regret, rather a feeling of pleasure, that the great buildings had been consumed by fire, and had not fallen a prey to the wreckers."

SCENES AFTER THE FIRE

The melancholy desolation that pervaded the landscape after the fire saddened and oppressed the beholder. A few days thereafter a visitor to the scene describes his impressions. It was less than one year after the great Exposition had closed, and the visitor was still under the spell of its memories. "Of the palaces that fringe the Court of Honor," he writes, "including the Administration Building, which used to wear its electric-studded dome at night as if it were a tiara, there is no vestige,—not even a broken column to serve as monument. But there is one gleam of gold in that desolate landscape. It is the statue of the Republic, which the leveling of all the palaces has left in magnificent exposure. By it rises a rostral column supporting a statue of Neptune, a column fretted with the prows of Roman galleys—a column such as some victorious Emperor raised in Rome to commemorate his triumph. . . .

"Where the vast Manufactures Building once reposed its mammoth length no one of its great columns and arches remains. Not one of those walls which might have sheltered armies was left standing. The huge iron framework has shriveled into something which looks like the backbone of a leviathan retaining the contortions of its death agony."

SEVENTEEN YEARS AFTER

An echo of the Exposition is found in an address made by Thomas Nelson Page in December, 1910, before the convention of the American Civic Association in Washington, D. C. He characterized the "White City" of the World's Columbian Exposition as "the real beginning and the inspiration for a new era of art and architecture in this country." The speaker looked back to the state of architecture as it existed in the time previous to the Exposition. "Out of the worst period of American architecture," said Mr. Page, "when we had all gone wild about mansard roofing and the Queen Anne style, there suddenly

arose a city within a city, a city like a dream. Chicago, the parent city, had been regarded as the very center of commercialism, but it gave birth to the 'White City' which sprang up on the shores of Lake Michigan. The great Exposition which it housed was supposed to represent the triumphs of commerce and of trade, but in its planning and construction the White City really did represent the greatest example of modern genius."

The great impetus given to the World's Peace Movement by means of Mr. Andrew Carnegie's gift of ten millions of dollars as an endowment for this purpose, was commented upon by Mr. H. N. Higinbotham in an address made on the 18th of December, 1910, in Chicago. Mr. Higinbotham recalled the work of the World's Congresses at the Exposition, which he regarded "as the sowing of the seed that resulted in the beautiful flower of Mr. Andrew Carnegie's magnificent endowment, the fruitage of which will undoubtedly be 'Universal Peace in all the Earth.'" Further, referring to Mr. Page's address in Washington Mr. Higinbotham said: "Thomas Nelson Page has most graciously acknowledged that our World's Columbian Exposition was an inspiration in architecture, a dream city that will never die; although as a material entity it disappeared even more quickly than it sprang into being."

WHEN THE CITY WAKES

Late one night in the nineties a group of young newspaper men in Chicago decided they would acquire some new experiences by mingling in the throngs of workmen hurrying to their mills and shops in the early morning of a chilly November day. So just as the first faint streaks of dawn were becoming visible in the eastern sky the little band of explorers sallied forth to take observations. One of the group was John R. Rathom, the present editor and proprietor of the Providence Journal, but then a member of the staff of the Chicago Record-Herald, who has written a sketch of the sights and scenes witnessed on this memorable expedition.

Moving towards the great West Side where they would be likely to encounter the vanguard of the army of workmen, salesmen, clerks, soon to fill the great hives of industry then just awakening to life, they reach the approaches to the viaducts, those great murky, forbidding areas of steel net-work that join the down-town district to one of the most thickly populated parts of the city. "On our way," writes Rathom, "we note the gradual brightening in the sky, and as we pass the Haymarket we do not need the electric lights to see the long rows of wagons drawn up side by side, piled high with green stuff, and sending out a scent that takes us back out on the prairie, and among the loam of the market gardens. A dozen sleepy wagoners are removing the canvas coverings from their produce and putting out the lanterns by the light of which they have just rumbled into the city along the country roads. Three more blocks and we are at the viaduct, its overhanging cobweb of rusty iron bars showing plainly in the pink and blue of the fast coming day.

"A sturdy fellow, with his coat collar turned up, hands thrust deep in his trousers pockets and a corncob pipe in his mouth, trudges out from Milwaukee avenue and turns onto the viaduct, nodding us a cheery good morning as he passes. Half a block behind him come two others of the same type. Up the

great artery of the Northwest side, little black specks appear, stepping out of the side streets. The light in the east grows brighter and brighter, until we are able to see that factory chimneys all about us are giving signs of life below. The soft hiss of steam from exhaust pipes tells us that we have been too late to catch some of the workers, who are already at their posts making ready for the day's production of power."

We still continue our walk with Rathom and his companions who see things with no common vision. "A belated freight train sweeps down over the tracks from the north, the sides and tops of the cars all covered with thin white frost. The street lamps along Milwaukee avenue are gradually being obliterated by the growing light, and give out only a sickly glitter. The little specks on both sidewalks increase every moment, and all are setting their faces toward where we are standing. The daily parade of toil has begun, and here we are about to see a sight such as no other street in the United States can show—a sight that has long since given to this thoroughfare the immortal name of 'Dinner Pail avenue.' Swing, tramp, here they come! And to welcome them the morning sun peeps up over the waste of downtown buildings and shines full in their faces. With a rhythmic sweep of power and dignity and all-pervading strength they race down, a great river of labor, onto the viaduct that shakes and quivers beneath their feet.

"Mingled with the tramp comes the hum of voices, broken not infrequently by a burst of hearty laughter. All are comrades. The fact that they are trudging the same way at this time in the morning is introduction enough, and, as they pass one another or catch up and go along together, they exchange salutations and drift naturally enough into friendly talk. Nothing strikes one so much in looking at them as the absence of the sad, gloomy heaviness always met with among the crowds of toilers in European cities, and even among the foreign elements on the southern boundaries of our own city. There is nothing sullen about this great human stream. It seems to exude good fellowship, hope and the joy of living; intelligence shines out from every face. True, here and there are features that conjure up the story of the bitter struggle to keep the home supplied, of the long hours of dull plodding to come, of the black outlook ahead. But such faces are the exception, not the rule, and though in this swinging army of men and women many hearts may be heavy with fear for the morrow, there is everywhere, on the faces, hopes for the outcome of today.

THE MARCHING ARMY OF WORKERS

"The Dinner Pail avenue army is only one of a hundred battalions marching on the downtown section of Chicago at this moment from every part of the city. They pour out of modest homes, from brick and wood cottages, from back alleys and side streets, from modest workingmen's flats, to swell the invasion. Before their day's work is over, every center of population, and every country in the world will draw on their labor and be richer for the thousand things they turn out with their skilled hands. Here, in the middle of a group of sturdy laborers, is a trimly dressed young woman, who, on account of press of business, is going downtown early to take dictation and write business letters for her employers. Even with her evident refinement she seems rather proud

of her company, and does not hesitate to answer with a cheery voice the respectful good mornings that come from all sides. Before night she will have written to great mercantile houses in Berlin, in London, in Paris, in Melbourne, in lands she only knows in books, for the energy created in Chicago scatters in world-wide circles, and reaches wherever enterprise can force its way.

"Nearly every unit in this Milwaukee avenue host carries its means of sustenance with it, and as we watch we see that the variety of the dinner pails alone is astonishing. Many have their noonday meals under their arms wrapped in newspapers; others carry the familiar common round bucket; thousands have the oblong metal contrivance with a cup in the top, and then there are leather and japanned tin boxes, old canvas satchels and black waterproof bags. There is something very hearty and wholesome about the sight of a well-filled pipe in the early morning, and eighty per cent of the men in this great army have either corncobs or some more expensive variety in their mouths. You may look for a long while before you see a cigar; Chicago has not yet become a stogie town. Newspapers too are few and far between. Be not deceived in the condition of these people by their clothing. Labor is not particular as to its dress, but very few in all the vast surging crowd of men and women going townwards are without neat and suitable apparel for rest days and holidays.

"Old coats once black, but now mottled green, shabby jackets worn out of all semblance to any particular color or shade, and head coverings of every description, all touched with age, are not the real index to the lives of these workers. To read that aright we must look into their faces, and there we see another and a brighter story. There are some employers of labor in Chicago who are called hard taskmasters, and others who treat their hands with scant consideration when good wages are demanded, but the faces here have not the look that slaves wear. Once having seen a procession of this character, very few to whom the sight is an unusual one would hesitate to say that if the appearance of these men and women told anything, it spoke of two overwhelming conditions—independence and intelligence.

CHANGING APPEARANCES IN THE LATER HOURS

"Laborers, using the term in its ordinary acceptation, are so far greatly in the majority. A big proportion of the 100,000 metal-workers of the city are among them and mingled in with them, as may plainly be seen from the appearance of their clothing, are bricklayers, hod-carriers and masons. And now a warmer tinge comes into the air as the sun begins to conquer the frost, and as the minutes fly a change comes over the aspect of the steadily marching army. Its size does not diminish, but better clothing is making its appearance here and there, fur boas can be seen about the necks of the young women, trim walking jackets come in sight, topped by hats that are pretty, even stylish in character. The men are not smoking pipes now, but cigars; dinner pails are disappearing, and tucked under every second arm is a morning newspaper.

"We will leave the ever hurrying army here and get across to the heart of the downtown streets where we can watch the swarming thousands pour into this confined area and marvel at the enormous needs of the city that can find room and opportunity for the combined labor of such masses of human beings. Down

out of the elevated stairways and from the cars where men and women hold on to every available strap and overflow from back to front, they pour, and tens of thousands flood down by every thoroughfare, from the North, South and West sides, till it seems as if no office structure ever built could hold them all.

"From the West side, in the heart of the great factory district, comes the whirr of wheels. Away out South is the black pall of smoke that proclaims life and activity at the great steel works, and the Stock Yards,—a city in itself,—is crowded in every corner with busy workers. Out along North avenue the gas lights still glimmer, though the bright sun is streaming everywhere and rapidly licking up the frost on the wooden sidewalks. The tin dinner buckets have disappeared from the elevated trains and surface cars. The hands that hold the straps have changed from the bare and grimy to the well-gloved, and there are rows of well-polished shoes and clean-shaven faces and umbrellas with fancy mountings, where half an hour before sat laborers with the evidence of their craft thick about them.

"In the same seats where their own firemen and engineers may have rested a little while earlier, employers are now reading their morning papers and being whirled along down to offices made warm and comfortable for their coming. Bankers, merchants, architects and lawyers are mingled thickly in the crowds. Men worth millions and small shopkeepers, alike with laborers and artisans make use of the five cent transportation to convey them to their business. The arc-lights are spluttering in the customers' rooms of the Board of Trade, and sleepy-eyed boys are already mounting ladders to begin the stock record of the day on blackboards now cleaned of chalk. Here and there a victim of the craze is already seated in a chair, though there will be nothing on the boards to interest him for full two hours. Messenger boys race through the corridor and across to the Rialto in ever increasing numbers, and the din and hum of these two buildings that later in the day will develop into an unceasing roar of voices and hurrying feet, has already begun.

IN THE MARTS OF TRADE

"Very soon, almost before another hour has gone, transactions involving millions of dollars will be carried on within these walls, tickers will be sounding away merrily as if with each movement they brought happiness instead of despair to most of the men that watch their story. Brokers, bankers, clerks, stenographers, keep pouring down into what Chicago calls with unintentional sarcasm, the 'heart' of its moneyed district. Soon the daily six hours of hope, disappointment, success, failure, wealth, ruin and shattering of nerves will begin. This is the hour when every terminus of suburban railroads is a great, seething human hive, with great masses of people pouring in from out-of-town homes to take their places in the daily struggle. The trains bring them from all the wide north and northwest territory and the entire north shore; from Rogers Park, Evanston, Winnetka, Wilmette, Lake Forest, Highland Park, Wheaton, Oak Park, Austin and a hundred other points. The cars deliver great crowds at their various depots every few minutes, and as they race along you see instinctively that almost every step brings them to a familiar piece of sidewalk, they have the depot stairs calculated to a nicety, and know within one circle of the

minute hand on their watches how long it will take them to get to their desks and sit down ready for their day's labor.

"And still the wonder grows where, even in a city with office structures like this, there is room for all these atoms of humanity that seem to increase rather than dwindle away as the clock points to 8:30. Elevated trains continue to crash round the downtown loop in rapid succession, and overrun by the invading army of workers the city makes room for all who come. Battering rams of surface cars from Milwaukee and Indiana avenues and West Madison, Halsted, Clark and State streets, are hurled into the throngs, and on the recoil are sent back on their return journeys emptied of their closely packed crowds. The city is awake, awake to the desire for gain, the hunt for preferment, the struggle for bread, the craving for all the things that mean material prosperity; awake, too, let us hope and believe to the demands of conscience, to the power of a kind word, to the fourfold interest in peace of mind that comes from every merciful and sympathetic act; awake to the brotherhood of man, and the responsibilities of citizenship."

Thus we conclude our excursion with Rathom and his companions who saw the externals of city life with sympathy and insight not often met with among the philosophers who contemplate the throngs which fill the crowded streets of our mid-continent metropolis. The counterpart of the scenes described with so much spirit by Rathom, may be witnessed in many different places in Chicago, for the manufacturing establishments of the city are widely scattered over the two hundred square miles of territory included in the city limits. Streams of humanity, such as have been described, occur at scores and hundreds of different points, some of them moving in opposite directions.

Even as far away as Pullman, fourteen miles south of the court-house, streams of workmen, thousands in number, pour along the approaches to the numerous buildings of the gigantic plant of the Pullman company, every morning of the year. Far off in the western districts of the city, where many mammoth manufacturing establishments and great mail-order houses form extensive groups, similar scenes may be witnessed in the early and late hours of the day.

CHAPTER XVI

SURVEY OF CONDITIONS IN THE NINETIES

DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAIN TRADE—INFLUENCES OF WATER TRANSPORTATION—REDUCTIONS IN GRAIN CARRYING CHARGES—THE PULLMAN STRIKE OF 1894—THE TOWN OF PULLMAN—COMPREHENSIVE DESIGN OF ITS FOUNDER—GEORGE M. PULLMAN'S OWN ACCOUNT—PLANS OF THE PULLMAN COMPANY—VIEWS OF OBSERVERS—OCCURRENCE OF THE STRIKE—CARWARDINE'S VIEWS—COMMENTS OF THE PRESS—THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION—BOYCOTT AGAINST PULLMAN CARS—THE BOYCOTT BECOMES A STRIKE—ALL THE RAILWAYS OF THE COUNTRY INVOLVED—METHODS OF THE STRIKERS—INJUNCTION ISSUED AGAINST THE STRIKERS—PRESIDENT CLEVELAND ORDERS TROOPS TO CHICAGO—GOVERNOR ALTGELD'S PROTEST—ORDER GRADUALLY RESTORED—FAILURE OF THE STRIKE—CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW'S REVIEW—AFTERMATH OF THE STRIKE—TRACK ELEVATION IN CHICAGO—UNDERGROUND FREIGHT LINE—TUNNELS OF CHICAGO.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE GRAIN TRADE

"Commerce is one of the most beneficent among the activities which have engaged, or can engage, the abilities and energies of man," wrote George F. Stone some years ago in an introductory chapter to a history of the Board of Trade, of which he was the secretary for many years. "The demands of commerce for constantly increasing facilities for the rapid and economical exchange of commodities, are imperious and resistless. There is no alertness so sensitive and swift as that of commerce; there is no vigilance equal in intensity and constancy to commercial vigilance."

There can be no history of Chicago written regarding any aspect of its multifarious development, without taking into account its enormous importance as a center of the grain trade, which began in the old days before railroads were built and when team and canal transportation were employed to bring grain to this market, and while lake navigation was the principal reliance for transporting grain to the east. "In the earlier years of Chicago's trade the handling of grain was one of the leading industries," wrote Mr. Franklin H. Head in one of his summaries of the different branches of trade in Chicago. "At the first settlements of the territory west of Lake Michigan the surplus grain was hauled in wagons to the nearest port, from whence it was shipped in vessels to the eastern markets. Thus various ports from Chicago to Green Bay shipped approximately equal amounts of grain, and in one of the early years the port of Kenosha, from the greater number of farmers in its neighborhood, shipped more grain than any other point on the western shore of Lake

Michigan. Dock property there advanced rapidly, as the citizens, considering that this year indicated Kenosha to be the grain shipping port of the great Northwest, prepared for the avalanche of business that awaited them. Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee, Port Washington, Sheboygan and Green Bay each aspired to the leadership of western commerce, basing their claims upon the fact of their lesser distance from Buffalo than Chicago. Green Bay was over two hundred miles nearer Buffalo than Chicago and had a good natural harbor, and because of this fact, so sagacious a man as the first John Jacob Astor, purchased largely of Green Bay real estate that he might have a share in the prosperity of the coming metropolis of the Mississippi Valley.

"Soon, however, the Illinois and Michigan Canal was constructed, and the Galena railroad, thus bringing a large district of the Mississippi Valley in direct connection with Chicago, and rendering the amount of grain hauled by teams to any lake port comparatively insignificant. Other ports, realizing the value of railroads in transporting grain, built lines of road through the country west of Lake Michigan, and thus continued to compete for the trade, but ultimately all these roads were compelled to make Chicago their real terminal point. Milwaukee was the only port which, for any considerable time, maintained a hold upon the grain trade, but she at length succumbed to the inevitable. The principal reason why grain was handled more economically at Chicago than elsewhere was from the vast quantities of eastern merchandise distributed from Chicago. While Green Bay was two hundred miles nearer Buffalo, the owner of a vessel would carry grain from Chicago at a lower rate of freight than from Green Bay or any other Lake Michigan port, because he could get a cargo of merchandise to Chicago, thus earning two freight charges on each round trip, while he could get comparatively little eastern freight to any other port than Chicago.

"Matters having thus adjusted themselves, the future of Chicago as the grain shipping port of the whole Northwest seemed secured; her vast elevator capacity was further increased; her grain carriers built fleets of vessels of large capacity to move to Buffalo for the eastern and foreign markets the constantly increasing grain crop of the wheat and corn area. Soon, however, a new factor appeared—the cheap steel rail for railroads. Before the introduction of the Bessemer process for making steel the average life of an iron rail on the great trunk lines was not over eighteen months. The rails must then be taken up and re-rolled at an expense of about one-half their original cost. The saving in transportation by the use of steel rails can scarcely be overestimated. It was not alone in the replacing of the rails themselves, but in the wear and tear of the entire equipment of the road. Long before the iron rail was condemned and taken up it became battered and uneven on its surface, thus destroying the wheels, loosening and breaking the nails and bolts of the car, and making constant trips of the cars to the repair shops inevitable. In the days of iron rails the car wheel manufacturers gave a guaranty of 30,000 miles' run for their wheels. Now they gave a guaranty of 150,000 miles, and even this run often was exceeded in practice by forty or fifty per cent. On the iron rail the largest cars could be loaded with only ten tons of freight. Now thirty to forty tons could be loaded in a car without anything like a corresponding increase in the weight of the car itself. The steel rail is considered to outwear ten iron rails, and the life of the equipment, by reason of its surface, is vastly

augmented. Other reductions in the cost of transportation had been made, so that the actual cost of carrying coarse freight over long distances was reduced at least three-fourths.

REDUCTIONS IN THE COST OF TRANSPORTATION

"This reduced cost entirely revolutionized the grain trade of Chicago. When the railroads were laid with iron rails, the cost of carrying grain was so great that almost none was sent east from Chicago by rail. The grain came to Chicago by canal or rail and was stored in elevators. During the season of navigation it moved forward substantially as fast as it arrived, but at the close of navigation the forwarding of grain ceased until the following spring, and the grain accumulated in the elevators or in the holds of vessels until the opening of navigation assured comparatively cheap transportation to the seaboard. But as compared with rail transportation, the water route had certain disadvantages. There was a charge for storage and handling at Chicago, another at Buffalo, another at New York, insurance while on the way, and from three to four weeks' time as against one week by rail. On rail shipments no insurance nor rehandling was necessary, two or three weeks' interest was saved, and the chance of fluctuation in prices was lessened. The result was that, with the era of an increase of east and west trunk lines, the railroads began to compete with vessels for the carrying of grain. They could charge the lake and canal freight and insurance, the cost of three handlings and storages and something more for the shortened time, and take the business from the water route at the aggregate of such charges.

"The result has been that the railroads have carried forward large amounts of grain, not so much for the foreign trade or for New York, as for the use of the numberless small towns throughout the Eastern states, towns requiring from one or two to a dozen carloads per week for local consumption. This grain is largely shipped direct from where it is raised, in Illinois, Missouri or Iowa, to the point of consumption, and while the trade is almost entirely in the hands of Chicago grain operators, it does not appear in the footings of the grain trade of the city."

THE PULLMAN STRIKE OF 1894

In 1880, Mr. George M. Pullman, the founder and president of the Pullman's Palace Car Company, fixed upon a site for the location of the works of the company, at a point in the vicinity of Lake Calumet, about fourteen miles from the central business district of Chicago. At that time the region was practically unoccupied, and was beyond the limits of the city. Here Mr. Pullman purchased a tract of thirty-five hundred acres, and began the erection of an extensive system of buildings for manufacturing purposes. In addition there was built a "model town,"—"a town from which all that is ugly, discordant and demoralizing is eliminated, and which was built as a solution of the industrial problem, based upon the idea of mutual recognition."

In the designing and building of the town one architect directed the entire work. The architect who was entrusted with this task was S. S. Beman, well

known as one of the World's Fair architects. He thus had an opportunity to form an aggregation of structures in accordance with a well defined plan. It was probably the first time, says Ely, "a single architect had ever constructed a whole town systematically upon scientific principles," and the success of the completed design was acknowledged on every hand. "The plans were drawn for a large city at the start, and these have been followed without break in the unity of design. Pullman illustrates and proves in many ways both the advantages of enterprises on a vast scale, and the benefits of unified and intelligent municipal administration."

One philosopher made a comparison reviewing all the communities which have had their rise and fall in the last few generations, and noted the faults in each of them. The failure of Brook Farm was based upon "certain contortions of human nature," he said. It was an effort to make all the members exactly resemble each other, and when it was "literally blown to pieces by the explosive elements in different souls," each one returned to his former home "to find personal identity once more." Other community experiments had been made and all failed, but the philosopher referred to found that Pullman was based on ideas far in advance of any previous attempt to bring together a large number of families dwelling under a single management of community affairs. At Pullman, said Hon. Stewart L. Woodford of New York who made the oration at the opening of the theater, "labor will earn fair wages and capital will get generous returns. But better than factory, and richer than material production; sweeter than flowers and more beautiful than theater, or library, or church, shall be the manhood that will be developed here."

In 1889, the town of Hyde Park, in which Pullman was situated, was annexed to Chicago, and thus it came under the general municipal control of the city, with its representatives sitting in the Common Council. It was thus subjected to the scrutiny inseparably connected with representative government, and after some years the peculiar features of its municipal regulations under the proprietary regime were superseded entirely by the ordinary processes of city administration. This was followed by court proceedings which finally ended, as stated in a report, as follows:

"Under a decree of the Supreme Court of this State, made in February, 1899, this company was required to cease within one year the performance of all municipal functions, and within five years (subsequently extended for an additional five years) to sell and dispose of all its property at Pullman not required in its manufacturing business. This decree has been fully complied with, all the dwellings and other buildings of the town, not used for shop purposes, having been sold,—a large number of the houses being purchased by employes in the shops. From this it will be understood that the Pullman Company has now no relation to the people at Pullman except as to those engaged in its manufacturing plants, and that relation is merely employer to employe."

The great enterprise had thus failed to accomplish what its projector intended should be accomplished in establishing it. It was looked upon by many as a valuable object lesson, illustrating "the helpful combination of capital and labor," where ideal living conditions were established on an extensive scale, and where order and system were perfectly organized, according to the carefully laid plans of its founder.

MR. PULLMAN'S OWN ACCOUNT

In giving his testimony before the Strike Commission which, after the strike of 1894, made a full investigation of all the facts, Mr. Pullman gave the following account of the objects in view when the town of Pullman was established:

"The object in building Pullman was the establishment of a great manufacturing business on the most substantial basis possible, recognizing as we did, and do now, that the working people are the most important element which enters into the successful operation of any manufacturing enterprise.

"We decided to build in close proximity to the shops homes for workingmen of such character and surroundings as would prove so attractive as to cause the best class of mechanics to seek that place for employment in preference to others. We also desired to establish the place on such a basis as would exclude all baneful influences, believing that such a policy would result in the greatest measure of success, both from a commercial point of view and also—what was equally important, or perhaps of greater importance—in a tendency toward continued elevation and improvement of the condition not only of the working people themselves, but of their children growing up around them. Accordingly the present location of Pullman was selected. That region of the country was then very sparsely populated, a very few hundred people, mostly farmers, living within a radius of perhaps a mile and a half of the site selected, where there are now living some 25,000 people.

"It is not the intention to sell to workingmen homes in Pullman, but to so limit the area of the town that they could buy homes at convenient distances from the works if they chose to do so. If any lots had been sold in Pullman it would have permitted the introduction of the baneful elements which it was the chief purpose to exclude from the immediate neighborhood of the shops and from the homes to be erected about them. The plan was to provide homes in the first place for all people who should desire to work in the shops at reasonable rentals, with the expectation that as they became able and should desire to do so they would purchase lots and erect homes for themselves at convenient distances or avail themselves of the opportunity to rent homes from other people who should build in that vicinity. As a matter of fact at the time of the strike 563 of the shop employes owned their homes, and 461 of that number are now employed in the shops, 500 others at the time of the strike lived outside, and in addition an estimated number of from 200 to 300 others employed at Pullman were owners of their houses.

DID NOT SEEK MUNICIPAL POWERS

"The company neither planned nor could it exercise any municipal powers in Pullman. It was, in fact, within the boundaries of what was legally called the village of Hyde Park, but was several miles distant from the actual village as settled at that time. The people lived there first under the ordinances of the village of Hyde Park and now live under the ordinances of the city of Chicago, and not at any time under regulations of the company. The relations of those employed in the shops are, as to the shops, the relations of employes to employer, and as to those of them and others living in the homes the relations are simply and

only those of tenant to landlord. The company has not now, and never has had, any interest whatever in the business of any of the stores or shops in the town. They are rented through and managed by outside parties free from any control by the company. The people living in the town are entirely free to buy where they choose, and as a matter of fact the large disbursements in wages at Pullman, amounting to an average of $2,350,000 a year, from September, 1880, to July, 1894, has created a great competition for the trade of Pullman in the small surrounding towns as well as in Chicago, the natural result of which would be to bring the prices of all merchandise down to a minimum.

"In carrying out this general plan every care was taken in making perfect sanitary conditions by water supply and an extensive and scientific system of sewerage, paved and well-lighted streets, and open places properly ornamented with trees and shrubbery, all of which are kept in perfect repair and cleanliness by the company and at its expense. Due attention was paid to the convenience and general well being of the residents by the erection of stores and markets, a church, public schools, a library and public hall for lectures and amusements; also a hotel and boarding-houses. The basis on which rents were fixed was to make a return of 6 per cent on the actual investment, which at that time, 1881, was a reasonable return to be expected from such an investment; and in calculating what, for such a purpose, was the actual investment in the dwellings on the one hand and the other buildings on the other an allowance was made for the cost of the streets and other public improvements, just as it has to be considered in the valuation of any property for renting anywhere, all public improvements having to be paid for by the owners of a lot, either directly or by special taxation, and by him considered in the valuation. The actual operations have never shown a net return of six per cent, the amount originally contemplated. The investment for several years returned a net revenue of about 4½ per cent but during the last two years additional taxes and heavier repairs have brought the net revenue down to 3.82 per cent."

VIEWS OF OBSERVERS

There were many observers who came and reported upon the "Pullman Experiment," as it was frequently called. Professor Richard T. Ely, the eminent economist, made a careful study soon after the town of Pullman had been established when its clear-cut and methodical policy was already in force. He acknowledged the breadth of views and enlightened motives which had actuated the founder of the town of Pullman, but he was frank to say, in an article published in Harper's Magazine, in 1885, that after looking over all the facts of the case "the conclusion was unavoidable that the idea of Pullman was un-American. . . . It is not the American ideal. It is benevolent, well-wishing feudalism, which desires the happiness of the people, but in such a way as shall please the authorities."

The town of Pullman in 1894, the year of the great strike, contained a population of some twelve thousand souls. The Pullman works employed about six thousand hands when running at full capacity, but steady work was not assured to all. No resident of Pullman could own his own place. Everything belonged to the Company, and the householder was obliged to lease his house or apartment from the owner, that is, the Company. The rents averaged from fourteen to

twenty-five dollars per month for dwellings, and these rents were rigorously collected whether the tenants were employed all of the time or only part of the time. Nearly all the residents were employed in the shops of the Pullman Company.

In 1894, occurred a great strike among the employes of the Pullman Company, to be described further on, and it then began to be apparent to those who well knew the conditions which had grown up in the thirteen years since its founding, that the principles upon which the municipal affairs of the town were conducted were economically and socially unsound. Writing soon after the great strike the Rev. William H. Carwardine, pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church at Pullman, said that there was certainly something wrong in the town. "I believe," said he, "that the town itself was established in the hope of bettering the condition of the laboring classes, but it has failed sadly of its original purpose. As seen from the railway by the passing tourist, it presents a beautiful picture. In fact it appears to be a veritable Paradise. Beautiful trees and flowers, pretty fountains, glimpses here and there of artistic sweeps of landscape, gardens, rows of pretty little brick houses, church in the distance, public buildings of different descriptions, all present a beautiful picture to the traveler."

The writer, however, found another side to this attractive picture. There was a library but it was not a public library. It was a gift to the town by the founder and it contained a fine collection of some eight thousand volumes. Those who used this library were expected to pay three dollars a year for the privilege, and of course the number who patronized it was limited to a very few. Standing on Arcade Row was the "Green Stone Church," so named on account of the color of the stone of which the structure is built. The company required a rental of three hundred dollars a month for the use of this beautiful edifice, and as no denomination could be found able to pay so large a rent the church stood empty for a long period. It was eventually rented at a much reduced figure.

Carwardine in his book affirms a certain admiration for the founder and considers him worthy of honor for his achievements. "It is no small thing," he says, "for one man to be able to create a vast productive industry which from a small beginning has reached a market value of fifty millions of dollars. . . . I am willing to accord honor to a man who has become rich as the result of the establishment of a great manufacturing industry. As a man of industry, possessed of a great idea and tenaciously clinging to that idea until he wrought it out to completion, rising as a poor boy in an obscure village to a great position as a business man, possessed no doubt with a desire to better his fellow-man, retaining a personal character which we have every reason to believe is honest and pure, he is an example in these things that we can hold up before the youth of our land and bid them imitate."

But while Carwardine pays this tribute to Mr. Pullman he will not allow that he belongs in the class with such benefactors as George Peabody, Peter Cooper, Philip D. Armour, and other philanthropists. The very qualities that made him successful in life, his determination and resolution, were turned into arrogance and obstinacy; and the golden opportunity for doing a great work in behalf of his fellow-men was lost.

The keen criticisms made upon the whole enterprise, after the troubles caused by the strike had drawn the attention of the press to the real situation in

Pullman, are in strange contrast to the utterances of the optimistic observers we have referred to. "People are now beginning to wonder wherein lay the claim of the village to the much advertised name of 'Model Town,'" said the Minneapolis Times. "One thing at least is clear," said the Indianapolis News, "and that is, that we have had quite enough of such towns as Pullman. We have not yet reached a stage of civilization where it is wise to allow the consolidation of landlord and employer on a large scale in one individual." The Toledo Commercial called it a "system of perverted paternalism;" that "it should not be permitted to exist under the laws of any state of the Union."

Looking for the cause of the failure of the town to meet the expectations of its sanguine friends, the Philadelphia Times said: "One does not have to seek far to learn why the Pullman experiment failed to create cordial relations between the employes and the employing corporation. The real source of the failure lay in the fact that the Pullman scheme of founding and running a manufacturing town gave the workmen no permanent or abiding interest in the town."

PRELIMINARY CONDITIONS

On the first of July, 1894, the American Railway Union, an organization of railway employes in all departments of the service, had a membership of something over one hundred thousand. The American Railway Union was a union of a number of other labor organizations and had been but recently formed under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, with the purpose, according to its constitution adopted in 1893, of protecting its members "in all matters relating to wages and rights of employes." The constitution concludes as follows: "With this declaration of its purposes, and with boundless faith in its conquering mission, the American Railway Union consecrates itself to the great cause of industrial emancipation."

The organizations previously in existence and now united under one great organization were as follows:

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, organized in 1863.
The Order of Railway Conductors, organized in 1868.
The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, organized in 1868.
The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, organized in 1883.
The Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association, organized in 1886.
The Order of Railroad Telegraphers, organized in 1876.
The American Railway Union, organized June 20, 1893.

"It was the evident purpose of the American Railway Union," says Bancroft, "practically to absorb all the existing organizations of railroad employes, by enrolling such portion of their members and such large numbers of railroad men not organized, as to give the union the leadership and ultimate control in all disputes between the railroads and their employes."

Liberal use has been made in the following pages of Mr. Edgar A. Bancroft's pamphlet printed the year after the strike, in which is given an excellent review of the events and the legal questions arising therefrom. In a note Mr. Bancroft explains that in the preparation of his paper he made use of "the exhaustive

brief of Hon. Edwin Walker, special counsel for the government, and of the strong and luminous opinion of Hon. William A. Woods, Circuit Judge, in the contempt proceedings, United States versus Debs et al."

It will be seen that the employes of the Pullman Company had no part in the American Railway Union, and although local unions had been formed among them during the previous winter and spring they did not join in the great combination of labor unions we have just referred to. The previous year, the year of the World's Fair, was marked by a severe financial panic which affected all industries. During the following fall and winter the Company reduced its force to about two-thirds of its previous numbers, and at the same time reduced wages from thirty to fifty per cent. "The result was," says Bancroft, "that the wages earned in the lower grades of service were hardly sufficient to provide the ordinary necessities of life. The irritation caused by the reductions was much aggravated by the fact that the company was also the landlord of the majority of the workmen, and that it made no reduction in rents. . . . It was, therefore, both natural and reasonable that the employes should be dissatisfied and restless under the conditions existing in the spring of 1894."

THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE STRIKE

On the 11th of May a strike among the Pullman employes began, and for the following seven weeks there was no disorder among the strikers. "The universal comment," says Carwardine, "was complimentary to the decorum of the strikers." As time elapsed the company made no effort to resume work. "The strike had become a lockout; the strikers seemingly were worsted. In the meantime the officers of the American Railway Union investigated conditions at Pullman, and decided that the strikers ought to be sustained with the full strength of the union."

At a convention of the governing body of the American Railway Union, held on the 12th of June, President Debs in his opening address said that the Union was the first of the railway organizations that was properly constructed; that all others "had blow-holes in their armor while this one was built for war, and no weakness would be found in it when it came time to test its armament." The convention declared in favor of taking up the fight against the Pullman Company. A committee was appointed to wait upon the manager who, however, refused to recognize them or treat with them. On June 22, the delegates, having been so instructed by their respective unions, voted that if the Pullman Company did not adjust its differences with its employes by noon of June 26, a boycott would then be enforced against the hauling of its cars.

On the 25th, the general managers of the railroads having connections at Chicago held a meeting to consider what action should be taken in case the threatened boycott should take place. The managers adopted a resolution protesting against the proposed interference with the business of the railroads, and pledging themselves to resist the boycott "in the interest of their existing contracts, and for the benefit of the traveling public." In the evening there was a large public meeting held in Chicago, called in the interest of the proposed boycott. Two of the officers of the American Railway Union addressed the meeting. "The fight meant more than the mere settlement of the strike at Pullman," said one of them. "It

was a fight between labor and plutocracy, in which all the forces of capital would be united and against which all the forces of labor should combine."

BOYCOTT AGAINST PULLMAN CARS

On June 26, telegrams were sent to some two hundred different points on western railroads, as follows: "Boycott against Pullman cars in effect to-day. By order of the convention. (Signed,) E. V. Debs." More particular instructions were given in some cases. "No Pullman cars are to be handled or hauled," he explained to an inquirer. "Convention ordered boycott of Pullman cars, and this means they shall be cut out and detracked." At Chicago, the Illinois Central Railroad was selected as the first road to be dealt with, and by nine o'clock that evening not a wheel was moving on that line within the city limits.

The convention in declaring a boycott on the hauling of Pullman cars had made no request of the railroad companies, says Bancroft, in his pamphlet entitled "The Chicago Strike of 1894." "The boycott was a direct assault upon the property rights of the Pullman Company, intended seriously to damage its business. It was as unlawful, and if successful it would be as injurious as the destruction of its shops and its cars. It was also an unlawful interference with the business of the railroad companies, bound by contract to haul the Pullman cars. It took from them their control of one branch of their business, and directed their employes, while continuing in their service, to refuse to perform certain of its important duties. If employes could be thus controlled by an organization, the employer would be injured as seriously and as unlawfully as if tangible property of like value had been destroyed."

The situation rapidly became complicated. Beginning as a boycott in almost every case the attempt to discriminate against the Pullman cars was resisted by the officials of the railways, which action was immediately followed by a strike. "Within forty-eight hours after the issuance of the first orders, a concerted and similar course of action was adopted at all the important railroad centers from Chicago to San Fancisco. Under the direction of the local representatives of the American Railway Union, the employes first detached the Pullman cars from all trains; then when any employes were discharged for disobedience of orders, all quit the service. . . . The strikers gathered in large numbers upon the station grounds and few employes dared to resist their demands. Toward new men employed to take the strikers' places, similar means were employed. Intolerable abuse was heaped upon them, violence was freely threatened and used, and they were in constant danger of assault.

"To prevent the running of trains which despite these dangers the companies were able to equip, the strikers misplaced and spiked switches, removed switch lights at night, uncoupled cars, closed crossing gates, and gathered in crowds upon the tracks. On the first day a crowd of four thousand people blocked the Illinois Central tracks at Grand Crossing. When police protection was furnished and the gates were opened, a striker deliberately threw himself in front of the train. The strikers controlled the gates and opened them for the Michigan Central trains (because only Wagner cars were hauled on this line), but closed them against those of the Illinois Central. By these and similar means express trains carrying the United States mails were held for several days by mobs of strikers. . . . At

Blue Island, a mail train was derailed, its engine overturned, and the tracks blockaded. Freight cars were also overturned by the strikers and some of them set on fire. . . .

"At Grand Crossing an Illinois Central train was wrecked by drawing the spikes from the rails, and at Hammond the lines of the Monon and of the Baltimore & Ohio were completely blocked by a mob that drove the trainmen from their posts, and uncoupled and side-tracked the cars."

OTHER INCIDENTS OF THE STRIKE

The violence of these mobs was directed against unfortunate passengers as well. At many places threats of violence or of boycott were used to prevent belated passengers from obtaining food and refreshment. The boycott was used even to prevent the restaurants and boarding houses from furnishing food to marshals and deputy sheriffs. By these means—intimidation, violence, rioting and mob rule—the transportation of the mails and of inter-state commerce was obstructed throughout the west. At Chicago the railroads were paralyzed.

At the Union Stock Yards and at the great packing houses, all business was suspended; trains of dressed meat that had been started to eastern points on the 29th and 30th were stopped, and their contents damaged or ruined. The commerce of Chicago had come to a standstill. The supply of provisions and fuel ran low and prices proportionately increased. The principal arteries of trade through which Chicago received its supplies were controlled and closed by mobs of strikers and their sympathizers.

This was the condition of affairs when the United States filed a bill in equity for the removal of obstructions to the transportation of the mails and of inter-state commerce, and for the prevention of further interference therewith. The bill for injunction was filed in the United States Circuit Court for the Northern District of Illinois on July 2d, and, on the same day, Circuit Judge Woods and District Judge Grosscup granted the order of injunction as prayed. It was directed against the American Railway Union, its four officers and thirteen other persons, and "all persons combining and conspiring with them and all other persons whomsoever," enjoining them from in any manner interfering with, obstructing or stopping any of the twenty-two railroads named, in the carrying of inter-state commerce, or the United States mails.

The order specified a great number of acts forbidden, and contained a general order enjoining individuals from "doing any act whatever in furtherance of any conspiracy or combination to restrain either of said railroad companies or receivers in the free and unhindered control and handling of inter-state commerce." This injunction was served upon several of the defendants named, and on the same day was read to the mob at Blue Island, by whom it was received with the utmost derision and contempt. The mobs at Chicago having continued to increase in numbers, United States troops were ordered by President Cleveland, on the evening of July 3d, from Fort Sheridan to Chicago. They reached the point of disturbance on the morning of July 4th. The troops were assailed by the mobs with vile language, and an occasional stone was thrown. No organized resistance was offered, but the mob formed at other places as rapidly as it was dispersed by the troops, and the acts of violence, interference and obstruction were

continued. The troops, about five hundred in number, were not able to cope with the mobs, in some cases much exceeding their own number, and soon after other troops were ordered from Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley, increasing the number of troops to about two thousand.

GOVERNOR ALTGELD'S PROTEST

"On July 5th, Governor Altgeld of Illinois telegraphed the President of the United States a protest against the ordering of United States troops to Chicago without any request for them from the state authorities. It stated that there was no need of such interference and that Illinois had ample military forces for the preservation of order; that no militia had been called out at Chicago because they were not needed; that militia had been ordered to two other points in the state in answer to requests, but it was found that there was no need of them there; and that the local authorities were able to preserve peace and protect property at all points. The immediate withdrawal of the United States troops from active duty was asked.

"President Cleveland answered briefly, that the troops were sent, under authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States, to remove obstructions to the mails, and the transportation of interstate commerce, and to the execution of the process of the Federal Courts."

ORDER RESTORED

"On the following day, July 6th, the mayor of Chicago asked Governor Altgeld to send immediately to Chicago such state troops as were available to aid him in restoring the peace and in suppressing and preventing violence to persons and property. Thereupon the Governor ordered two thousand of the militia into immediate service at Chicago, and within two or three days substantially the entire force of the state was on active duty there.

"On the 7th, President Debs, Grand Master Sovereign of the Knights of Labor joining with him, sent a protest to President Cleveland against the presence of United States soldiers. They claimed that the troops were being used to 'coerce and intimidate peaceable working people into humiliated obedience to the will of their oppressors.' They further insisted that the troops were unnecessary and their presence was an unjust discrimination against the employes, and an infringement upon their liberty. 'Now, sir,' they said, 'we pledge to you the power of our respective organizations, individually and collectively, for the maintenance of peace and good order and the preserving of life and property, and will aid in the arrest and punishment of all violators of the civil and criminal laws of the state or nation.'

"On the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th, the mobs were in control and serious rioting occurred at different points in Chicago. Depredation was done by wholesale. Thousands of freight cars were overturned and burned. On the 8th, President Cleveland issued a proclamation detailing the lawlessness existing, and practically declaring martial law in Chicago. There were now eleven thousand men under arms there, beside the three thousand, one hundred policemen. Rioting continued a few days longer; the yards of two railroads with their buildings were burned;

conflicts occurred between the mobs and the troops. But the blockade, however, had been raised on several lines at Chicago, and had been entirely broken by United States troops at western points where the mobs had been in control."

On the 10th, a special grand jury was impaneled, and the four officers of the American Railway Union were indicted for conspiracy to commit an offense against the United States. They were promptly arrested and released on bail, and at once President Debs issued an appeal to all striking employes and sympathizers to refrain from all acts of violence and to aid in maintaining law and order.

The officers of the American Railway Union, on the 12th, submitted to the General Managers of the various railway companies a proposition of settlement. They offered to end the strike if the railroads would re-instate without prejudice all employes. The proposition was not considered. This marked the end of the railroad strike, though sporadic acts of violence occurred at a few places thereafter.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW'S ACCOUNT OF THE STRIKE

At the request of the London *Times* Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, at that time president of the New York Central Railway, made a statement of the general causes and real meaning of the great railway strike, which was published in that paper. "The labor troubles in the United States," said he, "are due to the long-continued industrial depression, and the strike was caused by the ambitious effort of Mr. Debs, President of the American Railway Union, to absorb all organizations of railway employes into one. The success of the disorder and the delay in suppressing it were owing to the heretofore undefined boundary between state and federal authority. The financial crisis last year crippled many enterprises, and the uncertainties of tariff legislation which have followed prevented recovery and closed the majority of the mills and furnaces. This has made the number of unemployed greater than we have ever known. The abrupt and permanent curtailment of production and consumption has been felt in every department of American activity. From the farm to the factory every business has proportionately suffered, and the distress among workingmen has been correspondingly severe. There is universal unrest and almost frantic desire for anything in place of present conditions.

"The populist party found in this situation its opportunity, or rather the situation created the party. The idea which its members gather from its teachings is that liberty means the right to violate law and violently stop or seize railroads and industries, providing the law breakers are poor and are sufficiently strong to defeat or overawe the ordinary peace establishment of the community. In the states where this party is in power strikes, lockouts, boycotts and suppression of railway traffic receive direct assistance or passive permission from the authorities.

"With these unprecedented industrial conditions and the anomalous political relations in a few states, the elements were favorable for what in Latin countries would be revolution and with Anglo-Saxons riots, at first successful, and then reason soon reasserts herself and firmly enforces the law. The delay and disappointments in tariff legislation at Washington impaired the confidence of the country in the ability of this congress to provide measures of relief or to discover

its incompetency and adjourn. An appeal to the country would lead, as everyone believes, to an immediate and decisive response.

DEBS BECOMES THE RECOGNIZED LEADER

"Mr. Eugene V. Debs was for many years a high and popular official of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and the editor of a labor magazine of advanced socialistic and somewhat anarchistic views. He conceived the idea of breaking up the existing organizations and gathering the railway world into his order. His scheme was attractive. The initiation fees were only one dollar and the annual dues twenty-five cents. The order was to control the railways and coerce their managers. Debs would begin with $1,000,000 in his treasury and possess an income of $250,000. He made his first appeal to the switchmen and selected the Great Northern Road for his attack. This line had been built paralleling the Northern Pacific, had forced the latter into bankruptcy and could not afford a tie-up. After a few days the managers of that line surrendered.

"Debs' victory surprised himself by its completeness and far-reaching consequences. East of Chicago and in the older and more thickly settled states the old organizations stood firm against him. He must again demonstrate power. Finding no real or imaginary grievance on any railway he chose to make his fight upon the trouble between the Pullman Car Company and the mechanics in its shops, over the construction of some hundreds of freight cars for various railways.

"Debs ordered a boycott of the Pullman cars, and on the refusal of the railways to break their contracts with the Pullman Company and inflict nameless cruelties upon their passengers, he ordered their lines closed. Trains were stopped wherever telegrams reached them, traffic ceased and business was paralyzed over about two-thirds the area of the United States. The reliance of the strikers was upon the impotence of the state governments and the friendship of the local authorities. They could confidently count on the co-operation of the rival local politicians. The industrial and financial distress gave them general sympathy, though their action intensified the suffering a thousandfold.

"The results proved how well Debs and his associates understood the powerlessness of the states to control the situation. With the exception of three transcontinental lines, all our railroads are chartered by the several states. State laws have permitted consolidation of connecting roads, so that many companies run through several states as one company under one management, but the portion of the line in each is still wholly subject to its charter in that state. The state governments, often controlled by opposite parties, have no joint or common action. Sympathy with strikers in Illinois at one end and in California 2,000 miles off, at the other, stops travel and traffic.

GOVERNOR ALTGELD'S INTERFERENCE

"State autonomy reached its perilous condition when the Governor of Illinois gave great moral support to the strike by rebuking President Cleveland and virtually ordering the United States troops out of his territory. It reached its ridiculous stage when the Governor of California requested a permit from the strike leader to visit his capital, which was contemptuously refused. The popular

belief has always been that the national government could not act in repressing riots or disorders until requested to by the state authorities of a commonwealth which was unable to cope with the insurrection.

"President Cleveland is sluggish but courageous. Legislation following the Civil war had given the general government power unused and forgotten. Congress, in enacting the interstate commerce law, had assumed to regulate commerce between the states and unconsciously with it the responsibility to keep open interstate lines as national highways. The President, having satisfied himself as to his powers, did not hesitate in the performance of his duties. After President Cleveland's proclamation it required a few days for the general public and the strike leaders to grasp the idea that the President was in earnest, and the army and navy in motion, when this gigantic conspiracy collapsed as suddenly as it had organized.

"The losses occasioned by the strike are enormous, but it is destined to prove of incalculable benefit to the country. The national idea has been strengthened and broadened. Safe anchorage has been found for persons and property. One of the hopeful features of the situation has been the unmistakable display of loyalty in the south. The so-called rebel states unanimously demanded the intervention of the federal power to restore order before everything else. 'We surrendered,' they said, 'to a government with ample power to enforce the law and we will live under no other.'

"The far-reaching results of this short revolution can be briefly stated. Interstate railways are national highways which the government will keep open at any cost, and a method will be provided for the settlement of differences with their employes. The general government will find a way to protect the citizens of the states, who, in a larger sense, are citizens of the United States, from the cowardice of all state officers or their corrupt sympathy with law breakers. Every vested interest is more secure and the rights of every one more safe."

AFTERMATH OF THE STRIKE

Notwithstanding the contempt shown for the injunction by the rougher elements among the strikers, for no doubt many of the rioters were hoodlums who would be found on any scene of trouble and disorder, it soon began to have its effect, especially after the arrest of the leaders. But they at once began to disclaim any intention of committing acts of violence. Such violence, intimidation and depredation as had occurred, they said, were entirely unauthorized and disapproved. But in view of what had actually happened their statements carried little weight. "It was not the soldiers that ended the strike," said Debs in his testimony before the Strike Commission, "it was simply the United States Courts that ended it. Our men were in a position that never would have been shaken under any circumstances if we had been permitted to remain upon the field, to remain among them. When we were taken from the scene of action and restrained from sending telegrams or issuing orders or answering questions, then the minions of the corporations would be put to work at such places. The headquarters were demoralized and abandoned, we could not answer any telegrams or questions that would come in. The men went back to work . . . and the strike was broken up, . . . not by the army, and not by any power, but simply by the govern-

ment of the United States in restraining us from discharging our duties as officers and representatives of our employes."

Criminal prosecutions are utterly valueless in a case like the strike of 1894. "The large number of persons in the conspiracy was a great protection against criminal prosecutions," says Bancroft; "it was deemed by those engaged in the lawlessness a perfect protection."

The conflicts and disorders occurring during this memorable strike resulted in the death of twenty-six persons, the serious injury of sixty-eight others, without taking into account minor injuries to hundreds of others still. The Strike Commission, composed of the Commissioner of Labor, Carroll D. Wright, N. E. Worthington and John D. Kernan, appointed by the President under an existing statute providing for such emergencies, held sessions in Chicago to investigate the causes of the strike. Their report ended their responsibility in the matter, as the law provided that on the rendering of the report their services should cease. Bancroft criticises their report as attributing "the lawlessness to defects in the law" while not indicating what those defects were. A special grand jury was summoned on July 10th to deal with the violations of law, and the offenders were brought to trial. The indictments were against Debs and others for conspiracy, Mr. Edwin Walker appearing as chief counsel for the prosecution and Mr. S. S. Gregory for the defense.

Owing to the illness of a juryman during the trial the proceedings were broken off, and soon after the case was removed from the docket in view of the fact that the defendants must immediately appear before the United States Circuit Court and answer to the charge of contempt. In due course they were found guilty on this charge and Judge Woods sentenced Debs to six months' confinement in jail, and his co-defendants to three months each; and designated the jail at Woodstock, the county seat of McHenry County, as the place of confinement. Here Debs and his associates served their terms, and thus ended the American Railway Union strike of 1894.

THE TOWN OF PULLMAN TODAY

Twenty-three years have passed since the events which convulsed the town of Pullman (even then a part of Chicago), and which changed the course of its history and development took place. No longer do writers, attracted by its fame as a new and interesting industrial experiment, resort thither to expatiate upon its wonders in fervid language and indulge in predictions of a new golden age.

The visitor today finds a busy and prosperous community, the inhabitants dwelling in their own houses, so far as they are able to own them; and its affairs conducted like those of any other district lying within the ample area of Chicago. Most of the residents are now, as formerly, employes in the great works of the Pullman Company, where they find steady work at good wages, where they enjoy all the benefits and privileges of a high class neighborhood surrounded by a naturally beautiful location—a broad sheet of water, Lake Calumet, on the one hand, and the wide prairies and groves, fast filling with dwellings, on the other.

One may see handsome rows of houses, standing in well kept surroundings, extensive ranges of workshops of good architectural design, while new additions, constantly being made, follow out in general the same lines of artistic forms. The

old Corliss engine of over two thousand horsepower, which was the wonder of the Centennial Exposition in 1876, and which Mr. Pullman purchased and had transported here in thirty-five cars, and which for thirty-five years has furnished power for the great machine shops of the company, has at length (January, 1911,) ceased from its labors, and is now dismantled and its parts consigned to the scrap heap.

But the majority of the thousands of men employed in the Pullman works do not make their homes in the so-called "Town of Pullman." Numbering from fifteen to eighteen thousand hands, not one-fifth of them could find living accommodations in the town. They come from all directions to their work, chiefly by trains on the Illinois Central from Randolph and Van Buren streets where they gather from regions far up on the north side or far out on the west and south sides of the city. Heavily loaded trains, running at express speed, bring multitudes to their work in the morning and carry them away at night. As the hour for beginning work approaches the streets are filled with the human tide gradually melting away as it is absorbed by the great shops of the company.

Pullman is still an interesting spot to the visitor whose mind reverts to the scenes of its earlier history. No place was ever more thoroughly described by travelers nor more fully illustrated in the publications of the day. Even Brook Farm with its memories of the transcendentalists, nor New Harmony hopefully guided by Robert Owen, ever received as much attention from the public as did the little town of Pullman, which through many vicissitudes has at length emerged into the white light of common day,—a town now prosperously fulfilling the ordinary functions of community life, and peacefully pursuing the even tenor of its existence.

TRACK ELEVATION

Public men long ago saw the importance of elevating the tracks of railroads within the city limits. In 1868, John S. Wright published a history of Chicago, and in it he strongly emphasized the necessity of removing the danger then existing at the countless grade crossings throughout the city. He believed that it was the duty of railroad companies as well as city officials to provide against this danger by means of some system of eliminating the grade crossings. "This improvement," he wrote, "is one that every railroad man would not only favor but urge its immediate prosecution. . . . City officials, who are appointed to care for these chief public concerns, who will neglect to give all requisite efforts to the success of a scheme so indispensable to the city, are not faithful stewards. No one can question the desirableness of such an improvement, which would give Chicago an advantage over every city of the world for railway trade. Nor can any reasonable man who appreciates the future of railways for this city doubt that ultimately the railways will be given a grade to themselves."

Special legislation, however, was not necessary to enable the city of Chicago to require of the railroads having terminals in the city that they should elevate their tracks, and thereby eliminate grade crossings. The police power granted by the charter of the city, which gave the city government the right to take such measures as would guarantee to its citizens protection to life and limb and to promote the general welfare, was found to be sufficient authority. The elimination of grade crossings was begun in the earlier history of Chicago by the erection

of viaducts. This unsatisfactory and impracticable method was continued until 1892, while after several years of agitation and discussion by those who believed in track elevation as the remedy on the one hand, and by the railroads which claimed that the cost was prohibitive and ruinous to them on the other, a commission was appointed by Mayor Washburne, known as the Terminal Commission.

The viaduct policy had become unpopular. "The height at which it was necessary to erect the viaducts above the original grade of the streets," says the Report of the Track Elevation Department of 1909, in a historical review, required the construction of long approaches, not only in the streets provided with viaducts, but in those that intersected the site of the approaches as well." Thus property contiguous to the right-of-way of railroads seemed likely in time to be "enmeshed with a network of approaches which would not only offer long and heavy grades to street traffic but would considerably depreciate the value of the property affected."

FIRST WORK IN TRACK ELEVATION

On May 22, 1892, an ordinance was passed for the elevation of the roadbed and tracks of the Illinois Central Railroad from Forty-Seventh street to a point near Seventy-First street. Owing to the opening of the World's Fair May 1, 1893, this work was pushed forward with so much energy that it was completed before the date of the opening of the Fair. The right-of-way of the Illinois Central thus raised was two hundred feet in width and admitted of eight tracks to be run alongside of each other. Thirteen grade crossings were eliminated by this improvement, allowing of subways beneath the tracks, three miles of main track elevated and twenty-nine miles of all tracks comprised in the same elevation, at a cost of two mlilions of dollars.

Properly speaking this was the beginning of track elevation in Chicago which has since become of such vast proportions. The elevation of the Illinois Central tracks was a valuable object lesson, and the satisfactory results witnessed indicated the correct policy for the future. Public opinion demanded that all the railroads entering the city should elevate their tracks, and even before the World's Fair had opened, while the full results of the Illinois Central track elevation were not yet completely tested, a general ordinance was passed by the Common Council, in conformity with the recommendations of the Terminal Commission, providing for the elevation of all the tracks of steam railroads within the limits of the city of Chicago.

This ordinance, however, was too comprehensive, as it involved such a vast outlay that it was seen to be impossible of accomplishment by the railroads. The administration therefore modified the requirements and had a survey made of those zones in which the travel at street and railway crossings was most dense, and decided to treat each of these zones separately, and, where necessary, to subdivide farther each zone into suitable portions for convenience of working and where it would cause the least interruption to public traffic. Under this plan a gradual approach to complete track elevation within the city limits has been going on down to the present time.

"The annual growth of track elevation has been consistent," says the report already referred to. "The cumulative result is remarkable, the railroads have

executed mile after mile of this kind of construction," without serious interruption to traffic and with a minimum of delay to street travel. Great arteries of travel were often closed up for a time while heavy operations in elevating the roadbed were carried on, but on the whole it was quite surprising, considering the many complications involved, how quickly the work was accomplished in almost every case.

The city of Chicago contains more than twice as many miles of elevated tracks as are to be found in the combined mileage of all other cities in the United States within their several city limits. There are about one hundred and fifty miles of the roadbeds of the different railroads entering the city which have been elevated to an average height of thirteen and a half feet above the level of the streets which they cross, at a total expense to the railroad companies of upwards of seventy millions of dollars.

AN UNDERGROUND FREIGHT LINE

In the progress of tunnel building in Chicago a system of underground railways was begun in 1899, which three years later, under the name of the "Illinois Tunnel Company," was completed, and an electric railroad with a gauge of two feet was installed. This system was used entirely for the transportation of heavy freight, mails, etc., from one part of the city to another. When it is recalled that the city covers an area of about two hundred square miles, and that it is about twenty-five miles in length and with a breadth in places of fourteen miles, it is seen that there was an abundance of room entirely within the city limits for a work of this character. The obstacles consisted of a vast system of water tunnels, gas and water mains, sewers, conduits, etc., already occupying the streets, and a navigable river running through the city, so that it became necessary to place such a tunnel at a depth to pass beneath them all.

Thus it came to be established that the depth should be between forty-two and forty-five feet below the surface, and it was so constructed. The range of its lines, together with its branches, is comprised within a distance sufficient to connect the various depots of the city with the central business portion, thus relieving in its operation an important part of the street traffic. There are about sixty miles of lines comprised in the system. Its scope of operation includes the hauling of freight between freight depots and yards and the business houses along its route which are connected to its lines by passages in the basements and by shafts from the surface. No passengers are carried on its lines. The tunnels run under many of the principal streets of the city but no evidence of their presence is seen at the surface, the necessary shafts being placed within the buildings with which the tunnel is connected.

Standing within one of the tunnels, and looking either way along its vaulted interior as far as the eye can penetrate, with the line of electric lights and signals extending far into the distance, the visitor realizes the total isolation which exists from the life and activities of the street but a few feet overhead, the roar of which is deadened into perfect silence by the intervening thickness of the earth. In the outer air above are passing crowds, cars, and vehicles, and there may be storms, heat or cold, but in these subterranean passages one is as far removed from the bustle and noises of the city as if he were immured in the dungeon of

a mountain castle. The catacombs of Rome and Paris indeed may be more extensive than these underground passages though they no longer have any human use, but here is found an efficient and important thoroughfare, relieving the overburdened streets above and contributing to the welfare and convenience of the people.

In constructing the tunnel the blue clay which forms the underlying material of the city's site was excavated so as to leave a completed bore of six feet in width and seven and a half feet in height, the walls of which were lined with a solid concrete covering twelve inches in thickness. The work was done under heavy air pressure so that there should be no danger to the foundations of adjoining buildings. The method of construction was so perfect that no building has ever shown any ill effects from the presence of the labyrinth of tunnels at their foundations. Turnouts and by-passes are constructed at all buildings and depots where the lines have established connections. Drainage is taken care of by seventy-one electric pumps distributed throughout the system discharging into the city sewers above them. The danger from floods or broken mains deluging the tunel is obviated by placing heavy iron doors at the entrance of the shafts which have their landing places at one side of the tunnel which can be closed and securely fastened in case of a rush of water, much on the same principle as a water-tight hold is protected on our modern ships. In the shafts are elevators which raise or lower the cars bodily to the level desired where they are able to run on a track corresponding to their trucks.

Owing to financial difficulties the system was reorganized in 1912, and it is now known as the Chicago Tunnel Company. The city of Chicago receives eight per cent of the gross revenue from operations under public property. The authorized capital stock of the company is $53,000,000. There can be no question of the immense benefit derived by the public through the operation of these unobtrusive bores. "Every wagon load of freight transported through the tunnel," says a writer, "means another wagon load removed from the streets above, and every wagon removed or kept off the streets makes for safety and cleanliness, and relieves street congestion." It has been estimated that the goods and materials transported through the tunnels last year would have increased the number of wagons and trucks on the streets moving to and from railroads, just one-third had they been carried on the surface instead of under it.

TUNNELS OF CHICAGO

Quoting from a recent article in the "New International Encyclopaedia," it is said that, "Notwithstanding the fact that Chicago stands on a plain of nearly two hundred square miles in extent, it is remarkable that the earth beneath it and below the adjoining waters on the lake and river is honeycombed with a vast network of tunnels. These tunnels are designed for various purposes, some to convey drinking water from the lake, some to afford passage for freight between depots and large establishments, and some for street-car traffic under the river connecting the different divisions of the city. There are also minor tunnels and conduits for the use of the telegraph and telephone companies. The people of Chicago have become the greatest tunnel builders, perhaps, of any community on the face of the earth, and the completion of a new tunnel for any purpose occurs

so often that it awakens scarcely a passing comment. There are seven tunnels connecting with cribs two to four miles in the lake, delivering upwards of six hundred millions gallons of water per day to the inhabitants of the city, besides land tunnels connecting these to distant sections of the city many miles to the west, north, and south. Far below the surface, low lying as it is, there are flowing rivers of water conducted through these tunnels, the volume of which is almost beyond comprehension, rivaling, indeed, if not surpassing in their extent and capacity the aqueducts and conduits of ancient Rome. Three tunnels for the use of street cars pass under the river, one under the main river and two under the south branch; and an intricate system of tunnels forty feet below the surface is in use by the Chicago Tunnel Company, devoted mainly to the carrying of heavy merchandise and material, thus relieving the streets from congestion to a large extent. These tunnels, with an aggregate length of upwards of sixty miles, are also used largely for the conveyance of wires and cables."

CHAPTER XVII

REVIEW OF WHOLESALE INDUSTRIES

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH OF STATE—WHOLESALE TRADE IN THE FIFTIES—WILD CAT CURRENCY—GREAT MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES—ASSOCIATED EFFORTS—PROBLEMS OF ASSOCIATION WORK—RELATIONS OF EMPLOYERS AND WORKMEN—DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES—ELEMENTS OF A MANUFACTURING CENTER—THE INDUSTRIAL ZONE—STEEL INDUSTRIES—LABOR CONDITIONS—THE LUMBER TRADE—THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO—THE MERCHANTS' CLUB—ACHIEVEMENTS OF THESE CLUBS—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES' POEM—CHICAGO ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE—PRESENT STATUS—SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES—PUBLICATIONS AND REPORTS—BROAD PROGRAMME OUTLINED—THE ILLINOIS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION—FORMATION OF THE ASSOCIATION—TEAMSTERS' STRIKE OF 1905—LOSSES CAUSED.

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH OF THE STATE

"Illinois has become one of the greatest industrial sections of the world, third among the states of the Union in the value of its manufactured products, and its great wealth is based largely upon the output of its factories and shops," declares John M. Glenn, secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, in the Illinois "Blue Book, for 1917-1918," reviewing the progress of the state in the one-hundredth year of its statehood. "Compare the state's great industrial record with the first manufacturing plants of one hundred years ago, grist mills operated by the settlers for their wheat and corn, grinding away by some picturesque stream perhaps within sight of the wigwams of an Indian encampment, and you will have a faint idea of the progress of industry during the hundred years of the statehood of Illinois.

"One hundred years ago, Illinois was without factories, or railroads, or electricity, or gas, or steam power. Kaskaskia was a greater industrial and commercial center than Chicago. Industry was confined to the grist-mills, or to rude household arts such as spinning or weaving. It was the day of the hunter, the trapper and the fisher. It was in those days that the name of the 'Prairie State' was born."

WHOLESALE TRADE IN THE FIFTIES

A writer in the course of a review of the wholesale trade of Chicago in the early fifties commented as follows: "The same avenues which bring to Chicago the products of the great Northwest, also distribute over the whole of that region the materials which, gathered in the leading centers of population, go to make up

so large a portion of the comforts of civilized existence. Chicago is now the one mart of the Northwest. When the first loads of grain and hogs were brought hither in wagons the farmers generally took back with them a partial equivalent in goods, but this of course was but a retail trade. When, however, the railroad system was once inaugurated this city was visited by the storekeepers of the interior who bought a portion of their stocks here, and then the leading spirits of Chicago gradually dropped the retail and betook themselves to the task of gathering together stocks large enough to select from, and of furnishing them at prices which would render a visit to New York expensive by comparison.

"Soon was commenced the system of commercial traveling and the country dealers were visited at their own homes, and offered a choice in the selection of goods. Then the Eastern drummers gradually found their occupation going, and at last withdrew from the field, satisfied that they could not hope to compete with the enterprising spirit of Chicago men. The perpetually deranged condition of the western currency was a great obstacle, but was eventually overcome, and with the establishment of the national banking system a few years later the merchants of this city were enabled to work more freely, and soon far eclipsed all previous efforts."

POOR QUALITY OF WESTERN CURRENCY

A great deal of the paper money of those days was in the form of bills issued by banks which in a large number of cases failed and left their obligations unredeemed. This kind of currency acquired the epithet "wild cat," which term was applied to all the issues of this character. It was said that John Wentworth first applied the name to the issues of the state banks, and in his paper he printed a picture of the ferocious animal followed by denunciations of the evil system of irresponsible banking prevailing at that time. The bills were usually engraved in an inferior style, and were often counterfeited. Judge Blodgett is quoted as remarking that it was not difficult to detect the counterfeit bills "because they were so much better engraved than the genuine." On one occasion a certain storekeeper having some wild cat money offered him in payment of a bill of goods, exclaimed, "Oh, see here, can't you give me something else? If you've got any good Eastern counterfeits, I'd rather have them."

ILLINOIS AS THE SEAT OF GREAT MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

The state of Illinois "developed into a manufacturing community because of the fertility of its soil," said John M. Glenn, Secretary of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, in an address before the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, at Boston, June 2, 1916, "and because it was easy here to assemble raw materials, and because it had cheap coal." In the census report for 1910 it is said: "Illinois is the most important manufacturing state west of the Alleghanies." In 1909, 8.3 per cent of its total population were engaged in manufacturing industries. The gross value of products per capita of its population in 1909 was $340.38, and in the value of its manufactures it stood third in rank among all the states of the Union. The total value of its manufactures in that year was $1,919,277,000.

In his address Mr. Glenn said of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association: "It

was a pioneer in advocating foreign trade," in the agitation for "good roads legislation," for "interior waterway improvements," "in the agitation having to do with guarding machinery for the purpose of preventing accidents to employees," and "its last undertaking is a movement to impress upon manufacturers the importance of knowing the cost of their goods and the proper keeping of their books."

PROBLEM OF ASSOCIATION WORK

"The great difficulty in association work," said Mr. Glenn, "is to get employers to stand together. They haven't yet learned the lesson that pure self interest is a centrifugal, a scattering force, and that cooperation and harmonious action can only result from an intelligent subordination of self interest to the greater interest of association. The same qualities that make a man a good citizen make him a good member of an organization." An organization for the common good, he continues, "is so axiomatic in its desirability that it would seem superfluous to argue about the necessity of it, yet even a successful organization rarely represents more than a fraction of the whole field. The remainder stay out through apathy, penuriousness or timidity, but that should prove no discouragement to those who are in favor of organized effort, for a strong unified loyal minority has always done the big work of the world." "The success of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association has been truly wonderful as has been its influence for the right. Its achievements show what can be accomplished by unselfish men who are willing to work for the common good."

Illinois has progressed by leaps and bounds in the field of its manufacturing industries during the life of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, and there is no state in the Union that has had less unintelligent legislation than Illinois. This situation is due to the fact that the Illinois Manufacturers' Association appeals through its bulletins and through public meetings to the great forum of public opinion.

Quoting again from Mr. Glenn's address, he says:

"The membership of the organization does not include all the industrial firms in Illinois, but it does include those industrial houses which are willing to stand for the general good, and are willing to contribute to some extent in time and effort and money. It has not been easy sailing. We have had some fierce storms and we have been close to some bad shore line, but we have managed to grow and increase in prestige and influence. We have had many strange experiences. We are acquainted with all the different characters with which any organization comes in contact in attempting to extend its membership, and we are familiar with all the excuses that can be offered as to why a firm should not be connected with an organization. We know the man who contends it is unfair for his concern to pay the same amount in annual dues as some other concerns whose business is twice as large. We know the man who says we do not oppose labor with sufficient vigor and we know the man who says we are too antagonistic to labor. We have heard the swan song of the man who says we are always opposing something and never for anything, and we know the man who has the excuse that we tear down and do not build up. All these classes of men to which I refer are men who do not know what is going on, who do not keep track of organization work and in

most instances are looking for excuses to keep from paying the annual dues, knowing that they will get the benefit of association work whether they belong or not."

EMPLOYERS AND WORKMEN

Mr. Glenn outlined the attitude of the association in the invitable controversies which arise between the manufacturers and their workmen. "We are not a defensive or protective association," he says, "in the sense that we take over the conduct of strikes. We have never acted as arbitrator in a struggle. We have never attempted to dictate or regulate the personal relations between employer and employee, but we represent eternally the interest of the employers, not, we hope, in a small narrow way, but in the broad spirit that recognizes the interest of the state and nation. We have endeavored through organized effort on the part of the employers of our state to oppose the efforts of the exceedingly well organized and aggressive labor lobby in securing one-sided legislation. We have joined hands with organized labor to secure needed remedial social legislation, and we have fought organized labor most strenuously whenever its efforts smacked of a desire to secure special privileges for organized labor at the expense of the rest of the community."

The sun never sets on the field men of the members of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. The Association has advocated a merchant marine in season and out of season. "It has been for every bill of any note that has been introduced in Congress in twenty years. It was with Senator Mark Hanna heart and soul, and it even went so far as to be with the government ownership bill of the present administration. It was a strong dose for the Middle West, because we are not strong out our way for government ownership. But we would rather have government ownership than to be without ships or government assistance.

"There are so many things concerning which I would like to talk, but I must not take more of your time. I wish I could tell you about our Costs Department. We have organized six hundred of the men in the firms belonging to the Illinois Manufacturers' Association who have charge of costs and accounting into a department, and I have never seen a more willing or enthusiastic set. They are looking for information, and I believe we will get big results. The committee having the work in hand is proceeding on the theory that if manufacturers can be taught to ascertain the cost of their goods and properly keep their books the prices will take care of themselves.

"The safety department and the traffic committee and the law department and other features would interest you, but before closing I cannot refrain from speaking of the importance of having a department in each industrial house that has to deal with those things which pertain to governmental matters, like taxes, legislation, reports, etc. A department of this kind will save an industrial house a great deal of trouble, and the cooperation it will give to the general work, especially that relating to legislation, will be very beneficial. Have someone in your plant who will make it his business to know the public officials with whom you have to deal, who will know the members of the city council of the city where your plant or plants are located, who will know the members of the legislature. If you have a bad man representing you in the legislature do not become discouraged. Get some good out of him. There is good in every man. If you

have a good representative he will work the better if you encourage him. Treat your representative in Congress and your representative in the legislature as well, at least, as you would treat your horse."

"One great trouble in this world is the lack of consideration we have for each other," concluded Mr. Glenn, "and as time goes on and as science develops new things and civilization progresses, we become more and more dependant on each other. There was a time when a man could go out in the woods or go out on a hundred and sixty acre farm and manage to live independent of those around him. He cannot live that way in this day and generation. We become more and more dependent on each other, and the same is true as to each industrial house; and it is easier to do a great many of the things you have in common through associations than to go it alone."

DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES

In introducing the subject of the position occupied by the city of Chicago as a manufacturing and trading center the writer of a book entitled, "Chicago, Its Natural Advantages as an Industrial and Commercial Center and Market," issued in 1910, by the Chicago Commercial Association, Mr. George E. Plumbe, the author, says: "There is nothing anomalous in the fact that in every civilized country on the globe, Chicago, as a city, is regarded as the marvel of the century. That a municipality not yet seventy-five years of age should have outstripped in growth of population, in the massiveness and solidity of its commercial buildings, in the extent and variety of its industrial development, in the number and stability of its financial institutions, in the magnitude and high standing of its schools, colleges and universities, in the matchless reach of its railway facilities, in the importance of its trade and commerce, in the beauty and extent of its parks and boulevards, in the abundance of every natural product that makes living a comfort and delight, and in the resolute and energetic character of its inhabitants,—that Chicago should have accomplished all of this, and, within the life time of many of its citizens, become the fourth in size of the world's civilized cities, surpassing many of those that have been, for centuries, the commercial and financial centers of the world's trade, industries and wealth,—this makes Chicago the marvel of all the ages."

A GREAT MANUFACTURING CENTER

It was said by Lord Bacon that "there are three things which make a nation great and prosperous, a fertile soil, busy workshops, and easy transportation for men and goods from place to place." This saying was placed as an inscription on one of the great buildings at the World's Fair in 1893.

As far back as the year 1850, the manufacturing industries of Chicago began to assume considerable importance, amounting in that year to a total value of two and one-half millions of dollars. At that time Chicago was thirteen years old, dating from the period of its incorporation as a city: and had a population of 28,000 souls. There was but one railroad, the old Galena & Chicago Union, the forerunner of the Chicago & North-Western Railway, running as far west as Elgin. The Illinois and Michigan Canal, completed in 1848, was in full opera-

tion; and towards the east was the lake route to Buffalo and thence by the Erie Canal to the seaboard.

From that time forward the manufacturing interests of Chicago increased as facilities for transportation multiplied. On the 20th of February, 1852, the Michigan Southern & Northern Indiana railroad (now the Lake Shore) entered Chicago, followed on May 20th of the same year by the Michigan Central. During the early "fifties" works were established on an extensive scale for the manufacture of bridge material, wagons and carriages, furniture, soap and candles, harness and saddlery, stoves, agricultural implements, machinery, and railroad cars and engines. The packing industries were also in a flourishing state, their products increasing each year at such a rate as in a few years was to establish the supremacy of this city in this class of manufacturing.

Great hopes were entertained in the fifties that Chicago would become an important point for the manufacture of locomotive engines. The Chicago Locomotive Company claimed that it had a capacity of two locomotives a month. "Every portion of the locomotive," says Bross in his trade review for the year 1850, "will be manufactured from the raw material in this city." This anticipation does not seem to have been realized, though the rolling stock for railroads other than engines has become an important branch of manufacturing.

CONTRIBUTING ELEMENTS OF A MANUFACTURING CENTER

There are a number of factors which contribute to a great center of manufacturing,—proximity to raw materials, favorable climate and health conditions, a numerous population, financial resources, availability of power, abundance of labor, and transportation facilities both by land and water. All these advantages Chicago possesses in an eminent degree. In addition to these favorable conditions there is an extensively populated area lying within a moderate distance from this manufacturing center which absorbs a large share of the immense output of its establishments. "It is estimated," says Plumbe, "that within a night's ride of Chicago, there is a population of more than forty millions of people, or nearly one-half the entire inhabitants of the country."

There are twenty-six different trunk lines of railway, not including four "belt lines," and the interurban lines, using Chicago as a terminus, their stations being located within the business district of the city. These lines of railway represent forty-three per cent of the total railway mileage of the nation. No railroad or railway system runs a train through the city, all trains stopping here. "Chicago is the absolute terminal of every railroad train that enters it." Thus it is that "there is no city on earth that has so vast a range of territory with which it is brought into daily contact as Chicago, and, when the distribution of its manufactories and commercial establishments are considered, no other center can reach so large a number of both consumers and producers as can the city of Chicago."

THE "INDUSTRIAL ZONE"

While the spaces occupied by the industrial interests within the city limits are very extensive, there is a large number of widely scattered establishments situated but a short distance beyond the city's borders, but which are in a greater or less

degree tributary to the metropolis. In the census reports of the government the territory occupied by these establishments is included as "the industrial district of Chicago." The Chicago Association of Commerce, however, have taken a wider sweep and adopting the term "industrial zone," have included in the zone about three hundred and fifty industrial establishments situated within the "Outer Belt Railroad," extending from Winthrop Harbor on the north, to Gary, Indiana, on the south, and including the cities of Joliet, Aurora and Elgin.

Within the territory thus generally circumscribed there are about one hundred commercial organizations, "each intent upon enlarging the manufacturing importance of their home town or city." The broad policy and powerful influence of the Chicago Association of Commerce have been exercised to bring these local organizations into closer relations with it and with each other, so that the interests of all have been greatly promoted.

STEEL INDUSTRIES

"It has been said," writes Mr. Plumbe, "that the demand for, and use of, iron is the best measure of a nation's prosperity, a declaration that has ample verification in the United States, and especially in the West. The discovery, in 1844, and the opening of the immense deposits of rich iron ore in the Vermilion, Gogebic, Menominee, Marquette and Mesaba ranges, within easy reach of Lake Superior, afforded new possibilities for manufacturing enterprises. These deposits all lie within a radius of from 350 to 400 miles of Chicago, while to the south of the city are 40,000 square miles of the best deposits of bituminous coal on the continent. . . .

"Following the discovery of this ore there was an effort to establish steel mills at the head of Lake Superior. There was an abundance of iron ore, coal in profusion could be had from Pennsylvania, and it was cheaper to ship the coal to the ore than the ore to the coal. But the effort failed. What was the difficulty? The first obstruction was the absence of a local market to create a demand for and the use of the product of the furnaces. That market was all at the East and what could be saved by not shipping the ore and manufacturing the iron at home was offset by the necessity of transporting the finished products to the East.

"Surrounding industrial plants are, almost invariably, a cordon of industries that draw their sustenance from the parent plant. About great iron industries there will grow up a collection of collateral interests such as factories for making machinery, large foundries and mills of various kinds using the pig iron for the manufacture of iron implements of all kinds from wire nails to steamship plates. The effort to establish iron furnaces near the ore beds utterly failed."

But the establishment of blast furnaces, rolling mills, and steel plants at Chicago and its vicinity, has proved to be entirely successful in uniting the various requirements for this form of industrial development. In the year 1909, there were shipped to the Chicago manufacturing district 6,600,000 tons of iron ore from Lake Superior, and made up into steel rails, structural steel work, and every variety of product required for machine shops and factories of all descriptions, almost at the doors of the blast furnaces. The iron and steel interests of Chicago have already outgrown those of Pittsburg which has heretofore been regarded as the center of the steel industry.

ABUNDANCE OF THE COAL SUPPLY

"Next in importance to iron," says Plumbe, "is coal. In fact, without coal iron ore would be of little value. Illinois ranks second among the states in its output of bituminous coal, the product being about fifty-five millions of tons annually, from a coal area of about forty thousand square miles, and reaching from the Ohio river north to within forty or fifty miles of the city limits."

The steel trade is taken as typical in this instance. It is manifestly impossible in this place to enlarge on every branch of manufacture. In another place the trade in packing house products is touched upon, really the most important of all the products of the Chicago industries.

LABOR CONDITIONS

"There is no principle better settled in the distribution of population," says Mr. Plumbe, "than that of labor of all kinds, skilled as well as common, will gravitate to industrial centers, and this is more pronounced when the laborers are of foreign birth than when they are native born citizens of the country. The foreigner comes here for no other purpose than to seek permanent employment at living wages, while, as a very general rule, the native, after a few years, becomes an employer of labor himself, wins his way to a salaried position or is a skilled operative in his chosen occupation. The majority of foreign born working men are unskilled laborers, and it is this class that fills the greater number of industrial plants in this country. . . .

"But hard as the life of these toilers may seem to an American, seen from his point of view, they are vastly better off and have more of the comforts of life here than they ever had or could have at home. As compared with other cities Chicago has few crowded tenement quarters, and the laboring man here has as a rule more of home life and its comforts, than can be found in other large cities. While we have crowded spots the laborer has more room, more light, and better air than is usually possessed by people of his class elsewhere."

It is with just pride that the citizen of Chicago can point to the complete educational facilities possessed by the city, so that no child need be prevented from securing a good primary education at least, and if it is desired a high school education at no greater cost than the time required to attend the schools provided at public expense. The compulsory education law is rigidly enforced and the number of children who escape its operation are very few as compared with the total of the juvenile population.

The desire for the associations of city life works to the advantage of the employer of labor. "It gives him an ample number of both skilled and common workmen in his regular business, and in case of an emergency, when he may desire to increase his operating force either temporarily or permanently, he has an unfailing supply upon which to draw. His work need never be delayed or crippled because of a failure to secure competent operatives."

CHICAGO AS A LUMBER MARKET

"While Chicago has always been a large lumber market yet never before in its history have receipts reached such magnitude as during the year 1909, and it still

remains the largest market in the United States. It is a great market not only because of the quantity of lumber handled here, but because of the very large variety of woods that make up the stock of the local yards. Purchases can be made of mahogany and other costly lumber from the tropics, cypress from the southern lowlands, and cedars from the forests on the Pacific slopes; with pine, spruce, walnut and other lumber products, both hard and soft, from northern forests."

The total receipts of lumber for the year 1909 were upwards of 2,584 millions of feet, an increase of twenty per cent over the receipts of the previous year. Out of these immense receipts there were shipped to other points, mostly to the East, about 961 millions of feet, the difference showing the domestic consumption. "These facts explain why Chicago is the largest furniture market in the country, while for pianos, organs, carriages, and other industries demanding both fine and rough lumber it is not equaled on the continent."

Chicago is also a large producer of cement as well as being the headquarters for selling this product. "It may be safely stated that with its central location, its immense railroad advantages, as well as its facilities for water transportation, Chicago covers a wider field in the collection and distribution of cement than any other point. Chicago cement entered into the construction of the railway terminal building at Washington, and it also helped to construct some of the immense irrigation projects of the West, and has assisted largely in the rebuilding of San Francisco."

THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF CHICAGO

The history of a club with the aims, objects and achievements of the one we are about to describe deserves a place in a work of this character, even though there be omissions of many other well known clubs having social purposes only. There are few clubs in Chicago or any other city which have a more creditable record than the Commercial Club of Chicago.

The first suggestion of this club appears in a visit made by Henry J. Macfarland to friends in Boston in the summer of 1877, where he was entertained by two members of the Commercial Club of that city. Mr. Macfarland was engaged in a manufacturing business at Waupun, Wisconsin, but very appropriately identified himself with Chicago interests and Chicago business men. The outcome of Macfarland's visit was a proposal that the Boston Commercial Club should come to Chicago and be entertained by the business men of this city.

On his return Mr. Macfarland called on Mr. John W. Doane, one of Chicago's leading merchants, and mentioned the proposed visit of the Boston men. Together, they set to work and as the result of their efforts the sum of three thousand dollars was raised here for the purpose of entertaining the visitors. In due time the Boston Commercial Club, in a body, spent several days in this city on which occasion there was a banquet given in its honor at the Chicago Club. The idea of a club to be formed here on lines similar to those of the Boston club took its start, and thus the Boston Commercial Club was the prototype of that formed afterwards in Chicago.

A brief account of the Boston Commercial Club may be given here. Its beginning dates from 1868, and its incentive was almost the same as in Chicago's case nine years later. "A committee of forty business men had been appointed

by the Boston Board of Trade in December, 1867, to provide entertainment of a national convention to be held in Boston February, 1868.

"This committee raised eleven thousand dollars, and did its work so well, and found the association so agreeable, that it continued its meetings monthly under the name of the Commercial Committee, until the fall, and then transformed itself into the Boston Commercial Club." This club eventually increased its membership to seventy-five, and held dinners monthly throughout the year, omitting the summer months, and have continued them regularly down to the present time.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMERCIAL CLUB

A few days after the visit of the Boston Commercial Club to this city seventeen gentlemen, who favored the formation of a commercail club, met at the rooms of the Chicago Club, and organized under the name proposed by Mr. Doane —the Commercial Club of Chicago. This was on the 27th of December, 1877. The seventeen persons present, together with others not present at that time, form the list of charter members. Their names are as follows: John W. Doane, Levi Z. Leiter, James M. Walker, Albert A. Sprague, Henry J. Macfarland, John M. Durand, William T. Baker, Charles E. Culver, Andrew Brown, John J. Janes, Anson Stager, George C. Clarke, Murry Nelson, Edson Keith, William A. Fuller, John T. McAuley, N. K. Fairbank, Marshall Field, Charles B. Kellogg, Charles M. Henderson, John Crerar, John Marshall Clark, J. Russell Jones, Solomon A. Smith, John B. Drake, Nathan Corwith, James H. Walker and George M. Pullman. Levi Z. Leiter was chosen president; John W. Doane, vice-president; Murry Nelson, treasurer; and George C. Clarke, secretary.

Thirty-three years later Mr. John J. Glessner, in a history of the Commercial Club of Chicago, issued in a privately printed edition for its members, says that of the first sixty members of the club "only four are in full active membership now."

The most important clause in the constitution then adopted was as follows: that the club was formed "for the purpose of advancing by social intercourse and by a friendly interchange of views the prosperity and growth of the city of Chicago."

Originally there were eight meetings a year. The dues assessed were forty dollars a year in 1883, but afterwards increased to sixty dollars. It was no part of the plans of the club to have a club house, or indeed any regular abiding place —simply to hold meetings with accompanying dinners at any suitable place arranged by the committee in charge. "It was to be a club of serious purpose, tolerant of opposing opinions, recognizing its obligation to the community, despising mean and sordid actions as men of high character do. In short, to be a member a man must be animated by the highest code of business and social ethics."

"The club never has had a home," says Glessner, "and its meetings, therefore, have been movable as to place, and somewhat changeable as to time. The regular meetings, always preceded by dinners, have been held at the Chicago, Literary and Calumet Clubs, at the Grand Pacific, Palmer, Tremont, Sherman, Leland, Richelieu, Metropole, Auditorium and Congress hotels." A rule rigidly enforced has always been that members should be obliged to pay the price of the dinner,

whether present or not, but even the payment for the dinner would not condone their absence if a reasonable excuse could not be given. This rule operated to reduce the membership which, however, was soon restored by the admission of new members. In consequence "it became so much the thing to be regular and regardful of one's duties and responsibilities in the club that members have been known—not once, but many times—to leave business engagements in New York or Boston or elsewhere, and come home to Chicago for one day to attend a meeting, and return at once to resume interrupted business."

As the Merchants Club was at a later time united with the Commercial Club of Chicago it is necessary to give some account of it in this place.

THE MERCHANTS CLUB

"A group of men full of the energy and enthusiasm of youth," says Glessner, in his history of the Commercial Club, "thinking there was work for them to do, and believing it were better done by union of effort, organized the Merchants Club in 1896." Its first regular meeting and dinner were held in the following February. The most active men in its formation were Dunlap Smith and Arthur Meeker. There were thirty-two charter members, its total active membership, after 1899, being sixty. Its general plan was quite similar to that of the Commercial Club. John V. Farwell, Jr., was its first president, Dunlap Smith vice-president; Charles R. Corwith, treasurer; and Walter H. Wilson, secretary.

An important provision for "keeping the membership young" was made as follows: "No one who has reached the age of forty-five years shall be eligible to active membership, and any member who has reached the age of fifty years shall thereupon become an honorary member, leaving a vacancy in the active list to be filled." The name of this class of members was soon after changed from "honorary" to "associate."

The Merchants Club at once entered upon a career of prosperity. Its meetings were held regularly and largely attended owing to a regulation similar to that of the Commercial Club, that fines should be required for absences "without acceptable reasons." In consequence of its activities much useful and important work for civic welfare was done. "It established the first Pawners' bank, developed new and improved systems of municipal accounting, and was influential in many other civic matters, both separately and in conjunction with the Commercial Club; it took the initiative in the City Plan problem, and in every way demonstrated its power for good in the community, until finally its activities were merged in the Commercial Club's under the latter's name, February, 1907." When the Merchants Club was united with the Commercial the active membership limit was fixed at ninety.

MEMBERSHIP REQUIREMENTS AND SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES

The Commercial Club has always exercised the greatest care in admitting individuals to its membership. "No man," says Glessner, "who has sought election for himself, by lobbying or otherwise, has succeeded in getting the unanimous recommendation of the Executive Committee necessary to present his name

to the Commercial Club for its ballots; and so carefully has the work of the committee been done, that no man who has had that recommendation has failed of election."

There were two hundred and seventy regular meetings held by the Commercial and Merchants Clubs during the period from their formation to May, 1909. The subjects discussed at these meetings have covered a wide range of topics. More than fifty meetings have been devoted to the consideration of municipal affairs, at least a dozen upon taxation, and as many more about the City Plan. Other subjects engaging the attention of the club have been education, elections, national questions, foreign relations, and especially about the World's Fair during the period of its inception and continuance. "The speaking never has been confined to club members. On the contrary, the club has been glad to offer a forum for the expression of the views of statesmen and soldiers, professional men and men of affairs generally."

Mention of the meetings and subjects considered gives but a partial idea of the effective work done by the Commercial and Merchants Clubs. "Of the two hundred and seventy regular meetings, it is within bounds to say that each one has helped to forward some good end, and many of them have been the initial and moving cause of important achievements. It would be invidious and almost impossible to estimate the relative value of these meetings, or say which were the most important, bearing in mind that in any great permanent work the prime necessity is for forming public opinion before there can be any accomplishment."

THE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENTS

Some idea of the numerous public questions that have been the subjects of consideration by the Commercial Club are given in Glessner's summary of the club's work. "Perhaps the meetings from which the club's influence was most directly and speedily felt," he says, "were those that resulted in the founding of the Chicago Manual Training School; in presenting to the United States Government the site for Fort Sheridan, and to the State the site for the Second Regiment Armory; in the prosecution and punishment of certain county and municipal officials; in the original efforts for legislation for the Drainage Canal; in its early advocacy and support of the World's Columbian Exposition; in raising endowment funds for the Illinois Manual Training School at Glenwood, and the St. Charles School for Boys; in presenting to the United States Government a site for the Naval Training School at Lake Bluff; in establishing a street cleaning bureau for the city; in presenting to the city a site for public playgrounds at Chicago avenue and Lincoln street; in establishing the First State Pawners' Society; in the inquiry into the city's accounting methods that resulted in new and improved systems; and, in most recent of all, in its earnest efforts to amend the general school law to provide improvements in the system of public education; and in the inception and development of the Chicago Plan.

"These and other philanthropic and public-spirited works of these two clubs (The Commercial and Merchants), now merged into one, have involved the collection and disbursement of more than a million of dollars, and have been potent in many reforms and improvements."

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES' POEM

"The property of the club consists chiefly of memories and aspirations." Such things as the club has bought have been given away "freely and joyously for the good they might do." But there is one momento of which the club retains the ownership—the poem of Oliver Wendell Holmes, given to President Doane for the club by the poet himself. The original manuscript of this poem, appropriately framed in pieces of the historic elm blown down in Boston Common, has been placed in the custody of the Chicago Historical Society.

The poem, dated June 14, 1879, is as follows:

DR. HOLMES' GREETINGS, BOSTON, JUNE 14, 1879

Chicago sounds rough to the maker of verse;
One comfort you have—Cincinnati sounds worse;
If we only were licensed to say Chica*go!*
But Worcester and Webster won't let us, you know.
No matter,—we songsters must sing as we can;
We can make some nice couplets with Lake Michigan,
And what more resembles a nightingale's voice
Than the oily trisyllable, sweet Illinois?

Your waters are fresh, while our harbor is salt,
But we know you can't help it, it isn't your fault;
Our city is old, and your city is new,
But the railroad men tell us we're greener than you.
You have seen our gilt dome, and no doubt you've been told
That the orbs of the universe round it are rolled,
But I'll own it to you—and I ought to know best—
That this isn't quite true of all stars of the West.

You will go to Mount Auburn—we'll show you the track—
And can stay there—unless you prefer to come back—
And Bunker's tall shaft you can climb, if you will,
But you'll puff like a paragraph praising a pill.
You must see—but you *have* seen—our old Faneuil Hall—
Our churches, our school rooms, our sample rooms—all—
And perhaps, though the idiots must have their jokes,
You have found our good people much like other folks.

There are cities by rivers, by lakes and by seas,
Each as full of itself as a cheesemite of cheese;
And a city will brag as a rooster will crow—
Don't your cockerels at home—just a little, you know?
But we'll crow for you now; here's a health to the boys,
Men, maidens and matrons of fair Illinois!
And the rainbow of friendship that arches its span
From the green of the sea to the Blue Michigan!

THE CHICAGO ASSOCIATION OF COMMERCE

The splendid record made by the Chicago Association of Commerce in recent years has riveted the attention of the people upon the wonderful activities of that association. Along in 1895 there was an organization in Chicago known as the Merchants' and Travelers' Association, having for its aims the promotion of Chicago trade by attracting country merchants to this market. This association later became merged into the Chicago Commercial Association, and a banquet was held at which there was a large gathering of members and friends of the older organization. At this time new and progressive policies were inaugurated, to be carried out under the auspices of the new association. The leading spirits in this movement were Edward M. Skinner, Edwin Sherman, A. M. Compton, and a number of the younger men connected with a wide variety of business houses of the city.

This association continued under the name adopted at that time until 1908, when in deference to the Chicago Commercial Club, with which its name was constantly confused, the name was changed to that of the Chicago Association of Commerce. Throughout its years of activity there has been a steady broadening of the principles and scope under which the association has carried on its work. Its aims and purposes, as they have now become established, are more exalted in character than are usually found in the advertising formulas of commercial bodies. Their programme embraces all the religious, educational and artistic agencies that are found in a large and enterprising community like that of Chicago, and these are regarded as of equal importance with the usual commercial inducements and as legitimate subjects of their attention.

The older idea of a commercial association, that the manufacturing and commercial facilities should alone be emphasized, gives way to the broader and more comprehensive policy of advertising those attractions which appeal to the higher nature of individuals whether in trade or in any other situation in life. "It has been truthfully said that commerce can make a large city but never a great city," said President Edward M. Skinner in his annual address in 1909. "Whether the reputation is deserved or not, Chicago is known to the world as an industrial and commercial city, a city where the interest in material things predominates, where the finer and nobler qualities of mankind are neglected. The work of this association the past year has gone far to show the world, which also means the uninformed and skeptical of our own country, that Chicago *is* a great city as well as a large one."

The leading principle actuating the purposes and plans of the Chicago Association of Commerce is that there can be no advance in the commerce of the city without bringing the contributing elements, the buyers and clients from every section, into actual contact with all the activities of the community,—not only those of a commercial character, as for example the great business and manufacturing establishments, but the pleasure-giving attractions, the institutions of every kind and description, and above all, providing for the safety and comfort of every visitor to the city. Chicago abounds in attractions often but little known to the visitor whose knowledge of the city extends scarcely beyond that required for his business dealings.

PRESENT STATUS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The gradual evolution of its organization has brought the association to a high degree of efficiency in the line of its activities. Numbering over four thousand members at the close of 1917 its work is carried on by means of a staff of officers and a board of twenty-seven directors. The president is the chief executive officer and is chosen by the entire membership. There are four vice-presidents who are at the head of the four main divisions of the association, namely: Inter-State, Local, Civic-Industrial, and Foreign Trade. The Executive Committee is composed of twenty-four members of which the president is an ex-officio member. The Executive Committee is appointed by the Board of Directors, and acts for it in matters pertaining to the policy of the association.

This committee has large powers exercising an oversight of the standing committees and regulating and harmonizing their work, so that confusion will not result in the wide field within the scope of which they act. Its meetings are held weekly, and it alone declares the policy of the association. There are twenty standing committees, and special committees are created as emergency service may require.

One of the largest of the standing committees is the Ways and Means Committee which is the "open forum" of the association, holding meetings weekly throughout the year. The meetings of the Ways and Means Committee are open to the association's entire membership. "In no other public place, save in the great mass meetings of the association, can a member remotely in touch with association work, so quickly and with so much enthusiasm come to understand the association's aims and policies."

"The plan of organization and its executive methods," says Mr. Skinner, have been recognized as the broadest, most comprehensive and efficient of any commercial association in the world, and it has been adopted in whole or in part by like organizations in many cities and towns throughout the country. The association, through its officers and executive staff, stands ready at all times to lend a helping hand to any business body in the country with advice and cooperation to aid in building up a strong organization representative of the commerce of its own city and environs."

ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATION

The report of the president, Mr. Homer A. Stillwell, for the year 1910, is replete with suggestive references to the work of the association. "We believe the sum total of the year's accomplishments," he says, "is proof of advancement of the association as a factor in the development of a public spirit which makes for a stronger pride and greater confidence in our city, coupled with a determination to further its civic and material interests. . . . We have kept prominently in mind our well-defined policy which excludes consideration of questions involving special or limited interest, yet we have reserved the right to decide for ourselves whether a particular question may be one of politics or of business." In the report for 1916, Mr. John W. O'Leary, the president, called attention to the broad aims of the association. "Nineteen sixteen," he said "was

marked by enterprises that were 'Chicago enterprises' in the truest sense, enlisting all the civic, commercial, governmental, and social agencies, and banishing all partisan or controversial issues. The association has been the instrument of bringing together in conference several such groups to obtain united action, and that this course has possiblities without limit has been fully demonstrated."

In the report of a former secretary, Mr. Charles W. Folds, it was said that "the development of the individual as a thinker on important public questions, and more particularly the number of business men upon Association committees who are learning to express themselves easily and clearly before an audience, is one of the interesting and encouraging results of our work."

In the association's report for 1916, Mr. Blaine S. Smith, the secretary said: "Frequently the Association is called upon to act as the city's 'official host,' and in that capacity the hospitality of Chicago and the Association has been extended to visiting organizations, including the Illinois Press Association, the Windsor (Ontario) Board of Trade, the National Commissary Managers' Association, the Illinois Commercial Secretaries' Association, the Oklahoma Business Mens' delegation, and others. It is on occasions of this sort that the Chicago spirit finds a true manifestation, giving it added prestige at home and abroad."

The total income of the association for the year 1916, comprised almost wholly of membership fees, was $192,611, while the expenditures were $175,519. This permitted the association to carry a balance to its surplus in the general fund, the sum of which, added to its other assets, amounted at the end of the year to $148,085.

Nothing can better illustrate the wide range of the work of the association than a brief reference to the subjects discussed and acted upon during the year 1910. Several sessions of the Executive Committee were devoted to the Waterway question. "After a most thorough discussion," says the report of the chairman, Mr. Harry A. Wheeler, "a policy for waterway construction was determined, the word 'deep' was eliminated in outlining this policy, and the following resolution adopted: 'Resolved, that the Executive Committee of the Chicago Association of Commerce hereby endorses the improvement of a waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf to the fullest extent practicable, the question of depth of said waterway to be determined by the Government's engineers.'" This is undoubtedly the soundest pronouncement which has yet appeared in all the voluminous discussions of this subject.

Four activities stand out prominently in the work of the association for the year covered by the report of 1916. The first was the increased confidence shown in the work of the "Subscriptions Investigating Committee," now for a number of years actively engaged in canvassing the merits of charitable organizations soliciting help from the public. This has resulted in the organization of a "Central Council of Social Agencies," for the express purpose of "enabling philanthropic societies to form plans looking to the elimination of duplication, and the promotion of a higher standard of work." The work of this committee has been the means of saving large sums of money to the business public of Chicago, or at least diverting these sums into right and useful channels.

The second of these activities to be specially mentioned is the work of the "Good Roads committee," resulting in a vast betterment of the roads out of the city especially towards the south and east. A large number of meetings were

held at different points in Illinois during the year, and extensive road improvements have been made, as well as new roads built under the new law permitting of a certain portion of the cost to be borne by the state. The third concerns the various patriotic activities, such as planning and conducting to a successful issue the great "Preparedness parade" of June 3, 1916; and the fourth was the campaign carried on to increase the membership of the association.

GENERAL PUBLICITY

The activities of the association cover so broad a field that it is only through the press, the columns of "Chicago Commerce" (published by the association) and the daily newspapers of Chicago, that the public may keep fully informed of what the association is doing, says the committee chairman.

"The extent and nature of the news matter appearing in the public press, in fact, are an index to the timeliness and importance of the Association's work. While there is a great deal of service of utmost value to our membership and the city which has no news value whatsoever, still the ability of an organization such as ours to meet a crucial situation in a manner that arrests public attention denotes the vitality and effectiveness of the organization itself. The Association's part in the Preparedness parade, its service to our soldiers at the border and on their return, its participation in the rail wage controversy, its efforts to bring the government armor plant to Chicago—these enterprises were appropriately reflected in the news columns of the papers here and elsewhere."

Among the publications of the association are a "Chicago Guide," and a "Handbook of Museums and Libraries." A volume entitled "Chicago," prepared by the late George E. Plumbe, setting forth the advantages of Chicago in its industrial and commercial aspects, has proved of great and permanent interest. It had been felt that some stronger and more convincing arguments should be made regarding the industrial advantages possessed by Chicago than had heretofore been presented. Ten thousand copies of this little work were distributed through various channels, and it has met with a most cordial reception. "It is used in some of the city schools and public offices as a reference book," says the report, "and has been called for by commercial bodies and historical societies very generally in the Mississippi Valley, and has been placed in the library of every important college and university in the United States. Many copies have been sent abroad at the request of American consuls and others in the diplomatic service. It has given a wider publicity, not only at home but abroad, to Chicago, and its advantages as a market and industrial center than any previous publication of a similar character, as it was very widely distributed among industrial concerns which were considering changing the location of their establishments." A slogan, "From Chicago," has been adopted by the association, the widespread use of which branded on packages and manufactured articles, it is believed "holds possibilities of the utmost importance," and has met with the enthusiastic approval of members and of the press. The regular weekly publication of the "Chicago Commerce," conducted by Mr. William Hudson Harper, an experienced newspaper writer, is one of the most valuable features of the publicity work of the association.

There was also a most useful publication issued by the Association, entitled,

"The Way to Ship," intended to aid shippers to route their freight deliveries so as to obtain the best and quickest service to the numerous points of destination to be reached. By means of this book reliable and definite information is given so that shippers may be enabled to make use of "through package cars," thereby placing shipments as near their final destination as possible without transfer."

Owing to the thorough manner in which the public has been kept informed of the movements in hand, and of the hearty enthusiasm with which the work is carried on, the Association has won the respect and enjoys the cooperation of the newspaper press of the city. The harmonious relations established between the Association and the municipal authorities, each having at heart the welfare and prosperity of the city in all its material interests, is especially noteworthy, and cannot be otherwise than productive of the higher development of the municipality, and of its financial, commercial and industrial advantages.

Attracting conventions to Chicago is an important part of the work of the association. The five hundred and fifty conventions held in Chicago during the year brought an estimated attendance of about 550,000 persons, with an average stay of four days for each one. The amount expended in Chicago by visitors was estimated to be in excess of sixteen millions of dollars.

EXTENSIVE RANGE OF ACTIVITIES

A summary of the other work accomplished, besides what has already been mentioned, will give an idea of the broad scope of usefulness represented by the activities of the Association.

The pollution of the waters of Lake Michigan, caused by dumping the dredgings from the bed of the Chicago river into the lake near the intake cribs, thus endangering the purity of the city's water supply, was sought to be remedied; and through the efforts of members a bill was passed by Congress, the only body having the power to regulate the matter, providing that such dredging must be deposited at least eight miles from shore, or within a breakwater where the waters were almost entirely confined. This method of disposing of the river dredgings is now in complete operation.

Add to this the full and thoroughgoing reports on all branches of the work which are printed in attractive and readable form each year, and it is readily perceived how wide an influence is exerted by the enterprising body of men who compose the membership of this association.

The spectacle of a great body of citizens, such as is represented in the membership of the Chicago Association of Commerce, nominally devoting itself to Commerce, but widening its field so that it takes cognizance of all the multifarious subjects included within the broad sweep of its activities, as shown in the annual reports of the Association, is one to attract the attention of public spirited citizens everywhere, and is a fair specimen of the Chicago spirit when it is once fairly awakened.

It will be noted throughout this account of the work of the Chicago Association of Commerce that there is a remarkable similarity between the aims and purposes of the association and those of the Commercial Club of Chicago, of which we have already given an account. In many respects these two organiza-

tions have moved on identical lines, the former occupying a much broader field, however, than the latter. Both have done and are doing a great work for Chicago, both have given examples of broad-minded citizenship, and both of them have shown to the community the value of that wonderful spirit which has ever characterized the people of our city in working together for the civic betterment of the community for its welfare and prosperity, and making it worthy of its place among the leading cities of our land.

THE ILLINOIS MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION

The Illinois Manufacturers' Association may be especially designated as an organization for service, and this broad generalization well describes its work among the manufacturers' who form its constituent membership.

Among the highly useful and serviceable movements created within the scope and activities of the Association may be prominently mentioned the Illinois Manufacturers Casualty Association, a department formed for the purpose of indemnification against losses by accidents to the employes of the members. The Casualty Association insures only those firms and corporations which are members of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association. It has grown in 1913 from an organization with only twenty-five policyholders to two hundred and seventy-five policyholders in 1916. Only selected risks are insured and service is a greater consideration than numerical strength. It has been a heavy factor in keeping down casualty insurance rates in Illinois.

The numerous departments of the activities comprised in the Illinois Manufacturers' Association can only be referred to in this brief sketch. Such include a Traffic committee, which takes up the consideration of weighing carload freight by the carriers, contending for the principle of "graded rates" and in opposition to the "blanket basis" which has worked so unfairly to the manufacturers and shippers of Illinois, in short, the work of this committee covers anything that has to do with traffic; a Legislative committee, to induce manufacturers to give more attention to the election of candidates to the legislature; a Tariff committee, to take up important matters connected with tariff legislation; a Waterway committee, to promote inland water transportation; a Safety committee, cooperaing with the National Safety Council in the work of preventing accidents and the conservation of human life; a Foreign Trade committee, to control permanently the trade which American manufacturers and bankers have developed temporarily as a result of the cutting off of European supplies; a Fire Insurance committee, to promote a form of fire insurance that can be carried on within the organization similar to the operation of the Casualty Association; and a Law department to guard the vital interests of all manufacturers comprised in the membership.

In May, 1916, the Illinois Manufacturers' Costs Association was added as a department of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association, which is at the present time entering upon a field of remarkable usefulness. The general policy of this department is stated to be that "sound cost accounting and its application to specific interests should be had through committees composed of representatives of firms of allied trades." A series of meetings continued at frequent intervals throughout the year are held before which men of large experience present the

subject as it applies to the various trades included in the membership, and the different systems examined and reduced to standard formulas.

But this by no means exhausts the continually enlarging field of the Association's efforts in behalf of improvements in administrative and accounting as well as in shop methods, resulting as it surely has already done in establishing a more enduring foundation to the prosperity of the manufacturing interests represented by the membership of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association.

FORMATION OF THE ASSOCIATION

The formation of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association dates from the 8th of January, 1894. On that date a certificate of incorporation was filed in the office of the Secretary of State at Springfield who at that time was W. H. Hinrichsen.

A copy of the certificate was attached to the formal charter to which was affixed the great seal of state. This was the official beginning of the Association. The first board of directors consisted of five persons, as follows: J. E. Tilt, Charles F. Wolff, Percival B. Palmer, W. B. Conkey, and W. F. Holden.

The object for which the Association was formed was stated to be "improvement in business methods and to obtain and disseminate information as to manufacturers, and for the advantage and protection of Illinois manufacturers in the conduct and management of their business."

The officers of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association for 1917, are as follows: Samuel M. Hastings, President; William Butterworth, vice-president; Dorr E. Felt, 2d vice-president; Peter S. Theurer, treasurer; John M. Glenn, secretary; Colin C. H. Fyffe, general counsel.

The directors are as follows: Charles Piez, Alfred H. Mulliken, William Nelson Pelouze, G. R. Meyercord, Paul Schulze, Frederick W. Upham, H. G. Herget, George D. Tower, Milton S. Florsheim, George B. Robbins, Herman H. Hettler, B. S. Thompson.

The following men have served the association as president: W. B. Conkey, Chas. A. Plamondon, Martin B. Madden, Chas. H. Deere, Bernard A. Eckhart, John H. Pierce, Charles H. Smith, U. G. Orendorff, Fred. W. Upham, John E. Wilder, LaVerne W. Noyes, P. A. Peterson, Chas. Piez, Henry G. Herget, Edward N. Hurley and Samuel M. Hastings.

Mr. Hastings, the past executive, began his services in 1916. At a business session held in December, 1917, the following officers were elected for 1918: President, William Butterworth, Moline; first vice-president, Dorr E. Felt; second vice-president, Colonel William Nelson Pelouze; treasurer, Peter S. Theurer; directors, Samuel M. Hastings, Charles Piez, Alfred H. Mulliken, G. R. Meyercord, Paul Schulze, F. W. Upham.

Mr. John M. Glenn became secretary in February, 1898, and has served continuously since that time.

Biographical sketches of officers as well as of many others connected with the organization will be found in another part of this work.

The series of annual reports issued by the association give an excellent account of the work done in the twenty-three years of its existence, and contain many

references to the valuable services of those who have served on numerous committees as well as to those of its officers who have so ably guided its destinies.

TEAMSTERS' STRIKE OF 1905

One of the greatest and most stubbornly contested strikes in the history of Chicago began April 7, 1905, when seventy-one teamsters in the employ of Montgomery Ward and Company quit work because the firm refused to submit its differences with seventeen garment-workers to arbitration. It is thus seen that the teamsters engaged in the strike in behalf of the garment workers who had been on strike since the previous November. There was no issue between the teamsters and their employers beyond the demands made by them for what they regarded as justice to the garment-workers, a labor union composed of women exclusively, whose controversy was with the association of wholesale tailors. This chivalrous purpose was, however, defeated by the surrender of the garment-workers themselves soon after the teamsters' strike had been inaugurated, which was thenceforward continued on other issues on their own account.

Street riots began almost immediately and many arrests were made by the police. On April 13th the employers' teaming association was formed for the purpose of protecting the employers in their struggle with the striking teamsters. The strike gradually spread to the teamsters employed by certain coal firms and by the express companies when they were asked to make deliveries to the firm against which they had originally taken action, and which was now picketed and placed under a boycott. The garment-workers now having given up the struggle the teamsters' union called off the strike, but the employers' association and Montgomery Ward and Company having refused to reinstate the strikers, the strike was declared on again, and on April 27th more than 2,800 drivers quit work, including those employed by the great department stores of the city, as well as by a number of wholesale grocery firms and others.

Disorders increased in the downtown streets and assaults were made upon non-union teamsters who had been taken on to replace the strikers. Bitterness was added to the contest by the importation of colored strike-breakers from the South, and almost the entire police force of the city was engaged in guarding the wagons and other property of the firms against which strikes had been declared. Some twenty-three hundred deputy sheriffs were also sworn in to assist the express companies and department stores in making deliveries.

On April 28th, the Employers' Association secure from Judge Kohlsaat of the United States Circuit court an injunction restraining the union drivers and their officials from interfering with its business, and the next day the grand jury returned indictments against the president of the teamsters' union and certain other local labor leaders. In May, Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, arrived in Chicago, and through his efforts preliminary terms of settlement were agreed upon. These, however, the teamsters' joint council refused to ratify because the express companies would not reinstate any of their drivers who had gone out. The strike now extended to the lumber business, and attempts were made to tie up all the building trades, but such attempts did not prove to be successful. On July 1st, fifty-four indictments were re-

turned. Those named in the bills included capitalists as well as labor leaders, and the offenses charged ranged from conspiracy to murderous assaults.

"Numerous efforts to end the strike," says the compiler of the Daily News Almanac for 1906, "were made, but all failed, and the contest became one of endurance. The teamsters finally came to the conclusion that it was useless to continue the struggle, and July 20th the end came. The lumber, department store and express drivers voted to declare the strike off, and their action was ratified by the joint council. No concessions and no promises of any kind were made by the employers. Few of those who went out secured their old places, and those who did were not allowed to display union buttons.

"The strike lasted one hundred and five days, involved 4,260 teamsters, and cost the city and county for police protection about $500,000. Twenty-one persons were killed, and 415 injured in riots, or individual attacks. The strikers lost in wages about $700,000, and the cost to unions for strike benefits was $350,000. The employers suffered an estimated loss of at least two millions of dollars."

CHAPTER XVIII

REVIEW OF PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT

EARLY WHOLESALE TRADE—WALTER BROWN'S VISIT—BUSINESS ACTIVITY—PRODUCE HAULED TO CHICAGO BY WAGONS—SHIPPING FACILITIES IN THE THIRTIES—MARINE ACTIVITIES—REVIEW OF 1837—CHARLES CLEAVER'S HISTORY—WHOLESALE TRADE BY DECADES—PROPHECIES OF EARLY WRITERS—GROWTH OF JOBBING TRADE—POWER REQUIREMENTS—CENTER OF POPULATION—CLIMATE AND HEALTH—GOVERNMENT OF CHICAGO—LIBRARIES OF CHICAGO—POPULATION BY DECADES—GROWTH OF COOK COUNTY—SKETCH OF DANIEL P. COOK—LUMBER STATISTICS—ELECTRICAL POWER SUPPLIES—STEAM POWER—MANUFACTURING CONDITIONS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR—VALUE OF PROHIBITION.

EARLY WHOLESALE TRADE

Even as far back as 1833 the business men of Chicago were reaching forward to establish a wholesale trade, and in the first issue of the Chicago Democrat in that year there were the business advertisements of "forwarding and commission merchants," the forerunners of the great wholesale and jobbing houses of later years. The shipping firm of Newberry and Dole advertised that they had just received an "assortment of dry goods, hardware, crockery, etc.," which they offered "to sell low for cash," and other firms are found making similar offers. The names of B. Jones, Daniel Elston & Co., Daniel Carver, John H. Kinzie, and Hubbard & Co., appear among the advertisements.

Hubbard & Co. say in their announcement that "Dealers in the interior will find it to their advantage to call before they go to St. Louis or the East, as these goods were purchased of importers in New York, and can be afforded at low prices." Quoting from a summary printed in Taylor's "History of the Board of Trade" it is said that "Russell & Clift offer at wholesale and retail books and stationery; Wm. H. Taylor, boots shoes and leather; Jones & King, stoves and hollow ware; John H. Kinzie, dry goods, saddlery, groceries, crockery, tinware, and hardware; P. Pruyne, groceries, hardware, crockery, etc.; J. S. C. Hogan, a similar assortment; and Harmon, Lewis & Co., in addition to their offer of dry goods at wholesale and retail, announce that as agents for a large candle manufactory they can sell at the lowest Buffalo or Detroit prices, with freight added; Philo Carpenter announces himself as wholesale and retail druggist; G. W. Keeney offers cooking stoves, tin, sheet iron and copper ware." Other firms soon followed these pioneers in the wholesale trade, and we find the announcements of J. A. Smith & Co., offering hats, caps and furs; and John Holbrook advertising himself as a "manufacturers' agents." In later issues one firm

advertised themselves as "dry goods jobbers," offering to sell at wholesale for cash, or "in exchange for wheat or pork." In the "History of the Board of Trade" above referred to it is said: "One promising feature of the years which followed the panic of 1837 was the increase in the number of firms who advertised merchandise of one sort or another at wholesale. Although there was no perceptible increase in population until 1841, these advertisements show that the energetic and brainy men who laid the foundations of Chicago already sensed the true mission of their city as a great mart for commerce in a large way, and prepared, so far as their limited means would allow, to supply the demands of the growing interior."

THE DIARY OF WALTER BROWN

It will be interesting to our readers to peruse in this connection a portion of the diary of Mr. Walter Brown, who, in 1844, passed through Chicago on a journey from Maine to the Illinois River. Walter Brown was the father of Edwin Lee Brown who came to Chicago a few years later, and who was one of the proprietors of the Brown Brothers Manufacturing Company, well known as makers of "sidewalk lights."

"After passing the Straits of Mackinac," wrote Mr. Brown in his diary, "we then enter Lake Michigan, which is 380 miles long; and as we pass up the lake the first place we come to is Milwaukee in Wisconsin Territory. It is a village of about 8,000 inhabitants. I think this place will one day do a great business on account of its situation upon the lake, and the valuable extent of the country back of it, which must in time bring a large amount of the products of the soil to be shipped to market. We then pass on to Little Fort (Waukegan) in the northeast corner of Illinois, a place where there is considerable business done.

"We then pass on to Chicago at the head of the lake and cornering on to the northwest section of the state of Indiana. Chicago has about 12,000 inhabitants. The city extends over a large space of land and is upon a prairie. It is so level that there is no chance for draining it and the houses are generally level with the top of the ground. There are no cellars in the city except those that are built above the surface. The streets are generally rounded up by plowing and thus making ditches on both sides of the street. Consequently the drainage of the city such as comes from houses and from the stables of horses and cattle standing near the streets, causes a condition which is very disagreeable, when you consider that the ditches when full of water must dry away by the heat of the sun. The water was foul and completely green in the ditches the second day of September (1844) when I was there, although I think the place is much more healthy than any one would suppose. It lies upon the lake and often the breeze from the lake is refreshing and keeps the air much purer than it otherwise would be. I think the people are generally indolent. I did not see a single specimen of vegetables growing in the city and but few flower gardens. The lands around the houses are not fenced but lie open like a common. Going to the western part of the city you behold an ocean of prairie as far as the eye can extend until it is lost in the distance.

BUSINESS ACTIVITY OF EARLY CHICAGO

"There is a great amount of business done here. There is a vast extent of fertile country back of this place, the products of which must center at this place for a market or be shipped from here to Buffalo. In the morning as I was walking out I saw cartload after cartload of watermelons and muskmelons that were offered for sale from six to twelve cents each, and their size was about as large as our pumpkins are. The best beef I ever ate was considered worth from two to two and a half cents per pound. The number of vessels in the harbor is I should think about fifty, besides seven large steamboats. The amount of goods sold is much larger than at our place (Bangor, Maine), and a greater portion of them are dry goods.

"We left Chicago in the morning, after stopping two days, for the Illinois River by stage, the journey to extend 110 miles. We arrived at Peru on the 5th day of October very much fatigued from riding one day, one night and the next day until three o'clock in the afternoon, to get over the 110 miles of the prairie all the distance, and as bad a track as you ever saw. The sloughs and mud-holes were so bad that we had to get out and walk about twenty times, I should think, and then the driver would drive his horses with all possible speed so that the coach would not again stick in the mud; and in going this distance we pass over a prairie that is unsettled and never will be, I think. It is low and wet and where there were human beings they looked as though they ought to be buried or taken to an insane asylum. I should think from their appearance that the children are growing up without knowing one letter from another and never knowing when the Sabbath comes. They are dirty, filthy creatures, and have no ambition to be otherwise.

"While on our way from Chicago to Peru by the above route I should think we met a hundred teams laden with wheat and oats, and some of them had been upon the road ten days. The roads were so bad that a span of horses hauled only about twenty to twenty-five bushels of wheat at a load; and when they arrived at Chicago, if their wheat weighed sixty pounds to the bushel they could get fifty-six cents per bushel for it. Some go with ox-teams and that is slower yet, but the teamsters take it fair and easy. They sit upon their carts day after day, and when night overtakes them they turn out the oxen and lie down on or under the cart and thus pass the night. A farmer told me that it took him all day to get to mill, and then if he carried corn he had to give one-half of it for toll, and that was the best he could do."

The diary from which we have quoted above adds a vivid touch to the scenes which are presented to our view in the contemporary records; and the writer's shrewd observations, coming as they do from a keen-sighted "down-East Yankee," enables the reader to contrast the conditions existing at a time when no railroads or canal had as yet been built, with those of later years.

John V. Farwell, who came to Chicago in the forties, writing some years ago of those early days, said that Lake street was so full some mornings of wagons loaded with wheat that it was difficult to drive a buggy through them. "Such a scene," he said, "was of common occurrence." Agents of the different grain warehouses, those for instance of Charles Walker and Orrington Lunt, passed through the streets on these mornings buying the grain from the farmers who

when they received their money traded at the stores for their necessary supplies. Even after the opening of the canal in the spring of 1848 wheat continued to arrive for a time in the Chicago market in farmers' wagons in greater quantity than by canalboats. However, the canal rapidly won its way to the front rank as the carrier of grain of all descriptions, so that in a year or two the Chicago river was as seriously congested with grain carrying boats as the streets had been before with wagons. In the distribution of such heavy articles as lumber and salt, the canal achieved an instant success, says Taylor in his "History of the Board of Trade." Sugar from the lower Mississippi was a commodity in which a large trade developed, and during the season of 1848 it was reported by the canal authorities that some 1,500 tons had passed La Salle on the way to Chicago. The amount of salt cleared from Chicago during the same year for points on the canal is given as 32,099 barrels, and the amount of general merchandise as over 2,300 tons.

EARLY SHIPPING FACILITIES

Shipments of grain, produce, etc., from Chicago to the east were made by lake there being no other means of transportation at that time except wagon hauls which were of course not practicable for any considerable movement. Imports of merchandise were by the same route. The Erie canal, with its western terminus at Buffalo, had been completed since 1825, which rendered water transportation available throughout the entire distance from Chicago to the seaboard. In the years from 1833 to 1840 several government appropriations for the improvement of the harbor had been made though much of the dredging done in the course of the work had been of little avail owing to the sand washing into the excavations. However, with the small dimensions of the vessels in use at that time they generally succeeded after 1834 in passing the bar at the mouth of the river within which deeper water was found.

In 1833, Newberry & Dole shipped from Chicago 287 barrels of beef besides a large quantity of tallow and hides. Afterwards, in 1839, they became large shippers of grain. A table of "Imports and Exports" for the seven years from 1836 to 1842 (inclusive) is given by Colbert, as follows:

Year	Imports	Exports
1836	$325,203	$1,000
1837	373,677	11,665
1838	579,974	16,044
1839	630,980	33,843
1840	562,106	228,635
1841	564,347	348,862
1842	664,347	659,805

The early mercantile concerns invariably included sales at retail with their wholesale trade, the one was a stepping-stone to the other. When the wholesale branch of the concern's business became of sufficient volume the retail business was gradually eliminated. Every merchant or firm sought to have themselves classed as wholesalers.

The "Illinois" was one of the first of the larger sailing vessels to enter the

harbor. She was a vessel of one hundred tons and was enabled to pass the bar, the depth of water having been increased owing to a freshet which had that spring scoured out the channel then in course of dredging. This event occurred on July 11th, 1834, and the occasion was taken advantage of by the citizens who crowded the deck of the schooner to the number of two hundred or more when she moored at the wharf of Newberry & Dole's warehouse. Her masts were dressed with long streamers while the crowds on the banks of the river hailed the unwonted sight with enthusiastic cheers.

The following summary of marine statistics for the years 1833 to 1836 (inclusive) is herewith given:

Year	Vessels Arrived	Tonnage
1833	4	700
1834	176	5,000
1835	250	22,500
1836	456	60,000

Passing over the intervening years the following table is given for the years from 1900 to 1916 (inclusive). It will be observed that while the "Entrances and Clearances" show a general decline in these years in the number of vessels, the tonnage of cargoes has increased in the same period, owing to the greater size of freight carrying vessels employed on the lakes.

Year	Entrances and Clearances	Tonnage of Cargoes
1900	16,966	9,656,000
1901	16,274	10,179,000
1902	15,754	9,630,000
1903	14,823	10,847,000
1904	12,922	8,174,000
1905	13,981	9,919,000
1906	13,594	10,302,000
1907	12,836	11,410,000
1908	11,196	9,957,000
1909	12,012	10,379,000
1910	12,202	11,527,000
1911	11,878	10,633,000
1912	11,500	11,963,000
1913	11,981	13,275,000
1914	11,200	10,330,000
1915	10,152	10,227,000
1916	10,108	12,748,000

CONDITIONS AT THE CITY'S BEGINNING

On the 4th of March, 1837, Chicago was incorporated as a city, its population according to a census taken by the city on the first of July following was 4,170 souls. At the time of its incorporation the city limits were established to include an area of about ten square miles. It was bounded as follows: On the south by Twenty-Second street, on the west by Wood street, on the north by

North avenue, and on the east by Lake Michigan except the fraction of the section occupied by the military post. The date of the city's incorporation was the same as that of the inauguration of Martin Van Buren as president of the United States. It was the year in which the "Panic of 1837" devastated the business interests of the country, as elsewhere described in this volume. In this year, namely on the 7th of November, Elijah P. Lovejoy was killed at Alton, Illinois, where a noble monument now stands in his memory. This event was an epoch in the fight against slavery. Fort Dearborn was finally abandoned by United States troops in this year but the fort remained until 1856 when it was demolished. There was one building which was left on the old site until the great fire of 1871 and which was consumed on that historic occasion. In this year also the state capital was removed from Vandalia to Springfield after seventeen years of occupation. It will be remembered that Kaskaskia was the capital when the state was admitted into the Union in 1818 from which it was removed in 1820 to Vandalia. In this year Michigan was admitted as a state into the Union.

In the memorable year under review Thomas Hoyne came to Chicago having been a month on the way from New York city, he tells us in his volume of reminiscences. He landed from a schooner which had brought him from Detroit at a dock on the north side of the river, and from there he made his way along North Water street crossing the river to the south side over Dearborn street bridge, then the only bridge on the river. It had a "draw, raised by chains and a crank," he says, and thence he pursued his way through streets in which high, rank grass grew, streets as yet without sidewalks and with but few houses. The Illinois and Michigan canal had been under construction since the summer of the previous year and the hopes of the inhabitants were fixed upon its completion. South Water street was the main thoroughfare of the young city though it possessed a rival in North Water street which was striving hard to become Chicago's principal business street.

CHARLES CLEAVER'S BEAR STORY

About this period Charles Cleaver, who wrote a "History of Chicago" in 1892, relates that he was making a journey to Milwaukee in one of the "large steamers" of that day. When passing Little Fort (now Waukegan) at a distance of some five or six miles away, and while sitting in the cabin reading at a table, "the captain rushed in, evidently very much excited, snatched his glass from the table, and in answer to my inquiry of what was the matter, said there was something in the lake about two miles ahead, and no one could make out what it was. Of course my book was dropped in a moment, and I hastened after the captain to the bow of the boat, where I found most of the passengers on board anxiously trying to make out this strange object.

"The captain, after examination by his glass, first said it was a horse, then a deer, and on getting nearer declared it to be a bear, and decided at once that he would catch him at all hazards. Calling for volunteers he found no want of men willing to undertake the task. So the small boat was lowered with four stalwart sailors at the oars, the mate at the helm, and a man at the bow with a rope in which he made a slip-noose. They started for poor Bruin who when he found they were after him made most excellent time for the middle of the lake, and for a mile or two led them a splendid race before they came up with him.

"After two or three attempts the man at the bow threw the fatal noose over his head. Directly the bear found himself caught he turned and made for the boat, evidently intending to carry the war into the enemy's camp; but they were too quick for him, apparently not liking the idea of having him for a passenger. So they turned and rowed for the steamer with all their might. This brought poor Bruin's nose under water, and by the time they reached the steamer, which had been following pretty close in the wake of the pursuers, he was almost drowned. The rope was thrown to us on deck upon which we soon hauled him, and then a council of war was held as to what should be done with him.

"It was at first suggested that he should be chained up, and a large chain was brought and put around his neck. Then some ladies came to look at him and exclaimed, 'Oh, the horrid great creature, do kill him!' Some person standing by put his hand on the animal's heart, and said he was fast recovering, and if he was not killed would soon be master of the boat. On which a bevy of female and some male voices cried out to the captain to have him killed at once. On a butcher offering to do the job the captain consented, and the bear was doomed to have his throat cut and die an ignominious death like any common porker. He was a noble fellow, black and tan, seven or eight feet in length, and when he was skinned showed such claws and muscles the volunteers rejoiced that he did not make good his entry into the boat, for he certainly would have driven them all into the water if they had escaped his claws and teeth."

VALUES OF MANUFACTURES AND WHOLESALE TRADE

A table of values of the Chicago manufacturing industry shown by decades since 1860, as given in the Daily News Almanac, is herewith printed.

Year	Values	Year	Values
1860	$ 20,000,000	1890	$ 664,567,927
1870	92,518,742	1900	888,945,311
1880	249,022,948	1909	1,281,313,000

The following table shows the values of the wholesale trade for the years 1901 to 1909 (inclusive), as given in Dun's review of January 8, 1910.

Year	Values	Year	Values
1901	$1,142,120,000	1906	$1,855,600,000
1902	1,298,200,000	1907	1,911,268,000
1903	1,442,437,000	1908	1,825,263,000
1904	1,550,270,000	1909	1,916,526,150
1905	1,767,304,000		

A table of manufactured goods for the same period as that above given is as follows:

Year	Values	Year	Values
1901	$1,086,248,000	1906	$1,491,840,000
1902	1,195,460,000	1907	1,525,000,000
1903	1,226,901,000	1908	1,410,625,000
1904	1,280,000,000	1909	1,495,262,500
1905	1,420,800,000		

The periods omitted in the above tables were years of rapid and steady growth, but an attempt to give them with any degree of accuracy would result only in confusing and inconsistent totals, owing to the many necessary explanations required as to the methods of arriving at them.

COLBERT'S PROPHECY REGARDING THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

A prophecy, made in 1868 of Chicago's destiny in the manufacture of iron and steel is given in Elias Colbert's history of Chicago, published in that year. "There is no reason why," he says, "the manufacture of iron from the ore should not form a prominent item in the total of our industries to-day, save that we have hitherto failed to take advantage of the opportunities offered in the untold mineral wealth which lies at our doors waiting only for the combining influence of heat, properly applied, to evolve many millions of dollars' worth of metallic products annually within the limits of our city.

"There is good reason to believe that ere long we shall see one or more puddling furnaces in full blast in Chicago. The ores of the Lake Superior region make better material when combined with those of Missouri than alone, and this city is the cheapest place of junction for the two qualities, in point of carriage to and fro. The superiority of the location is established in ten-fold strength by the propinquity of the great coal fields which lie around us. It has been urged that Illinois coal is unfit for blasting purposes on account of its great percentage of sulphurous impurity, but the best informed men say that there is nothing insuperable in this objection. . . . There is no doubt that we can afford to export raw iron more cheaply than Pittsburgh, while the vast quantities now used annually in our city, and the still larger quantities to be used in each succeeding year, will be laid down in the foundry at prices which will defy competition from elsewhere."

PROPHECIES AND ANTICIPATIONS

Sanguine prophecies of Chicago's future commercial greatness are continually met with among the writers of a former generation. A volume by John S. Wright, entitled "Chicago: Past, Present and Future," published in 1868, abounds in the most lurid and enthusiastic encomiums on the "Queen City of the West," generally accompanied by disparaging comments upon the pretensions of St. Louis whose business is "largely retrograding." The difference between Chicago and other rival cities of the West, this writer finds, are not to be traced to any one or two causes simply, but to "a remarkable combination, never before witnessed, and never again to be witnessed, because the habitable globe has no other such site." The chief difference found was "Chicago's unequalled position at the head of lake navigation." Its position as regards lake navigation is further defined, as follows: "Not only does this chain of lakes afford the grandest inland navigation of the world, but the lakes are so peculiarly located as to draw the trade from territory five hundred to six hundred miles distant north and south, and extending indefinitely to the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast on the west, to pay tribute to Chicago at the western extremity, thus rendering it absolutely certain that she must be the emporium of the Lake Valley.

"So superior had the lakes proved to the many thousand miles of river navigation, that while commerce on the latter has relatively deteriorated, and at St. Louis their chief port has actually and largely diminished, that of the lakes has steadily and rapidly augmented, until Chicago has been for several years, and probably will continue to be for all time, the chief grain and provision market, not merely of our country but of all the world." These prophecies and anticipations in regard to Chicago have been largely verified. "Chicago has already become so completely and firmly the entrepot of the Northwest, the trade of which is the prize most coveted by every Atlantic port, that from Norfolk north, no city has an equal interest in creating the shortest, cheapest and most numerous connections with any one city anywhere upon this whole continent, as with Chicago." The value of the Mississippi river traffic is added to the advantages of Chicago by means of the Illinois and Michigan canal, though other means of communication are dwelt upon as accessories.

"Although the advantage of the conjoining water communication of valleys which stretch a thousand miles each side of her, far exceeds any advantage of any other city of the West, yet this dwindles in comparison with railway facilities." The Pacific railways, then in progress of construction, are mentioned by Wright as principal factors in this development, bringing the trade of the Orient to our doors, a trade which from ancient times has given wealth to the cities that could obtain it. ". . . Whatever Chicago is called, she is in truth the artificial 'hub' of the Northwest, and as such, of the Republic." Wright evidently was willing to hedge somewhat in his views regarding rival western cities towards which he was unmercifully severe in his comparisons with his beloved Chicago. "The reader misjudges my views and arguments," he says, "if because Chicago is to be the greatest city, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Omaha, and Kansas City, etc., are not to be great cities. This valley of the Mississippi and the Valley of the Lakes must make many large cities all of which will be more or less tributary to Chicago for she is their center. We therefore would not decry other cities, while giving Chicago its due prominence."

As an instance of the great fame already enjoyed by Chicago in foreign countries, it is said that when Professor Goldwin Smith in 1867 was preparing for his voyage to America, Richard Cobden said to him: "See two things in the United States, if nothing else,—Niagara and Chicago." Professor Smith acted on his advice, and while visiting Chicago acknowledged that the two objects named by his friend were indeed the wonders of North America.

NAVIGATION OF THE AIR

There is no doubt but that the time is ripe for a wonderful development of air-craft transportation. The great European war has demonstrated the marvelous efficiency of aeroplanes in military activities, and there can be no doubt but that when peace once more prevails among the war-torn nations a tremendous impetus will be given to air-borne commerce and passenger transportation. The people of the leading nations engaged in the war have made a complete conquest of the air, and the time is fast approaching when men will as easily and

safely move through the atmosphere above us as they do over the trackless seas in ships, or the eagle in his flight through the boundless sky.

The poet Tennyson clearly foresaw the coming era of air-ships, and, in his poem of "Locksley Hall," he uttered a prophecy of the coming time in these wonderful lines:

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world and all the wonders there would be;
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales."

One of the great results of the war through which we are passing will be the full demonstration of the power men possess of sailing in swift courses over plains and mountain ranges, over impenetrable forests, deserts, and wide-stretching seas, to innumerable destinations beyond the most extreme limits of ordinary transportation.

WHOLESALE AND JOBBING TRADE

"The location of markets is fixed by the inexorable laws of trade and commerce, and these are determined by movements of population, the development of agriculture, and the industrial growth of the territory," said George E. Plumbe, formerly statistician of the Chicago Association of Commerce. The several factors which fix the center of a general market are proximity to raw materials, favorable climate, population, abundance of labor, and accessibility. Population furnishes the producers and consumers, products of labor supply the commodities to be bought and sold, financial resources provide the medium of exchange between seller and buyer, and accessibility enables both the buyer and seller to reach the market, and the producer to place the results of his industry where they can be inspected and offered for sale. In proportion as these elements are dominant the market will be great or small.

The expansion of population in this country implies, of itself, a greater and stronger degree of concentration in population, which means also contraction within smaller compass of manufacturing, and this is a fundamental consideration in determining the modern markets of the world. This must be the case invariably, because increase of population and concentration of industries always stimulates the enlargement of factories, the introduction of more complicated and costly machinery, improved facilities in handling and transporting manufactured products, all of which tend to lessen the cost of manufacturing. This attracts general attention which encourages trade and the location of a permanent market.

"The fact must not be overlooked," continues Plumbe, "that a manufacturing center and market cannot be located otherwise than in a metropolis. The assembling of raw materials for the use of industrial plants demands not only the convenience of lines of transportation for their conveyance, but also the great volume of labor required for their manipulation, and the capital necessary for the carrying on of the various branches of business involved. The greater the variety of industrial enterprises, the greater must be the concentration of the three essentials above mentioned."

FACILITIES FOR SUPPLYING POWER

"Another very important factor," says Plumbe, "that enters into the question of locating industries and the creation of market facilities is the creation and distribution of the necessary power for the propelling of machinery. This feature of growth has been very radically changed within the last two decades, by the progress of invention that has made commercially available sources of power that were previously merely speculative." This has been accomplished in a large degree by the adaptation of electricity to the propulsion of machinery, and in probably no other direction has greater progress been made in the useful arts in the last twenty years than by the employment of electric currents for the motive power of mills, factories and other industrial enterprises.

On this point our authority adds that "for many years water power was the only energy applicable to the movement of machinery, and the streams of the New England states and other eastern sections of the country, were, on that account, the great sources of manufacturing progress and wealth in that section of the country. Then steam power in a great measure supplanted the water wheel, and manufacturing enterprises were established in localities separated from running streams. Later, electricity was made still more available as a propelling power, and since the invention of appliances by which electric power can be transmitted without appreciable loss for hundreds of miles, it has added greatly to the value of limited water powers which formerly were of little value, because of their capacity for the operation of electric generators."

ACCESSIBILITY TO POPULATION CENTER

The population of the United States, not including outlying possessions, according to the census of 1910, was 91,972,266. The center of population as given in the census report of that year was fixed in the neighborhood of Bloomington, Indiana, this point having gradually moved westward in the previous one hundred and twenty years from a point near Baltimore in Maryland. Thus within a radius of three hundred miles of the center of population stands Chicago. "No large city in the United States," says Plumbe in his volume, "is situated so near to both the center of area and population as is Chicago." He estimates that within a night's ride of Chicago there is a population of more than forty millions of people. "They are a highly cultivated, energetic, prosperous people who possess nearly one-third of the wealth of the country, and produce a very large proportion of the food products of the United States. Over the railroads connecting them immediately with Chicago are operated more than fifteen hundred railway passenger trains daily, all of which enter the various railway stations located within the business district of the city. The territory within this radius reaches from Omaha in the west to Pittsburgh in the east, from Minneapolis in the north to Nashville in the south, and contains more than twenty large cities with smaller markets, all of which are tributary to the great central market of Chicago. All merchandise is more or less sensitive to freight charges, and cost of conveyance is an important factor in the maintenance of a market. Business demands that goods be purchased where they can be bought the cheapest, and freight charges are included by the retailer in the cost of

his stock. He will therefore buy in the market nearest him, other conditions being equal."

There is, indeed, no city on earth that has so vast a range of territory with which it is brought into daily contact as Chicago, and when the distribution of its manufactories and commercial establishments are considered no other center can reach so large a number of both consumers and producers as can the city of Chicago. Another large feature of this situation is that no railroad or railway system runs a train through this city; all trains stop here, and are made up here for the journey or shipments beyond. Chicago is the absolute terminal of every railroad train that enters it. This gives to this city shipping facilities that have no equal anywhere else in the world. Significant as this array of facts may be it by no means tells the whole story of Chicago's transportation advantages over every other industrial or commercial center. It leaves out of the calculation entirely the commerce of the Great Lakes, on which Chicago is a port of prime importance.

EFFECT OF CLIMATE ON HEALTH AND EFFICIENCY

The subject of public health is one that is of vital importance, not only to the manufacturer, who seeks a healthful climate in which to reside with his family, but also as an employer of labor. Since the last visitation of the cholera in 1866 there have been no epidemics of importance, largely for the reason that the authorities have been specially vigilant in preventing them from gaining a foothold, but in a still larger degree by reason of the general salubrity of the climate. Chicago has spent millions of dollars to obtain a pure water supply which has naturally been a large factor in the conservation of public health. "An employer of labor who is practically exempt from sickness among his employees," says Plumbe, "has an asset in business that is of great value."

There are local conditions in Chicago that contribute in a very marked degree to the salubrity of the city, by modifying its extremes of temperature in both the summer and winter months. Immediately east of the city is Lake Michigan, having an area of about 25,000 square miles, on the shore of which it is located. This immense body of water is practically without current except as the movement of the water is influenced by the winds. In the summer the warm breezes are tempered in their passage over the cooler waters of the lake, and the local temperature is thus so modified that a day with the mercury above ninety degrees is unusual. During the autumn months the waters of the lake give to the atmosphere the warmth they have absorbed during the summer months which affords the city a long and warm season, often continuing until the holidays. The winters average between thirty-two and thirty-three degrees for the months of January and February, covering a period of thirty-eight years (from 1872 to 1910), as given in Cox's "Weather and Climate of Chicago."

The influence of the lake upon the climate of Chicago is of greater importance than any other local feature of its situation. "In studying the climate of Chicago," says Hazen, "the greatest interest at once centers upon the lake and the influence of its waters upon the temperature, rainfall, winds, clouds, etc. While it is true that the broader features of the climate are dependent

upon atmospheric causes and influences taking their rise to the westward and northwestward of the city, yet these are often markedly changed by the lake and the conditions induced by its temperature and moisture."

While Chicago has been called "a windy city" it has no special distinction in this respect. "The wind velocity increases with the elevation above ground," remarks Professor Henry J. Cox, chief of the Weather Bureau in this city. "The weather bureau instruments in Chicago happen to be located at a much greater height than is available in most cities. It is, in fact, not in the course of any regular storm track, generally merely being on the edges of storms that pass to the north over Lake Superior or to the south over the Ohio valley. It lays claim, however, to brisk and sometimes strong winds which are more beneficial than objectionable. The prevailing direction of the wind is southwest, for the year as a whole. During the spring and early summer the wind is mostly northeast."

"The highest civilization has never loved the hot zones," Emerson wrote. "Wherever snow falls there is usually civil freedom." The climate of Chicago, generally speaking, "is such as to incite the activities of man," says Professor Cox, "there is not sufficient heat at any time to make him sluggish in his movements, while on the other hand it is sufficiently varied and rigorous to make him active and energetic."

In this connection the mortality statistics of Chicago for a number of different periods may be given. The deaths per thousand of population in 1915 was 14.3; in 1910, 15.1; in 1900, 14.7; in 1890, 19.9; in 1880, 20.8; and in 1870, 23.9. The lower rate in recent years is due to improved sanitary conditions. The pure water supply made possible by the operation of the great Sanitary canal, previously described, which carries off the drainage of the city to the valley of the Illinois river where it is oxidized and rendered innocuous, is chiefly responsible for these conditions.

In addition to the favorable health conditions to be found in Chicago the abundance and cheapness of supplies which are provided in the markets account for its attractiveness as a place to live. Chicago is the largest fruit market, both in the variety and quantity of products, in the United States, and much of the fruit, like berries, cherries, peaches, apples and grapes, is produced in the immediate vicinity of the city, while the tropical and sub-tropical fruits are always abundant in the city markets. We need not enlarge upon the extremely favorable conditions in respect of the standard foodstuffs,—flour, meats, etc.,—for this city is in many of these respects the fountain of supply for all the world.

The advantages to the inhabitants of a great city are found in an eminent degree in its churches, parks, theatres, and entertainments of various kinds, affording constant variety and interest to young and old. Then too the educational advantages to be found in a large city are keenly appreciated by the masses who realize the deficiencies of their own earlier lives. If the dweller is a foreigner, no matter what his occupation may be, he is drawn to the city by the fact that there are more of his own people there than in the country or in smaller places, and it adds to his pleasure to find his associations among them with the memories of his former home. This desire for the atmosphere of city life unquestionably becomes an asset of great value to the manufacturer and merchant of the city. It gives them an ample number of both skilled and com-

mon workmen and employees to choose from whenever it is desired to increase their operating force, and provides them with an unfailing supply upon which to draw. In short, the labor market is as important as the market for commodities.

GOVERNMENT OF CHICAGO

The City of Chicago is the second largest city in the United States, and the fourth largest in the world. It contains more than one-third of the population of Illinois, and every citizen in the state should be interested in knowing how it is governed. The constitution of 1870 forbids special legislation of any kind. In consequence, the "Cities and Villages Act" was passed by the Illinois General Assembly in 1872, and all cities organized since that date come under the provisions of this general law and do not have any separate city charter. Chicago voted to accept this municipal corporation act in 1875, and thus gave up its charter after nearly forty years' experience with government under various special charters.

The Common Council of Chicago is composed of seventy elected members or aldermen, there being two from each of the thirty-five wards into which the city is divided. An elected mayor presides at the meetings of the council, and has a vote only in case of a tie. Some of the powers vested in the council have been delegated by it to special departments, for example, the police department. These departments are under special single commissioners, who are appointed by the mayor and whose terms of office expire with the term of the mayor. The mayor is further fortified with the power to remove these commissioners, but such act may be disapproved by a two-thirds vote of the council. The mayor's salary is $18,000 per annum, the largest amount paid to any mayor in the United States. The salary of an alderman is $3,000 per annum.

The legislative functions of the school department is entrusted to a board of education consisting of twenty-one members, appointed by the mayor and confirmed by the council. The members are appointed for a term of three years and serve without pay. The board of education is free from municipal control, except that matters relating to the purchase of buildings and sites require the approval of the city council.

In 1847 there were four school houses in Chicago built at a cost of about five thousand dollars each. In 1917 there were twenty-three high schools and two hundred and seventy-seven elementary schools represented in the public school system of Chicago. These schools had an aggregate enrollment of 8,142 teachers, and 360,639 pupils. In addition to the above there is a Normal school, as well as schools for crippled children, deaf, blind and mentally dull children. Manual training is a feature of the instruction in a majority of the graded schools, and evening schools are provided for on an extensive scale.

THE LIBRARY FACILITIES OF THE CITY

The extensive library facilities of Chicago should be mentioned here, comprising four great collections and many lesser ones, according to statistics for 1917, as follows:

	Volumes
The Chicago Public Library contained	806,172
The Newberry Library contained	370,831
The John Crerar Library contained	380,670
The Library of the Chicago University contained	624,936

In addition to the 2,182,609 volumes represented in the above four great collections there are a large number of smaller collections in the possession of various organizations, several of which may be noted as follows:

	Volumes
Library of the Chicago Historical Society contained	40,000
Library of the Chicago Art Institute contained	11,000
Library of the Law Institute contained	64,000
Library of the McCormick Theological Seminary contained	43,000
Library of the Chicago Theological Seminary contained	33,000
Library of the Lewis Institute contained	23,000
Library of the Loyola University contained	45,000
Library of the Field Museum of Natural History contained	69,000

Many important collections belonging to other organizations are not mentioned in the above table for want of space.

STATISTICAL TABLES

In the census report for the year 1910 there is given a "Supplement for Illinois," from which we take a few tables of special interest to readers. A table of the population of Illinois beginning with the year 1810 shows the official enumeration for that year which was the first time it appeared in the census reports and while Illinois was as yet a territory. Before the following census of 1820 was taken Illinois had been admitted as a state in the Union which event took place on the 3d of December, 1818, it having at that time a population of 40,156. The table shows the population for each census period from 1810 to 1910, both inclusive.

ILLINOIS

Year	Population	Year	Population
1810	12,282	1870	2,539,891
1820	55,211	1880	3,077,871
1830	157,445	1890	3,826,352
1840	476,183	1900	4,821,550
1850	851,470	1910	5,638,591
1860	1,711,951		

The population of Chicago is shown in the following table beginning with the year 1840, the first census year after its incorporation. (Chicago was incorporated as a city March 4, 1837, with a population of 4,170.)

CHICAGO

Year	Population	Year	Population
1840	4,479	1880	503,298
1850	28,269	1890	1,099,850
1860	109,206	1900	1,698,575
1870	298,977	1910	2,185,283

Comparing these figures with the corresponding years in the census of the state we find that Chicago contained 28.7 per cent of the total population of the state in 1890, 35.2 per cent in 1900, and 38.8 per cent in 1910.

COOK COUNTY

The date of the organization of Cook County was March 8, 1831. The first official enumeration in the census reports was in 1840. The following table shows the population for the several census periods since that time.

Year	Population	Year	Population
1840	10,201	1880	607,719
1850	43,385	1890	1,191,922
1860	144,954	1900	1,838,735
1870	349,966	1910	2,405,233

Cook County was so named in honor of Daniel P. Cook, an early statesman of Illinois, and as so little is written about this very important personage, whose name is so prominently identified with this region (and who yet lacks a monument in any public place in Chicago), we make no apology for inserting a brief notice of his career in this place.

Cook was a native of Kentucky where he was born in 1795. He came to Illinois in 1815 when it was a territory, and entered upon the practice of law at Kaskaskia then the territorial capital. He was well equipped by education and natural talents for the activities of public life and took a conspicuous part in the political affairs of the day. He became the first attorney-general of the state after its admission into the Union. He served in Congress from 1819 to 1827.

Having married a daughter of Governor Ninian Edwards he became a resident of Edwardsville. He was an active opponent of the proposition to make Illinois a slave state, giving Governor Edward Coles efficient aid in the conduct of the campaign of 1824, which resulted in a decisive defeat of that infamous project. Cook also, while in Congress, bore a prominent part in securing donations of land by the United States government in aid of the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal. He was distinguished for his eloquence, and it was during his first congressional campaign that "stump speaking" was introduced into the state.

When Cook County was created in 1831 it received its name in honor of Daniel P. Cook, who had then been dead four years but was held in honorable remembrance by his contemporaries. E. B. Washburne, in a note on Cook,

printed in the "Edwards Papers," said: "In respect of his high character, his great ability, his honorable name, and of the inestimable service he rendered to our great commonwealth, the County of Cook should erect a monument to his memory."

During his last session in Congress, Mr. Cook discharged the duties of chairman of the Ways and Means committee, a position which involved so much labor as to overtask his physical powers, and the close of the session found him with health seriously impaired. With a view to the recovery of his strength he accepted the appointment of a special mission to Cuba, and embarked for that island expecting great benefit from its mild climate. It was, however, a vain hope, and in a few months thereafter he returned to his home in Edwardsville. But nothing could stay the progress of the disease from which he was suffering.

When, at length, he became convinced that his end was approaching his mind reverted to the place of his birth in Kentucky where he wished once more to look upon the scenes of his childhood home. Soon after his arrival there he breathed his last, namely, on October 16, 1827. "Though cut down at the early age of thirty-two," says Washburne, "he had accomplished more than most men during the course of a long life. In him statesmanship seemed native and intuitive. In the house of representatives he showed a complete mastery of all questions that were to be discussed, and he stated his conclusions with such clearness, force and precision as always to command the strictest attention of members. There was before him when he died the promise of a most brilliant and distinguished career, which would have added great lustre to his name and brought additional honor to the state of his adoption."

LUMBER STATISTICS

Notwithstanding the decline in the lumber trade in the later nineties the volume of that trade increased largely after the year 1900. The receipts and shipments of lumber at Chicago for certain periods from 1870 to 1910, as shown in the reports of the Chicago Board of Trade, are given as follows:

1870,	receipts	1,018,000 M feet;	shipments	583,000 M feet
1880,	receipts	1,564,000 M feet;	shipments	925,000 M feet
1890,	receipts	1,941,000 M feet;	shipments	812,000 M feet
1900,	receipts	1,596,000 M feet;	shipments	769,000 M feet
1910,	receipts	2,519,000 M feet;	shipments	962,000 M feet
1914,	receipts	2,215,000 M feet;	shipments	1,019,000 M feet
1915,	receipts	2,379,000 M feet;	shipments	1,133,000 M feet

ELECTRICAL POWER TRANSMISSION

Electric lighting came into common use in about 1880, and for the transmission of the electric current generated by steam and water power such a method was successfully employed in the middle nineties, when power for manufacturing and traction purposes came into general use. Chicago manufacturers and street railway companies were quick to avail themselves of this

great convenience, and the marvellous development of later years is witness to its utility. But it must be remembered that electrical transmission is simply an extension of the power created by steam and water pressure on turbine wheels carried over a distance to the point where it is needed in the propulsion of machinery. It is thus that power derived from steam engines and water pressure is rendered available in the work of manufacturing and traction systems. Electricity may be called the servant of steam and water power which are still the great moving agencies in the world of industry, for from a central station is generated the vital fluid which is capable of transmitting the power there created. Steam and water power are still the masters of electricity which simply serves to carry the power over long distances and deliver it with slight loss of energy to its destined field of labor. Eligible sites for water power are by no means exclusively found in a hilly country or where water falls are numerous. Even in a flat country like that characteristic of our region it has been found that a vast water power can be developed in the great drainage system which has been created between Lake Michigan and the Illinois river valley.

The power-house at Lockport, generating and transmitting a current to the transformer-house at Western avenue and the river at Chicago, a distance of twenty-nine and a half miles, carries a current sufficient for distribution to twenty-three sub-stations. The electrical energy developed at the power-house is equal to 42,000 horse power, and the line over which the current is carried is recognized by engineers as the finest example of modern high-tension transmission to be found anywhere.

The towers on which the cables are carried are sixty feet in height, set in concrete, and built of steel angles and lattice bars galvanized. Each of the towers has two steel cross-arms also of riveted lattice construction and galvanized, carrying six insulators of "umbrella" type. There are nine aluminum wires, each five-eighths of an inch in diameter, used for transmission. The spacing of the insulators keeps the wires six feet apart. Power can be transmitted over any combination of three wires, so that seven of the nine wires must be broken or grounded before the supply of current would be stopped. The towers are placed three hundred and fifty feet apart on straight lines, where there are changes of direction they are placed nearer together. The territory covered by the Sanitary District's lines extends south to Dolton and Joliet, west to McCool, north to Wilmette, and east to Lake Michigan. The longest distance to which power is transmitted from the generating station is about fifty miles. Supplying electrical current for both lighting and power purposes, by means of the water power at Lockport, is one of the most hopeful attempts heretofore made to carry on an enterprise under the plan of public ownership.

ELEMENTS OF CONSTRUCTION

"Transmission lines are, when practicable, laid out through open country, and along roads which furnish easy access for inspection and repairs," says Professor Louis Bell, in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. "The chief sources of danger in temperate climates are mechanical injury from the falling of

branches of trees across circuits, sleet and wind storms, and lightning. The first mentioned difficulty may be avoided by keeping clear, so far as possible, of wooded country, and it should be remembered that, at the voltages customarily used for transmission, a twig the size of a lead pencil falling across the wires may set up 'arcing,' and it will end by burning the wires completely off—not directly by fusion, but by persistent arcing. A properly constructed overhead line is practically safe against all storms, save those of most extraordinary violence, and with care may be made secure even against these. .

"As a matter of practice, interruptions of service upon transmission systems are very rarely due to trouble upon the main line itself, but are far more likely to occur in some part of the distributing system. The most dangerous combination of circumstances is a sleet storm sufficient to coat the wires with ice, followed by heavy winds; if the line, however, is constructed with proper factors of safety, bearing this particular danger in mind, there need be very little fear of serious results. Lightning is a much more formidable enemy. The lightning discharges observed upon electric circuits are of two general descriptions: first, a direct discharge of lightning upon the line, more or less severe, and always to be dreaded; and secondly, induced discharges due to lightning flashes which do not hit the line, or to static disturbances which may or may not produce actual lightning. Discharges of the former class are vastly more severe than those of the latter, and, fortunately, are somewhat rare. They may actually shatter the line, or may distribute themselves along it for a considerable distance, leaping from wire to pole, and thence to earth, without actually damaging the line to any marked degree. The induced discharges are felt principally in the apparatus, causing many of the burn-outs observed in transformers and generators. There is no complete protection against the effects of lightning upon the apparatus. Even the best lightning arresters are palliatives rather than preventives.

"If, however, a number of arresters are put in parallel, with reactance coils between them on the way towards the apparatus, the vast majority of lightning discharges, to whatever cause they may be due, will be deflected harmlessly to earth. Moreover, the apparatus itself has a considerable power of resistance, due to its high insulation. The ends of the line should be very thoroughly protected by such lightning arresters, and other points, such as prominent elevations along the line, should receive similar additional protection. In some cases a substantial steel wire cable stretched along the tops of the poles several feet above the line wires and well grounded at frequent intervals has been found very advantageous. With the best protection at present available, lightning is not a serious menace to continuity of service, and the apparatus of the distributing system is far more difficult to protect than the main line and its apparatus."

Those persons who have had experience with electrical transmission of power in their establishments will find that many of Professor Bell's statements apply to the workings of the systems they employ. The powerful transmission lines in use by the Sanitary District of Chicago, conveying the electric current generated in the power-house at Lockport to the Western avenue transformer-house, have been built in harmony with the recommendations made by the eminent electrical engineer whose words are quoted above.

SUPREMACY OF STEAM POWER

As showing the supremacy of steam power over all other sources of power employed in manufacturing industries, the following comparative statement is given of the total primary horse power generated in Illinois at different periods, according to the census of 1910:

The total primary horse power for 1909, was 1,013,071.
The total primary horse power for 1904, was 741,555.
The total primary horse power for 1899, was 559,347.

The power derived exclusively from steam engines ranged from 90.7 per cent of the total in 1899; 87.9 per cent in 1904; and 82.7 per cent in 1909. This shows considerable diminution in the percentage of steam power employed from the earlier periods, and also shows the gradual increase in the employment of power derived from gas engines and water wheels in the period thus illustrated.

The comments of the census commissioner on this showing is as follows: "The amount of primary power used in the manufacturing industries of Illinois increased 32.6 per cent from 1899 to 1904, and 36.6 per cent from 1904 to 1909. The total increase during the decade was 453,724 horse power, 72.9 per cent of which was in power generated by steam engines. Notwithstanding this large increase in the horse power of steam engines, their proportion of the total primary power decreased from 90.7 per cent in 1899 to 82.7 in 1909." This is accounted for by the more general use of gas engines the horse power of which was 37,025 in 1909, as compared with 12,319 in 1904 and 8,758 in 1899, the increase during the five-year period from 1904 to 1909, being a little more than 200 per cent.

The commissioner adds to the statements above made that "the use of electric motors for the purpose of applying power by means of current generated within the establishment is also shown to be rapidly becoming more common, the horse power of such motors having increased from 36,764 in 1899 to 123,287 in 1904 and 281,614 in 1909, representing an increase for the decade of over 650 per cent."

"Closely related to the question of kind of power employed," continues the commissioner, "is that of the fuel consumed in generating this power, or otherwise used as material in the manufacturing processes. The next table shows, for 1909, the quantity of each kind of fuel used in all industries combined."

FUEL USED IN ILLINOIS INDUSTRIES

Anthracite Coal	155,482	tons.
Bituminous Coal	14,235,950	tons.
Coke	3,982,844	tons.
Wood	125,490	cords.
Gas	12,645,341	thousand feet.
Oil and Gasoline	2,831,328	barrels.

PERIOD OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

The Spanish-American war was an event in the history of the nation which influenced the course of affairs in manufacturing industries, not only in the state but especially in Chicago, to an important degree. The packing industry was greatly stimulated in production on account of the vast requirements by the government, as indeed were the industries of all branches affected by the war. The distributing business of the packers was on an unprecedently large scale. The troops of both the army and navy were located in climates where cured meats were among the most available supplies. At the same time the foreign demand was very large. "This country," says Taylor, in his "History of the Board of Trade," "never before marketed a greater quantity of provisions abroad than was exported in 1898."

Fresh meats forwarded on ships fitted with refrigerating apparatus reached the troops everywhere in abundant supply, though complaint was made by the military authorities in some instances that "embalmed beef," so-called because of the preservatives made use of to prevent deterioration in its quality, was not acceptable by them for feeding the soldier and sailor boys in the service. It may be remarked that the packers have ever been the object of fault-finders on all great occasions when they were called upon to supply nations and armies, and even at the present time when the requirements are on a vast scale the public seem eager to blame them for the inevitable lapses and difficulties encountered in the world-wide struggle for food, which they are accountable for in only a limited degree.

THE SITUATION IN THE PRESENT WORLD WAR

In this present year of 1918 the situation may be compared in many respects with that existing in the Spanish-American war, when Chicago manufacturers at this time are the main reliance, not only of our own country but of the Allies as well, who look to them as the source of their supplies in many branches of manufacturing and foodstuffs. In the war of 1898, it is stated in a review of that year by Charles H. Taylor, that notwithstanding the immense impetus given to the trade by the conditions then existing that from a manufacturing point of view "the provision trade of 1898 was unsatisfactory," that "these conditions were reflected in the unfavorable report of large packing concerns." The prices on the average were slightly higher for cattle in that year of war, and some considerable advance was shown in hogs and pork products. The receipts of cattle for 1897 had been 2,554,000 head, while in 1898 they were slightly less, namely, 2,480,000 head. Receipts of hogs in 1897 were 8,363,000 head, while in 1898 they increased to 9,401,000 head, the highest number received during any year up to that time.

THE SALOON EVIL AND ITS EFFECTS

It has even been charged against the packers that the evil conditions found among the dwellers in the districts near the stock yards, who are largely operatives in the packing houses, that they are responsible for these conditions.

But it has been pointed out that these districts are usually hemmed in almost solidly by rows of saloons which subsist by the patronage of the workers themselves who support them of their own free will and accord. This is a matter coming under the control of the municipal authorities and cannot be blamed on any of the great employers of labor. It is a field, indeed, wherein the reformers may well expend their efforts and work for a city-wide prohibition of the saloon evil to the benefit of all the inhabitants. Perhaps to many a "dry Chicago" is an unthinkable state of affairs, but by degrees it is becoming more and more apparent to every thinking man or woman that this is "manifest destiny," and we may live in hopes of seeing the time when the saloon evil will join the limbo of many other "old, unhappy, far-off things," that have afflicted out welfare in the past.

Compare the situation in this respect with that of another large and populous city on the Pacific coast, which has taken this particular "bull by the horns," and cast the beast out of its municipal limits. In an article recently published in McClure's Magazine, descriptive of conditions in Seattle, it is said: "Here is one of the best demonstrations of what prohibition can do for a city. I doubt if there is one man in Seattle who would want the town to go back to liquor. Up to the time when the present war law went into effect, individuals could ship in specified quantities; but to-day Seattle is bone dry, and saves a million dollars a month that it formerly spent for alcoholic drinks.

"It is curious that many of the former saloons have been turned into candy and ice-cream establishments, using the identical fixtures. I went into one of these places on Pike street, which had been a bar-room *de luxe*. The mahogany bar had been converted into a soda counter of much magnificence, and the stalls where men had formerly imbibed intoxicating liquors were occupied by well-dressed women. The appointments in this place are rich and costly, yet I was told that the profits from the establishment far exceeded those from the former saloon. The place was run by the same owners, who had quite forgotten their opposition to the prohibition law."

CHAPTER XIX

FACTORY LOCATIONS AND BELT LINES

INDUSTRIAL ADVANTAGES POSSESSED BY CHICAGO—TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES—CENTRAL MANUFACTURING DISTRICT—THE CHICAGO JUNCTION RAILWAY—IMPROVEMENTS ON SITE—CHARACTER OF BUILDINGS—SWITCHING SERVICE—OTHER FEATURES OF THE DISTRICT—CENTRAL POWER PLANT—FREIGHT STATION AND LOFT BUILDING—NEW GOVERNMENT WAREHOUSES—SUMMARY OF PLAN—INTERESTING DETAILS.

THE CENTRAL MANUFACTURING DISTRICT OF CHICAGO

ITS PROGRESS AND IMPORTANCE TO CHICAGO

BY

FRANCIS L. STETSON HARMAN, ASSISTANT INDUSTRIAL AGENT

Chicago is a city of vast proportions and wonderful achievements. There is nothing so large or complex that this city on Lake Michigan cannot successfully cope with. The rigid determination and energy of its enthusiastic citizens have placed Chicago in the front rank of the cities of the world in all departments of progress. Chicago has many natural advantages, but these have been augmented and improved upon by the careful study and foresight of those Chicagoans who have looked forward into the future, and built up a bulwark of progressive movements which has placed Chicago in the enviable position among the cities of America where it now stands.

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES

Without a doubt, the greatest advantage that any city can enjoy is its transportation facilities, and by this feature is meant freight transportation as well as passenger traffic. Without industries a city is without life. Without railroads industries are crippled. Chicago is the terminal point of twenty-nine steam trunk lines, running north, south, east, and west, with connecting belt lines and extensive switching systems. Indeed, from the fact of its being the terminal point of every railroad and railroad system entering the city, all trains of whatever nature, freight or passenger, must begin or end their journey at Chicago.

The industrial situation in Chicago is a matter of interest to every citizen, for no more fitting testimonial of Chicago's greatness can be distributed among the cities of this country than the true facts of this wonderful commercial

growth. The names, "Industry" and "Chicago" are synonymous. The industry has made Chicago, and by reason of its many advantages as a manufacturing center, Chicago has been responsible for the success of the industries.

One of the great problems which many manufacturers of Chicago today are forced to solve is the question of a suitable location after being forced from the present location by one reason or another. Too few of the prominent manufacturers realize the importance of looking beyond the expiration of their present lease or of investigating this vital question until they find themselves actually confronted with the necessity to move. Condemnation proceedings under the "Eminent Domain" law of the State have forced many industries to seek other quarters, but the choice of a new location is frequently delayed until the last moment, and then a hasty investigation of a few locations too often ends in the decision to accept one without thoroughly delving into the economies that would result to the concern if sufficient investigation and thought had been given to the matter.

The accepting of a proffered location without regard to efficient railroad facilities because it must be had "right away," has caused many an industry later to regret the enormous expenses that have to be met each month, on account of the necessity of teaming the manufactured products long distances to the many freight houses, and on account of the high rate of insurance in many of the congested districts in addition to the high rentals they must pay.

QUESTION OF REMOVALS

Returning to the subject of where the manufacturer is to move his industry, a number of concerns prefer to keep close to the so-called "down town" or "loop" district for various reasons. Some prefer this location because they must be close to down town deliveries, or be where customers may readily call upon them. These two reasons, however, are usually in the minority and the unprogressive excuses of wanting to stay there because they have always been there, or because they are afraid to move a few blocks away where better accommodations may be had and greater economies effected are more often expressed.

There are two classes of industrial property: (1), Switch track property, and (2), Property without switching facilities. It is the first named class that this article has chief reference to. Manufacturers whose receipts and deliveries of freight are confined entirely to Chicago do not necessarily require switch track connection, but the manufacturer or warehouseman who receives goods from and ships them to all points of the country, is lacking in modern day progressive wisdom if he does not locate his industry on the railroad providing the best and quickest freight transportation to the destination shown on the way bill of the freight package.

It is an undisputed fact and well known among industrial real estate experts that satisfactory switch track property in Chicago is becoming scarce, and especially is this true for so-called "close in property." The Chicago of today is not the Chicago of ten years, or even five years ago. It has been growing rapidly as has no other city in the country. It is spreading to those outlying districts which only a few years ago we called prairies. These same

CENTRAL MANUFACTURING DISTRICT
View of 37th Street looking west from Iron Street before improvement.
Photograph taken in 1910

CENTRAL MANUFACTURING DISTRICT
Same view as above after improvement, only three years later

prairies now are occupied by busy factories, warehouses and foundries. Heavily loaded trains carry the enormous amount of freight turned out by these "flowers of the prairie" to all parts of the world. Not long ago these same industries scoffed at the idea of establishing their plants "way out there." Now, however, they resent any insinuation that they are located away from the center of Chicago.

THE CENTRAL MANUFACTURING DISTRICT

A wonderful example of this progress in Chicago's industrial activity is told in the story of the Central Manufacturing District of Chicago. This tract of land, which more than once was denied consideration by manufacturers in its earlier days, because, as they said, "it was too far out," is actually located in the exact geographical center of Chicago, the larger section being bounded by Thirty-fifth street on the north, Thirty-ninth street on the south, Morgan street on the east, and Ashland avenue on the west. A recent addition to the Central Manufacturing District is a one-hundred-acre tract stretching for over a mile in length along the south side of West Thirty-ninth street from Western avenue on the west across Ashland avenue to the South Fork of the South Branch of the Chicago river. This particular tract of virgin territory is by no means the least interesting and important of the properties of the Central Manufacturing District, for here was once located that old time Chicago land-mark, the odoriferous and notorious "Bubbly Creek." This justly maligned stream extended for three-quarters of a mile west from Ashland avenue through the south side of this property. The passing of this old land-mark, where once the setting sun reflected the greasy covered surface of the silent waters, marks the progress of this industrial section and removes the source of much irritation of many enraged and apologetic Chicago citizens. This article will dwell more in detail upon the development that has taken place upon the site of old Bubbly Creek.

The Central Manufacturing District prominently discloses the foresight and wisdom of some of Chicago's men of affairs and emphasizes the inestimable benefit to Chicago's industrial development. Nine years ago this tract of some three hundred acres of land was unknown except as a barren prairie. The ground was a mere swamp, without the semblance of a passable road. Cabbages thrived in great abundance, and it would undoubtedly be in that same unfruitful condition today except for one important fact; the Chicago Junction Railway was able to reach this property with its freight service.

THE CHICAGO JUNCTION RAILWAY

In the development of the Union Stock Yards to the south of the "Cabbage Patch," the Chicago Junction Railway Company had perfected facilities for handling the greatest live-stock business in the world; it had secured direct connection with every railroad in Chicago; it had constructed enormous freight yards; it had built a Union Freight Station for handling freight to all roads; it had purchased many new locomotives, and had found its capacity for handling business far in excess of the traffic offered, great though that traffic was. It

was, therefore, proper that the Chicago Junction Railway should seek new tonnage. When lumber came to the "Cabbage Patch" transportation by water had been supplemented with facilities for transportation by rail. Light iron rails, wood burning engines and toy cars had been the equipment. Now the Chicago Junction Railway, in its quest for new business, expanded across the river and began operating the "Cabbage Patch" lines. For a time this was well, but decreasing lumber tonnage emphasized the necessity for securing other industrial products to transport. Then began the real transition of the "Cabbage Patch."

Firmly believing in the future of this barren waste as a great industrial center, Mr. John A. Spoor and his associates conceived the idea of developing this section with tonnage-producing industries. The Central Manufacturing District of Chicago was organized not to create a real estate "boom," but merely and simply as a railroad proposition. The Chicago Junction Railway being the interested party in this District, the word "tonnage" has been the magic pass word which has had an important bearing upon the locating of an industry in the Central Manufacturing District. As stated before, nine years ago this district was practically unknown, and produced nothing but cabbages. Today there are upwards of two hundred industries producing over one hundred thousand carloads of freight per year, a community sufficient unto itself, employing approximately fifteen thousand people, and having improvements valued at over twenty millions of dollars. This district has its own bank, club, express and telegraph offices, its traffic bureau, surgical department and its architectural, police and street-cleaning organizations. All streets in the Central Manufacturing District are now paved with granite blocks, vitrified brick or macadam; grass parkways, sewer and water lines, cement sidewalks and lamp posts have been constructed. Factories and plants representing various lines of manufacturing have located in the district, all drawn to this spot in the center of Chicago, because here they are able to obtain efficient freight service and the other advantages that spell economy and contentment to them.

BUILDING IMPROVEMENTS

A large majority of the buildings in the District have been erected for the industries by the District trustees under contracts of purchase or long term leases. There is much land available in small or large areas and the property may be purchased or leased upon reasonable terms. The management of the District rests in three trustees, John A. Spoor and Arthur G. Leonard, of Chicago, and Eugene V. R. Thayer, of New York. The entire property has been placed under a ten million dollar bond issue, with the First Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago as trustee. These bonds are sold from time to time and the funds thus obtained are used in the financing of improvements to the property.

In mentioning the railroads which form such an important feature of Chicago's growth, it is interesting to note the important part the "connecting" or "belt line railroad" plays in this industrial development. The Chicago Junction Railway which serves the Central Manufacturing District is a belt line, and makes direct connection with every trunk line entering Chicago. The value of

this feature is established when it is considered that an industry located on the Chicago Junction Railway is also located on the tracks of every one of the twenty-nine roads entering Chicago. This means that freight is delivered to the trunk lines direct from the industry instead of having to be transferred by means of an intermediate road. In other words, the through Chicago freight rate applies direct to and from the industry on Chicago Junction rails. The method of handling the outgoing less-than-carload shipments is through the Union Freight Stations of all Chicago lines operated by the Chicago Junction Railway Company. These stations, of which there are four at present, are located at Forty-third and Robey streets, Thirty-ninth and Robey streets, Fifteenth street and Western avenue, and at Thirty-ninth street and Normal avenue. The first two mentioned are located in portions of the Central Manufacturing District. The industry may place into a car set at the factory any number of shipments destined to all points in the country. This car is taken to the Union Freight Station, and there the shipments are transferred to the cars of the trunk lines. Full cars of freight are made up and are transferred direct to the connecting lines. The industry puts the freight into the car and the Chicago Junction Railway does the rest.

DETAILS OF OPERATION

Car shortage is always a serious problem to be met by the manufacturer and during periods such as this nation is passing through at this time, the lack of available rolling stock of railroads has been a hardship to all industries. The Chicago Junction Railway receives daily thousands of cars from the connecting lines and by reason of the large number of industries along its line it is in a far better position to supply cars than the trunk lines or other roads having fewer industries to serve. In normal times such a thing as a car shortage on the Chicago Junction Railway is rarely known. The Ashland Avenue Yard of the Chicago Junction Railway, the largest freight yard in the city, accommodates over eight thousand cars. Over seventy engines are in service to take care of the necessary switching. The Chicago Junction is a freight specialist exclusively, no passenger cars passing over its lines to interfere with the rapid handling and despatch of freight.

CHICAGO JUNCTION SERVICE

A resumé of the foregoing explanation of Chicago Junction service brings out the following salient facts:

(1) By transferring carload shipments direct to trunk lines and not through an intermediate road.

(2) By transferring less than carload shipments direct to trunk lines and not by teams to the various freight houses. Teams are delayed on account of the congested traffic in the down town streets.

(3) By having inbound carload shipments consigned direct to the Chicago Junction Railway, and not having them held up by the trunk lines at their outside freight yards.

(4) By elimination of all teaming and trunking expense to trunk line freight houses for outgoing less-than-carload shipments.

Any one of the foregoing reasons is sufficient argument why an industry should locate on Junction tracks. Junction service includes them all.

The Chicago Junction Railway serves a large section of the central portion of Chicago; in fact, every pound of freight entering and leaving the Union Stock Yards by rail passes over Junction tracks. The packers have perishable goods and require rapid despatch and careful handling, and the products of other industries go forward in the same trains.

The manufacturer contemplating a new location for his industry must be satisfied upon these essential requirements, namely: economy in operation, rapid despatch of his products to meet or beat his competitors' deliveries; easy access to and from the business section of Chicago, attractive surroundings, conveniences of banking, mail, express and the inner man, and close proximity to abundant labor supply. The Central Manufacturing District supplies all these needs. The saving of actual money has been proved in every instance of a new industry locating in the District.

CHARACTER OF BUILDINGS AND SURROUNDINGS

An investigation of this Central Manufacturing District impresses one with the fact that the class of buildings erected in this territory are as fine a group of manufacturing buildings as will be found anywhere. A prominent official of the Board of Fire Underwriters of Chicago once remarked that "the buildings now constructed and being constructed in the Central Manufacturing District are the best group of manufacturing buildings constructed, from a fire insurance standpoint, in the city." Rates as low as six cents per one hundred dollars are in force. The fire protection is sufficient, hydrants being placed at every point where necessary and several fire stations are within a short distance of the District.

The pleasant grass plots with flowers and shrubbery show that the industries in the Central Manufacturing District are aesthetic in their tastes and look well after the attractiveness of their surroundings. Why should not this be so when a man spends one-third of his time at his place of business?

The Central Manufacturing District Club organized and opened in October, 1912, also tends to give tone to the District and comfort and convenience to the business men located there. This club has a membership of nearly two hundred and fifty, and in its design and furnishings is the equal of any mid-day luncheon club in the city. Here business men of the District gather at noon and renew or strengthen acquaintances, all of which tends to bring the industries into a close and more compact unit for the good of all. The club removes the necessity of having to entertain friends and customers at down town clubs and restaurants, thus saving considerable time in the day's work.

Another important feature of the Central Manufacturing District is the bank which bears its name, an institution under state supervision, with $250,000 capital stock, and at this time having deposits of over two and one-half millions of dollars and total resources of nearly $3,000,000. This bank, located at 1112

West Thirty-fifth street in the same building with the club, was organized for the convenience of District industries and long ago demonstrated its importance in District development. In addition to the Central Manufacturing District Bank, there are several other prominent banking institutions located conveniently to the District.

THE NEW CENTRAL MANUFACTURING DISTRICT

What has been said heretofore applies to all the property of the Central Manufacturing District, but especially of interest is the development of the newer and more recently acquired area lying west of Ashland avenue. To the older residents of Chicago this property will be more clearly recognized under the names of the original owners, namely, the Wilshire, Beers, Laflin and Sexton Estates.

This new territory has recently been added to the Central Manufacturing District and as the development of the original District was remarkable in its growth, so the development plans adopted for this new section is most daring in conception and comprehensive in detail, entailing as it does the ultimate expenditure of over twenty million dollars for buildings and improvements, with a most unique centralization of facilities.

One of the first acts of the new owners was to secure the construction of an enormous sewer from Ashland avenue to Robey street, and, with completion, authority to fill in the old channel of "Bubbly Creek." Thousands of carloads of filling have now been dumped and the work of filling is, at this time, nearly completed. Chicago will profit immensely from this development for the opening up of this tract of industrial land which will provide adequate locations and facilities for numerous industries.

The initial construction work undertaken in this new territory consists of an immense warehouse for Montgomery Ward and Co., who found their facilities at Chicago avenue bridge inadequate; Cross Roy and Saunders, for whom the trustees erected a large cold storage warhouse; and the Central Power and Sprinkler Plant. All of these improvements are centered at the junction of West Thirty-ninth and Robey streets.

The entire Central Manufacturing District organization focused its efforts upon a general development plan for the improvement of this new District. This plan involved engineering, architectural and industrial details, entailing the laying out of a comprehensive system of railroad track and car storage yards, extensive street improvements, the bringing in of new sewer and water lines, the planning of intercepting tunnel systems for freight and ultility purposes, all with a view to utilizing the property with the least possible wasting of ground, and at the same time providing the maximum in facilities for future industries. As industry after industry had been located in the older portion of the District, each building with its individual heating and sprinkler system and electric power service, the desirability of a Central Plant furnishing all of these conveniences became more and more apparent. Therefore, this matter received the first consideration and the new plan embodies a Central Power Plant as one of the principal features.

SUMMARY OF PLAN

Briefly summarized this plan includes the following major essentials:

(1) A Central Power Plant, from which steam for heat and manufacturing purposes, and electric power for light and power, will be distributed to every building in this new District thus eliminating expensive and objectionable heating and power plants at individual buildings.

(2) A Central Sprinkler Plant and Tower, from which every building is sprinkled, the water being distributed through the utility tunnels, thus eliminating unsightly sprinkler tanks and expensive pumps at individual buildings.

(3) Central Union Freight Stations, operated by the Chicago Junction Railway Company, at which "less-than-carload" freight will be handled for all Chicago trunk lines. At present these stations will handle only outbound freight from cars, team or tunnel. Later it is planned to handle and distribute inbound freight, this feature being delayed by war conditions.

(4) Standardized lots, to accommodate most economical building units, eliminating waste of ground and giving ideal arrangements of improvements and facilities, with free accessibility.

(5) Standardized buildings, of either concrete or heavy mill construction, of attractive pressed brick and terra cotta exteriors, of uniform standard floor areas of 30,000 or 32,000 square feet per floor, provided with ample high speed elevators and the most modern plumbing, lighting, heating and sprinkler equipment. It is expected that the majority of the contemplated buildings will be six stories and basement in height, and every building will have steel sash lighting, ample shipping platforms, with individual switch tracks, and adequate driveways. The interior arrangement of the buildings will include many construction features that have been developed through years of experience in the older portion of the District. Some eighty of these standard buildings will ultimately be constructed with nearly 10,000,000 square feet of floor area.

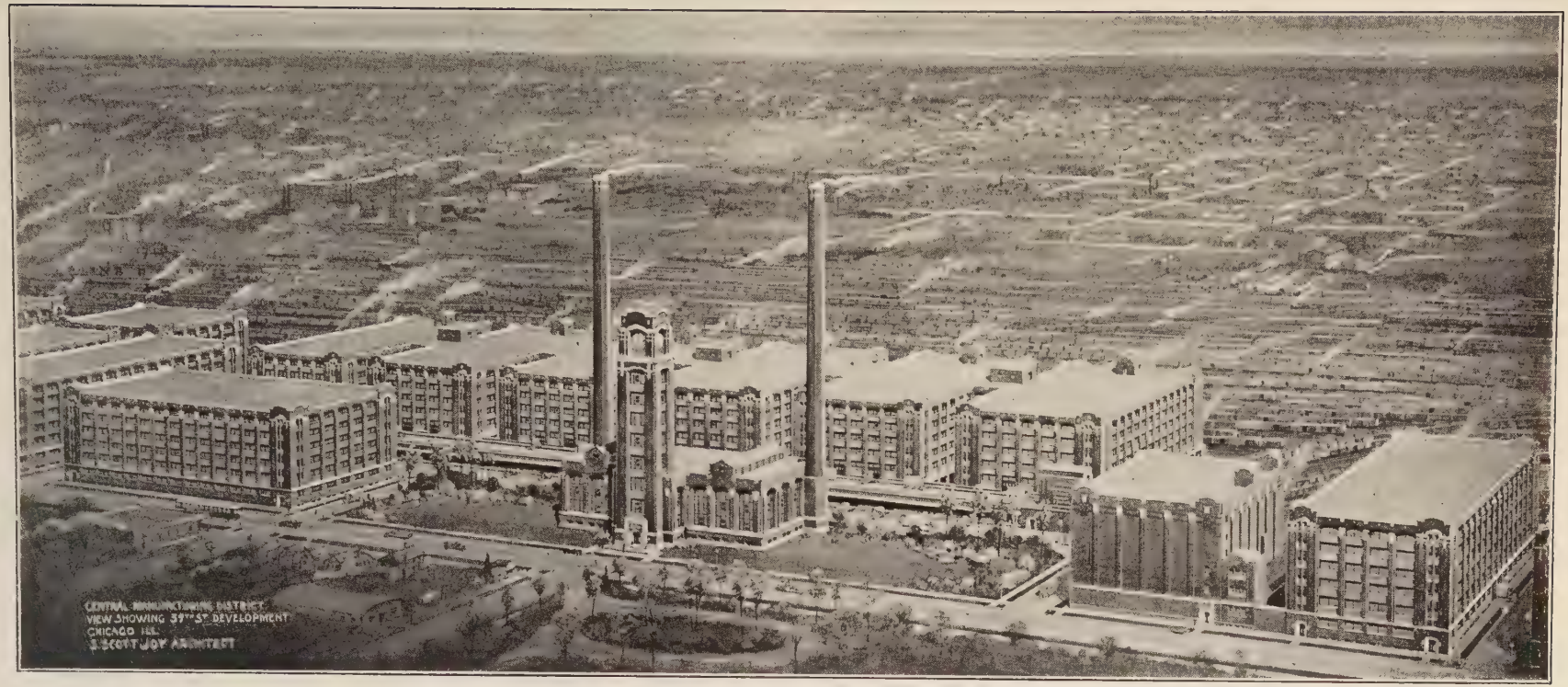
(6) A comprehensive railroad track arrangement, giving private switch tracks for every building unit, with direct connections to principal lead and yard tracks of the Chicago Junction Railway, all designed to avoid congestion and expedite the movement of freight.

(7) Concrete traffic tunnels, 16 feet wide and 8 feet high, connecting all buildings in the District with each other and with the Central Freight Stations. Through these tunnels will be hauled less-than-carload freight on four-wheel trucks by "Mercury" electric tractors, this service supplementing the switching service above the ground.

(8) Concrete utility tunnels, 7 feet high and 6 feet wide, connecting the Central Power Plant with all buildings in the new District. Through these tunnels steam, water and other utilities will be distributed to individual buildings.

(9) Standardized streets paved with vitrified brick, with most comprehensive water and sewer systems underneath, with cement sidewalks, grass parkways, fire hydrants and street lights.

The general plan contemplates the most pleasing and practical environment for all building units, particular attention having been paid to the proper spacing of buildings for the best lighting and insurance protection and to



BIRDSEYE VIEW OF NEW CENTRAL MANUFACTURING DISTRICT, SHOWING A PORTION OF 39TH STREET DEVELOPMENT AS IT WILL LOOK WHEN COMPLETED

Central Power and Sprinkler Plant appears in the center with the Central Freight Station and Montgomery Ward & Co. buildings in the rear

matters of ventilation, sanitation and drainage. Within the buildings attractive entrances are contemplated, with suitable office space to meet the requirements of individual tenants.

CENTRAL POWER PLANT

The Central Power Plant of this new District has been made one of the attractive architectural features of the District, and is located in the exact center of the Thirty-ninth street frontage at Robey street. This gives one-half mile each way for the distribution of steam, water and electric products through the underground utility tunnels. The Central Power Plant has been designed in three sections, two of these sections being 79 feet by 88 feet, 6 inches; and the middle section 95 feet by 88 feet, 6 inches. The two end sections will contain the boilers and the center section will contain generators and other electrical equipment. The completed building will be 255 feet long by 88 feet, 6 inches wide; the exterior walls being of pressed brick, trimmed with terra cotta and having extensive steel sash windows to give maximum of daylight. The building is over four stories in height, and with the Monitor roof construction and the two pressed brick chimneys trimmed with terra cotta, each 256 feet high, makes a most impressive central unit for the general plan. The first of the three sections has now been completed.

The completed plant will contain sixteen boilers with a maximum capacity of 20,000 H. P. The coal bunkers will have a full capacity of 1,700 tons of coal, equal to a train load of 35 cars.

CENTRAL SPRINKLER PLANT

Located at the head of Robey street, facing north on Thirty-ninth street, in the exact frontage between Ashland and Western avenues, is the new Tower and Sprinkler building, from which water for fire protection purposes will be distributed through the utility tunnel system to every building in the new district. This building is 40 feet by 40 feet in ground area and contains eight floors and basement. An automatic electric high-speed elevator has been installed in the building, making these floors most attractive for office and light manufacturing use. At the top of the tower are two gigantic steel water tanks, one nesting in the other, each tank having a capacity of 125,000 gallons of water, thereby giving a total fire protection storage water supply of 250,000 gallons. These tanks are entirely enclosed in brick and terra cotta, and on each of the four sides of the Tower, near the top, is a large clock face, each nearly 13 feet in diameter and lighted by electricity. Within the circle of the clock figures is the seal of the Central Manufacturing District in color.

CENTRAL MANUFACTURING DISTRICT FREIGHT STATION AND LOFT BUILDING

The largest and most important of all the buildings contemplated under the new general plan is the Central Manufacturing District Freight Station and Loft Building, located at Thirty-ninth and Robey streets, directly behind the

Central Power Station. This building will eventually comprise six units, each six stories and basement in height, and the total size of the contemplated building will be 900 feet long by 275 feet wide. The total floor area of the completed building, including track space inside of the building, will be over thirty-five acres. Four of the six units have now been completed and the two additional units will be added later, as necessity may arise. The entire building when complete will, it is believed, be the largest concrete warehouse building in the world.

The four units comprising the portion of the building just completed have a ground area of 590 feet in length by 275 feet in width, and each unit is 125 feet wide by 240 feet long. All the basement space under the center and north platforms is later intended to be used for the handling of freight to and from the freight house floors above, through the tunnel system which connects all buildings with the basement space in this building. Electric escalators will later be provided for conveying truck loads of freight to the shipping platforms and the basement tunnels.

Within the building, at the first floor level, are ten railroad tracks, each 850 feet long which will later be extended to serve the two additional units when built. These tracks will be used for the transportation of less-than-carload freight from the Union Freight Station, which is to be operated in the building by the Chicago Junction Railway Company.

INTERESTING DETAILS

The details of these units are many, but briefly the following facts are interesting: Each floor is 125 feet by 240 feet, separated by 30-foot transverse light courts, but connected by wide bridges. Each room contains 30,000 square feet of space. There are twenty of these rooms in the four units. Four 5,000-pound capacity electric elevators, capable of running 400 feet per minute, serve these floors from the inbound carload platform on the first floor. In addition there are six elevators in the shipping courts. The total space enclosed in these four units amounts to 12,500,000 cubic feet, or an area of 870,500 square feet (not including track space). The building is of reinforced concrete slab construction throughout with floors of flat slab type. The entire building is supported on floating foundations with the exception of a portion of the south side of the buildings which extends out into old Bubbly Creek and here concrete piles were used. The floor loading capacities are: 1st floor, 250 lbs. live load to the square foot; 2nd floor, 350 lbs.; 3rd floor, 300 lbs.; 4th, 5th and 6th floors, 250 lbs. each.

As indicative of the huge volume of materials and equipment required for the four units of this building, the following statistical tabulation is of interest:

Total floor area, including track space	23 acres
Total cubical contents	13,617,000 cu. ft.
Building started—March 1, 1917.	
Building occupied—October 1, 1917.	
Reinforcing steel used (2,400 tons)	1,750 miles

Pipe used	47	miles
Electric wiring	20	miles
Glass area	1¾	acres
Total candle power of lighting	250,000	c. p.
Elevators	14	
Total lifting capacity of elevators	82,000	lbs.
Total Common Brick	2,500,000	
Total Pressed Brick	1,000,000	
Terra Cotta	376	tons
Buggy loads concrete	25,000	
Square feet finished floor surface	803,000	
Rail in tracks	100	tons
Lumber	3,000,000	ft.
Electrical conduit	100.000	ft.
Average number men employed	600	
Total man hours employed	1,000,000	
Carloads of Material Handled:		
Excavation	1,000	cars
Brick	230	cars
Crushed stone	1,330	cars
Sand	560	cars
Cement	280	cars
Reinforcing steel	100	cars
Pipe and conduit	65	cars
Lumber	250	cars
Rail and track material	30	cars
Filling	6,500	cars
Equipment and miscellaneous	100	cars
Street material	55	cars
Total	10,500	cars
Total estimated warehouse storage capacity	105,000,000	lbs.
Estimated tonnage to be shipped to and from buildings per year	630,000,000	lbs.
Average shipping per hour	259,000	lbs.

The five upper floors of the entire building, the entire north second floor driveway and the entire south platform, a total of 660,540 square feet, were leased by the trustees of the District to Montgomery Ward and Company for a term of twenty-five years. Hardly had Ward and Company started to move in, however, when the Quartermaster's Department of the United States Government requistioned one-half of this space and immediately filled it with supplies for the army. In addition, the Government arranged to take over from the trustees of the District all of the basement space, a large portion of the freight station space, and a large area of temporary space secured by flooring over a portion of the tracks on the first floor. This gives the Government a total of 443,980 square feet of space in this building and with the other build-

ings now occupied by the Quartermaster and Ordnance Departments, the Government has over 1,500,000 square feet of floor space on Chicago Junction tracks. The architect of these buildings was S. Scott Joy, District Architect, now commissioned a Major in the Cantonment Division of the U. S. army.

NEW GOVERNMENT WAREHOUSES

As has been stated above the Quartermaster Corps of the U. S. army now occupy over 1,500,000 square feet of floor space on the tracks of the Chicago Junction Railway. Recently the Secretary of War approved the construction in Chicago of additional warehouses for the Quartermaster Corps to contain approximately 400,000 square feet of space. The land of the Central Manufacturing District at Thirty-ninth street and Ashland avenue, served by the Chicago Junction Railway, was selected by the authorities in Washington upon the recommendation of the Commanding Quartermaster Colonel in Chicago, and on December 12, 1917, ground was broken for three one-story buildings of brick, tile and mill construction, each building being 96 feet by 1,325 feet, with five switch tracks serving the buildings. These buildings were rapidly constructed, and although work was greatly hindered by the heaviest fall of snow and by the coldest weather Chicago has experienced in years, the buildings were turned over to the Government soon after February 1, 1918. In fact one of the buildings was occupied about fifteen days earlier.

For years, Chicago had made strong efforts to secure a permanent warehouse for the storage and distribution of Government supplies, and with the inceasing requirements for storage space by the Quartermaster Corps at Chicago, it became absolutely necessary to have a building of a permanent character. At the recommendation of the Depot Quartermaster in Chicago, with this in view, the Quartermaster General, through the Cantonment Division at Washington approved the purchase of a tract of land in the Central Manufacturing District and the erection thereon for the Government of a large permanent, concrete warehouse in addition to the temporary ones above described. Halsey E. Poronto, Industrial Agent for the Trustees of the District , was largely responsible for the locating of this permanent ware house in Chicago.

Not only does Chicago secure the recognition it has long sought of its importance as a center of procurement and distribution, but it obtains at the same time, one of the largest and most important army depots in the country, housed in what is said will be the largest concrete warehouse building in the world. Construction work has already been started and the building will be complete on or about October 1, 1918. The building, when completed, will cost approximately $3,000,000. S. Scott Joy, architect, has drawn the plans for this building. For this purpose the Government purchased from the Trustees of the Central Manufacturing District a tract of land on Thirty-ninth street in the new portion of the District, having a frontage of 605 feet on Thirty-ninth street and a depth of 500 feet, containing a total of 302,500 square feet. The building will be six stories and basement, constructed in two units, and will contain a total of over 1,200,000 square feet of floor space, or an enclosed space of 18,000,000 cubic feet. It is possible that a third unit may be added later containing 400,000 square feet additional. These units will have almost fifty per cent more floor area than the

recently completed large District loft building now occupied by Montgomery Ward & Company and the United States Quartermaster Corps. The construction is to be of brick, terra cotta and reinforced concrete, each unit to be 276 by 324 feet, with 90,000 square feet of floor space on each floor, divided into three fire sections of 30,000 square feet each. Four railroad tracks of the Chicago Junction Railway enter the first floor of each unit and along these tracks run wide shipping platforms, served by ten high-speed freight elevators of large capacity.

The two units of the building are separated by a 48-foot paved courtway for light and ventilation. In this courtway are located the teaming areas, protected by canopies with platforms projecting under the second floors and adjoining the elevator groups. The railroad tracks will have a combined capacity of 65 freight cars at each setting. The two units are connected on each floor by adequate passageways for freight and foot traffic. The building is fully provided with sprinklers, plumbing, and heating and lighting equipment. The building will be connected by tunnels with the Central Power Plant of the District and sprinkler service will be furnished. Tunnel connection will also be provided between this building and the Union Freight Station of all roads, operated by the Chicago Junction Railway at Thirty-ninth and Robey streets, for the handling of the large volume of less-carload freight and express. This freight will be handled by four-wheel trucks hauled by Mercury electric tractors. Each floor of the building will have a minimum carrying capacity of 300 pounds per square foot.

The general design of the buildings in the Central Manufacturing District has been simple and plain, but enough architectural beauty has been given each building to make it pleasing to the eye. Standardization has been carefully watched and the result is that all the buildings present a uniform alignment and appearance. The buildings are either of heavy mill or concrete construction, and the standard Central Manufacturing District pressed brick has been adopted in the construction of nearly every building. Nearly two hundred industries, manufacturing and warehousing of varied lines of merchandise, have found homes in this industrial center of Chicago.

The Central Manufacturing District Magazine is published monthly and contains items of news in and about the District, building progress and articles on current subjects by men of prominence, and in every way is an up to date magazine of interest not only to the District industries but to others who are interested in the industrial development of the country. The mailing list includes approximately 3,500 names and the circulation of the magazine is wide spread.

The Central Manufacturing District also distributes maps and literature descriptive of the District and the Chicago Junction Railway, and its operating offices will be glad to furnish information to any who desire it by addressing the office of the Central Manufacturing District, First National Bank Building, Chicago.

CHAPTER XX

REVIEW OF PRICES AND WAGES

THE YEAR 1917 IN BUSINESS—PRESENT WAR CONDITIONS—NATIONAL FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS—EFFECTS OF WAR ON INDUSTRIES—PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE—CHICAGO A GREAT CENTRAL MARKET—CONDENSED STATISTICS—BUSINESS AND WAR ECONOMIES URGED—WAR LOANS—WAR NECCESSITIES—THE PRESIDENT'S CALL TO COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY—HISTORICAL REVIEW OF PRICES—VALUES IN THE EARLY DAY—CHARACTER OF THE EARLY SETTLERS—EARLY CHICAGO DAYS—SCARCITY OF BUILDING MATERIAL—DEPRECIATED CURRENCY—COUNTERFEITERS—PRICES IN CIVIL WAR PERIOD—PRICES AND WAGES COMPARED—PRESENT CONDITION OF WAGE EARNERS—THE CHICAGO PLAN—CHARLES H. WACKER'S EFFICIENT SERVICES—DETAILS OF PLAN—THE PARK SYSTEM UTILIZED—GREAT FREIGHT TERMINALS—THE CIVIC CENTER—GRANT PARK AND THE FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

THE YEAR 1917 IN BUSINESS

The Chicago Association of Commerce through its Civic Industrial committee prepared a review early in 1918, summarizing the business of the previous year. A few paragraphs are quoted from this interesting review, which was published in the Chicago Evening Post of January 19th, 1918.

"Chicago could ask no greater blessing for the new year than to be favored with the same measure of good fortune that has marked the old. Unexampled prosperity has characterized business as a whole during 1917. Estimates made by the association's industrial bureau printed last week and recording a total of $2,325,914,000 in manufactures, show an increase of $550,000,000 in production over 1916. New industries have been established, existing industries have expanded, but more than in past years prosperity has been due to the manner in which manufacturers and commercial institutions have met undreamed-of demands for production.

"War has brought an enormous growth in the nation's export business. The wide range of household utilities, chemicals, industrial apparatus and general merchandise, formerly supplied by the central powers, no longer enter the world market. With all Europe engaged in conflict, America has been permitted to secure a great part of this business. Before the war not more than one per cent of American manufacturers had any export business. Now it is estimated that 20 to 25 per cent of our manufacturers have a regular export trade. South American trade offers an illustration of the commercial benefits the United States has obtained since the beginning of the world war. The total sales to

South American purchasers during the year was in excess of $300,000,000, an increase of $100,000,000 over 1916.

"Embargoes, trade restrictions and lack of tonnage are factors which may reduce this business during the coming year, but it is believed that the connections established by American business houses will be able to stand strong competition following the war."

The value of Chicago's imports for 1917 was $5,665,865, but large as this figure appears the amount is only one-half the imports of the year 1916, so unusual were the conditions through which the country has been passing. At the same time it "indicates," concludes the committee review, "that we are becoming more economically independent."

FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS MET

"Financially, Chicago, in common with the rest of the country, has successfully passed through the most unusual year in the history of the nation," continues the review. "Our banking system has met a test that the most optimistic leaders never believed was possible. Two immense bond issues, one for $2,000,000,000 and one for $3,808,766,150, have been absorbed by the American people within one year. It may be recalled that before the first $2,000,000,000 Liberty Loan was subscribed the opinion was expressed that the public could not absorb more than $1,000,000,000 at one time without unbalancing our financial institutions.

"The impossible was accomplished because our Federal Reserve banking system, when put to the test, worked successfully; because the American public gave a splendid example of loyalty and co-operation, and because our natural resources proved equal to the strain. It is now a matter of pride to record that in this work Chicago demonstrated the spirit of its motto."

While the demand for land upon which to erect factories and warehouses has been large, the actual construction work on buildings has been less than the average for previous years, owing to the enhanced cost of building materials and labor. "For perhaps the first time in its history Chicago finds itself with practically no vacant factories." But it is believed that the high range of prices for building materials will not long continue to prevent new constructions from being undertaken. For while there is no doubt that building requirements are not being adequately met the outlook should be viewed with equanimity. Many large concerns already need larger facilities, and as prosperous conditions continue, the number will increase. The announcement frequently accompanying the purchase of industrial sites that construction will be deferred for the present simply means that the concerns in question are not yet accustomed to the new building costs.

"The time is fast coming when those who need to expand cannot longer put off construction, and once construction is started others will be encouraged to follow the example set. All this may mean higher rentals and higher cost of doing business, but when once the public understands that lower building costs cannot be expected during the war and for years thereafter, and that pre-war prices will probably never again prevail, then it is certain that building will return to its own."

THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

"The iron and steel industry has probably been called upon by the government to contribute a larger share toward winning the war than any other line of business. Immediately after war was declared producers met representatives of the government, disclosed their costs of production and agreed upon the fixing of prices which would allow a fair profit. Every demand for increased production has been met, although this has often entailed expansion of plant equipment for which there will be but little use after the war is over. Locally, it is estimated that the production of steel mills in the Chicago district has reached the figure of $400,000,000 during the last year. The production of steel furnaces for the entire country is said to have increased 3,000,000 tons during the last year."

PRODUCE AND LUMBER TRADE

"Chicago's produce trade for 1917 was greater in value and volume than ever before. The value is given at $269,280,000, an increase of 5 per cent over 1916, while the total tonnage showed a similar gain. The city maintained its standard as the greatest produce distributing center of the nation. Prices for butter, eggs, cheese and poultry reached new higher levels, while vegetables were in general lower in price. A large potato crop, as well as activities of individual growers, has resulted in lower prices. The figure of $3.10 per bushel in June has been steadily reduced to $1 to $1.15 per bushel during the last three months. Unfavorable weather conditions made higher prices for all fruits.

"The city's lumber trade established new records for the year 1917. Receipts by rail and water were 3,349,000,000 feet, an increase of 332,000,000 feet over the previous high record of 1916. Shipments from Chicago also reached record-breaking proportions, totaling 1,485,000,000 feet, a gain of 92,000,000 feet over the high mark set in 1916. The greatest difficulty now confronting the lumber interests is the need of added transportation facilities."

TRADE PROSPECTS FOR THE YEAR 1918

A special invitation on behalf of the industrial, financial and wholesale interests of Chicago was extended to visitors from all parts of the country at the beginning of the year 1918, in the form of a circular issued by the Chicago Association of Commerce. "Back of the trade facilities of the great central market," said the address, "are the industrial, commercial and financial resources of the world's fourth city. Chicago has more than ten thousand factories. It is the distributing center of the United States with wholesale trade of two billions of dollars a year. Chicago is the financial metropolis of the West, and the world's foremost transportation center."

Visitors are urged to become acquainted with the vast variety of features offered by the city for their amusement and instruction, and for their advantage in serving their own trade needs. "Winter or summer, spring or fall, Chicago is a city of surpassing attractions. Theatres among the finest in America offer the best the stage produces. Winter sports are to be enjoyed in

public parks and amusement places. Music, lectures, art galleries, libraries,—the facilities of a world metropolis for entertainment and instruction,—are yours to utilize. Hotels, restaurants and shops reflects the life of a great city."

A survey of recent conditions is made by the writer which vividly outlines the importance of this city as a center of great business and industrial activities. "Never has there been more substantial proof of Chicago's right to the title, 'The Great Central Market,' than in these last two years of stress in merchandising, occasioned by war. Now that our government has taken over the operation of the railways and other systems of transportation, Chicago, the very hub of transportation by rail and water, becomes at once the pivot of supply, in very truth the Great Central Market. In the past Chicago has met every emergency. In a period of serious shortages she has proved over and over her supremacy as the retail merchant's source of supply. How much more true is this today with Chicago at the helm of transportation! Chicago the commercial and industrial center of our country; its commissary, its treasure-box, its convention city, commands power that makes it a leader in commercial progress and a factor in business education."

A RAPID REVIEW OF STATISTICS

In order to realize the present conditions one must pause and consider the rapid and substantial growth of Chicago during the eighty years of its existence as an incorporated city. Beginning its career in 1837 with a population of 4,170, after having gradually developed from a frontier trading post during the hundred and sixty-four years which had elapsed since the discovery of its site in 1673, it suddenly began to grow by leaps and bounds as soon as its vast material advantages came to be realized. In 1850 Chicago was a city of 28,000 inhabitants. (We omit the odd hundreds as a table of population appears elsewhere in this work.) In 1860, the year before the Civil War, the city had grown to 109,000; in 1870, the year before the Chicago fire, it was 299,000; ten years later (in 1880) it had grown to 503,000; in 1890 to 1,100,000; in 1900, to 1,698,000; in 1910, to 2,185,000; and at the present time (1917) its population is given by the publishers of the city directory as 2,652,000.

When Chicago was incorporated its area was a fraction over ten square miles. In 1863 it had been extended to 24 square miles; in 1889, to 170; and at the present time it has an area of a fraction over 200 square miles. The city limits in 1837 were as follows: From Lake Michigan west along Center street to North Clark street, south to North avenue, west to Wood street, south to Twenty-second street and east to the lake.

The length of the city, from north to south is twenty-six miles; its average width is nine miles; its latitude is 41 degrees, 53 minutes, 6 seconds, north; its longitude 87 degrees, 38 minutes, 1 second, west; its elevation above sea level 600 feet; its elevation above Lake Michigan 19 feet.

There were in Chicago, according to the last census, 246,744 dwellings, occupied by 476,141 families. This shows that there is an average of nearly two families (1.92 per cent) occupying each dwelling. Each family according to the census is composed of an average of 4.6 per cent of persons. This corresponds in general with the averages found in many large cities. But the of-

ficial figures are made up by considering that any building, apartment house, hotel, cabin, or warehouse, "where one or more persons reside," is a "dwelling." Such a rule of course increases the average in most cases of occupants of dwellings as defined in the census reports.

BUSINESS AND WAR

At a meeting of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association in December, 1917, Mr. Samuel M. Hastings, the president, made an inspiring statement to the active spirits there assembled, as follows: "In business or war," he said in reference to the great world war in which we are engaged, "the men of Illinois will always be found at their posts, ready to do their duty. Conservation of food, material and man power is absolutely necessary to be preserved to win the war. The keynote to success is cooperation—cooperation between employer and employe, between government and business, between banker and borrower, between railroads and shippers, the government and their employes." With these words Mr. Hastings introduced Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, the guest of the association, whose address throughout was an inspiration to action on the part of the group of manufacturers present.

Some passages from Mr. Vanderlip's address have a permanent value worthy of a place in a work of this kind, written, as it is, in the midst of great historic events transpiring in "this grand and awful time." "I know of no one, no body of men," he said, "who ought to be able better to recognize something of the problems of the war, something of the task that this Nation is up against, than a group of manufacturers. This war, as no other war ever was, is a war of equipment, it is a war of the workshops, it is a war of industry, of organization, of man power. No other war ever had such a position as that in relation to industry, and you ought to be able to grasp, know something of the state of our unpreparedness, know something of the vast amount of things we have got to do, and you, as manufacturers, ought to have some comprehension of that problem. We have been used to measuring it in dollars. . . . Even looking at it still as dollars it is hard to grasp. We have had nothing in our country that would give us a precedent for understanding what so many billion dollars mean."

When it is realized that Congress has recently appropriated nineteen billions of dollars, for ourselves and our Allies, and that a very substantial part of it must come out of the workshops, we begin to understand the size of the problem. In 1914 the value of every manufactured thing made in America was $24,300,000,000. "And now," he continued, "we want a substantial part of nineteen billion dollars turned out for something new, something entirely out of the range of what we have been doing." "We are a rich country. We have wealth to the value of $250,000,000,000, we are told. But what is it? It is farms; houses and shops. It is all the instruments of production, and transportation, and distribution, but we cannot fight this war with that wealth. We must fight this war with new current effort, with new things, with things now to be produced, with new man power, new raw material. . . . Well, now, can we do it? Is it possible that we can make in this country any amount of goods that will outfit this army, if this army needs nineteen billion dollars

of expenditure? Is it possible that we can turn out these goods? The blow that we will strike, the effect that we are going to have in this world's struggle, is going to be measured, first, by men, men of valor, men who will sacrifice their lives, but they alone cannot do it. They must have the equipment, they must have the guns, the aeroplanes, the uniforms, everything that goes to make up this modern army that must fight under the sea and in the air."

PERSONAL ECONOMY IN EXPENDITURES

The speaker went on to outline practical ways in which the people could relieve the government's needs. He placed personal economy in the first rank of these efforts. "Unless the people of this country," he said, "come to recognize their personal responsibility in winning this war, forego our command of things, by economizing, not from the point of view whether we can afford a thing or not, but because we know the government cannot afford to have us go into competition with it for men, workshops and material." This is a part of our war preparation. "It is not a thing to speak about as a probable theory, it is a thing to govern our own conduct, every day, so that we can give to the government the right of way for the greatest manufacturing job that was ever undertaken in the world."

The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized by Congress in 1917 to issue two billion dollars' worth of "War Savings Certificates." The details as worked out were that for an investment of a fraction over four dollars a certificate for five dollars could be obtained payable by the government January 1, 1923. Under this plan the holder is to get in return for his investment four per cent compound interest, and on the completion of this loan, it will be equivalent to an average investment of twenty dollars for every individual in the United States. "It is the most important financial operation that we have ever known, prior to the two Liberty Loans," said Mr. Vanderlip. Commenting upon the proposal to issue the loan in the form of war certificates, President Wilson said in effect that he believed there would be some by-products of the war which would go a long way towards recompensing us for its cost, and that if we could teach the people of this country the virtue of thrift, that alone would fully repay the effort.

"But great as I think it will be to impress upon the character of the Nation these habits of thrift," continued Mr. Vanderlip, "I think there is something much greater. I think it offers a platform from which to preach individual responsibility for winning the war through economy. I believe that we can preach from that platform the lesson that we must learn if we are going to win this war, the lesson that this war is going to search out our characters. It is going to be shown whether we have got the fabric in us that will stand self-discipline, that will make us forego the immediate desire in order that we may have something better in the future. And in this case the 'something better in the future' is not alone the earnings that we will save, but it is the absolutely essential help that we will give to the government in preparing and equipping the army so that it can get into action and have some effect on this world struggle."

COUNSELS OF WISDOM

Whatever remarks that may here be made referring to the great world war now going on as these pages are written, will be altered as to their view point before much time elapses, no doubt. But the addresses made on the notable occasion alluded to have a character of permanency which justifies their preservation even in the abbreviated form here given. Hon. Medill McCormick's address on the occasion abounded in stirring passages calculated to inspire the patriotism of every citizen whose heart is with the government in the cause of right and justice. He pointed out that the problems confronting the people were "not merely military, they are equally industrial and political." "America," he continued, "must put forth efforts unmeasured even in her dreams. She must make sacrifices which will exalt her to the level of her sisters; if we of this century would secure for America peace, security, liberty,—nay, even more precious than this, if we would transmit to our sons and to still unbegotten generations the spiritual heritage acquired, preserved and bequeathed us by our sires, we must each impart to the common government of all something of the energy by which each is moved. For, mark you this, we shall bring to bear upon the enemy, to defeat his armies and to destroy his masters the vast forces of America, only when the genius of America is gathered at Washington to muster those forces for the conflict." Reinforcing these telling sentences we find the wise conclusion of Charles Piez, vice-president and general manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, who said at Washington that the fundamental problem now is the enlistment of the "whole-hearted interest and patriotism of the workmen."

We should not forget the wise and weighty words of President Wilson in his address to his fellow countrymen soon after war had been declared in April, 1917. "The entrance of our beloved country," he said, "into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action which call for immediate consideration and settlement, that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of earnest counsel and appeal with regard to them." The President then speaks of the things that we as a people must do and "do well," without which "mere fighting would be fruitless." He then goes on to say, "We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen not only, but also for a large part of the nations with whom we have now made common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting.

"We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or no submarines, what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea, but also to clothe and support our people, for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work, to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are cooperating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw material; coal to keep the fires going in ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea; steel out of which to make arms and ammunition both here and there; rails for worn out railways back

of the fighting fronts; locomotives and rolling stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle for labor and for military service; everything with which the people of England, and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves, but cannot now afford the men, the materials, or the machinery to make.

"It is evident to every thinking man that our industries, on the farms, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories, must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever, and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and women who devote their thought and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battlefield or in the trenches. The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international, Service Army—a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the nation and the world, the efficient friends and saviors of free men everywhere."

THE DEALERS AND MIDDLEMEN

The President's charge to the men in every branch of industry, the farmers, planters, shippers, miners, dealers, and manufacturers,—from shipbuilders to the humblest shop-workers,—was very impressive. "This let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling foodstuffs or our raw materials of manufacture or the products of our mills and factories: The eyes of the country will be especially upon you. This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all others, to forego unusual profits, to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food, with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves."

Never was a clearer call, a call uttered in clarion tones to the multitudinous forces of the whole people, as that of the Nation's leader. "One blast upon his bugle horn was worth a thousand men." The response of the people is worthy of the nation to which it is addressed, and from every city and hamlet, from the coasts to the utmost confines of the country's vast extent, from its hundred millions of inhabitants, it is already seen that their will and purpose have hardened into determination which will prove to the forces of tyranny that a free people are invincible.

A REVIEW OF PRICES OF COMMODITIES

In the early days while the country was developing as the result of the activities of the pioneers, the prices of farm products were what chiefly interested the people whether they were inhabitants of the trading centers or the farmers themselves. The values of all commodities,—food for people and animals, building materials, clothing for the inhabitants,—were in the last analysis based on the products of the farm, forest or mine. Most of the matter contained in the introductory essays of the various census reports is largely

composed of discussions pertaining to the influence which is exercised on the general welfare of the inhabitants by the abundance and values of the agricultural products, the real foundations of the prosperity which they enjoy.

The basic articles of agricultural produce are the food grains for man and his domestic animals that in turn supply him with meat and the raw materials for clothing. It is essential that he should find material for his habitations for he must provide himself with shelter and warmth, and this is found in the forest tracts generally within easy reach of the land-tillers. The various mechanical industries that are needed likewise come into existence for the operations of crop production and building required by a thrifty people. Thus arises a more or less complicated system of exchanges ultimately reduced to exact values in the common currency of the country. In this way a market is created among the people themselves which is one of the most intensely interesting activities known among civilized people.

PRICES IN THE EARLY DAY

Naturally the element of transportation was a very considerable one in the prices at which articles of produce were sold. An English traveler, E. P. Fordham, writing an account of the products and prices of the country near Shawneetown in 1817, gave a general estimate of the prices of farm products, as follows: corn, 25 cents a bushel; wheat, 75 cents; oats, 37 cents; salt, 75 cents a bushel; pork, $3.50 per hundred pounds; beef, $5; maple sugar, 37 cents per pound; honey, 75 cents a gallon. He also stated that the wages of a hired man were 50 cents a day; a man with a horse, $1.00 a day; the price of a good horse was $60, a cow $20, and an ox, $12. "Shop goods," he said, "were double what they were in England." But in the different accounts there were shown to be wide fluctuations. In 1819, says Boggess, flour sold in Cincinnati at $1.37 a barrel, and pork at ten cents per pound; while corn sold at ten and twelve cents per bushel.

"In the woods," says Fordham, in his book, "there are great quantities of grapes, walnuts, hickory nuts, and persimmons." He also found an abundance of pecans, raspberries and strawberries growing wild. "Game is plentiful here as in other parts of the United States east of the Mississippi. Bear, deer, raccoons, and beaver, are chiefly valued by the hunter. There are wolves, a very few panthers, and some elk in remote situations; also turkeys, partridges, prairie hens, and innumerable squirrels. The rivers abound with fish." The salt ponds of that region also attracted the attention of the traveler. Those at the saline springs near Shawneetown, he says, yield 150,000 bushels of salt annually, worth 75 cents per bushel.

CHARACTER OF THE EARLY SETTLERS

"The people who live on these frontiers," says Fordham, "may be divided into four classes, not perfectly distinct yet easily distinguishable: First, the hunters, a daring, hardy race of men, who live in miserable cabins, which they fortify in times of war with the Indians, whom they hate but much resemble in dress and manners. They are unpolished but hospitable, kind to strangers,

honest and trustworthy. They raise a little Indian corn, pumpkins, hogs, and sometimes have a cow or two, and two or three horses belonging to each family. But their rifle is their principal means of support. They are the best marksmen in the world, and such is their dexterity that they shoot an apple off the head of a companion. Some few use bows and arrows. I have spent seven or eight weeks with these men, and have had opportunities of trying them, and I believe they would sooner give me the last shirt off their backs than rob me of a charge of powder. Their wars with the Indians have made them vindictive. This class cannot be called first settlers for they move every year or two.

"Second, the original settlers. These are a mixed set of hunters and farmers. They possess more property and comforts than the first class, yet they are a half barbarous race. They follow the frontier pretty much, selling out when the country begins to be well settled and their cattle cannot be kept in the woods. The third class is composed of enterprising men from Kentucky and the Atlantic states. This class consists of young doctors, lawyers, storekeepers, farmers, mechanics, etc., who found towns, trade, speculate in land, and begin the fabric of society. There is in this class every gradation of intellectual and moral character, but the general tone of social manners is yet too much relaxed. There is too much reliance placed upon personal prowess, and the laws have not yet acquired sufficient energy to prevent violence. Such are the inhabitants of the southern part of Indiana, and of Shawneetown, St. Louis, St. Genevieve, and the large settlements on the Mississippi.

"The fourth class consists of old settlers, rich and independent farmers, wealthy merchants, possessing a good deal of information, a knowledge of the world, and an enterprising spirit. Such are the Ohio men, Western Pennsylvanians, Kentuckians, and Tennessee men. The young men have a military taste, and most of them have served in the late war. They were great duellists, but now the laws against duelling are more strictly enforced; they carry dirks and sometimes decide a dispute on the spot. Irritable and dissipated in youth yet they are generally steady and active in manhood. They undertake with facility, and carry on with unconquerable ardor any business or speculation that promises great profit, and sustain the greatest losses with a firmness that resembles indifference." The writer argues a high degree of merit which he finds among the people of the frontier.

"You will find from this slight sketch," he continues, "which I have made as impartially as I am able, that the backwoodsmen, as they are called somewhat contemptuously by the inhabitants of the Atlantic states, are admirably adapted by nature and education for the scenes they live and act in. The prominent feature of their character is power. The young value themselves on their courage, the old on their shrewdness."

PRICES IN EARLY CHICAGO DAYS

In the thirties and forties Chicago began to be an important market for grain, pork, beef, general produce, lumber and merchandise, and farmers from the districts situated within hauling distance resorted here in rapidly increasing numbers as the country settled up. This soon resulted in large surplus quantities arriving here which during the seven months period of lake navigation

supplied a large export trade, but in the winter season prices went to so low an ebb that the farmers' produce was hardly worth bringing to market. Charles Cleaver, in his book, gives several instances of prices in the winter of 1842-3, as follows: dressed hogs, one dollar to one dollar and a quarter a hundred; lard, three and a half cents a pound; tallow, six and a quarter cents; flour, $3.50 a barrel; oats and potatoes, ten cents a bushel; eggs, four to five cents a dozen; dressed chickens and prairie hens, five cents each.

After that period, when the Michigan Central and Michigan Southern railroads made their entry into the city in 1852, the surplus of grain and all kinds of country produce was promptly sent east as fast as it arrived, making a better market for the farmers. "Previous to that time," says Cleaver, "I have seen fifty teams in a line crossing the prairie west of us with their loads of grain for Chicago. There was also another class of farmers from the south that used in a measure to supply the city with necessaries, in the shape of green and dried apples, butter, hams, bacon, feathers, etc.; these men would bring their loads two or three hundred miles, camping out on the way, cooking their rasher of bacon and corn dodgers, and boiling their pot of coffee over the camp fire, sleeping in their wagons at night, and saving money enough out of their load to purchase a few bags of coffee, and the balance in salt. This was the invariable return load of all 'Hoosiers,' as we used to call all who came from southern Indiana, who arrived in great numbers in their curiously shaped covered wagons known in old times as 'prairie schooners.' I have seen numbers of their teams camped out on the dry ground east of State street, and once counted a hundred and sixty of them from the roof of Bristol and Porter's warehouse, near the corner of State and South Water streets. But now the iron horse had made its triumphant entry into the city from the east, snorting forth its volumes of steam and smoke, a blessed day indeed for the great west."

SCARCITY OF BUILDING MATERIAL

There was much trouble and difficulty in procuring the necessary timber for building purposes in the early thirties. Even the requirements for building the small houses and stores that were put up at first could scarcely be met owing to the dearth of suitable lumber for the purpose. To procure sufficient boards and framing material it was necessary to cut it from the neighboring forest of hard wood on the north side of the river, for as yet no supplies of pine lumber by lake had become available, so abundantly provided a few years later, and which caused this to be known as the greatest lumber market in the world.

Charles Cleaver arrived in 1833, and in his book describes the difficulties that were encountered in making improvements of this character. "I will now give you," he says, "some idea of the trouble and difficulties we found in providing timber and material with which to build even the small houses and stores that were put up in those early days. There were no well-filled lumber yards with an office adjoining into which you could enter and leave your order for all the different kinds wanted. The whole stock of pine lumber in the village when I came here amounted to 5,000 or 6,000 feet of boards, and that was held at $60 per thousand feet. Previous to 1833, most of the houses had been built of logs, some round, just as they came from the woods; while the more pretentious,

belonging to the officers of the army and the great men of the village, were built of hewn logs.

"There was a small saw mill run by water about five or six miles up the North Branch where they had built a dam across the stream, getting a three or four foot head of water. There was also a small steam saw mill run by Capt. Huntoon, situated a little south of Division street, at the mouth of a slough that emptied itself into the river at that point, in both of which they sawed out such timber as grew in the woods adjoining, consisting of oak, elm, poplar, white ash, etc. Of such lumber most of the houses were built, and any carpenter that has ever been compelled to use it, particularly in its green state, will appreciate its quality. In drying it will shrink, warp and twist every way, drawing out the nails, and after a summer has passed the siding will gape open letting the wind through every joint.

"Such was the stuff used for building in 1833 and 1834. Some even did worse than that, and went into the woods for their scantling, cutting down small trees and squaring one side of them with the broad axe. One of the largest houses built that winter, built by Daniel Elston, was built with that kind of material both for uprights and rafters. During the summer of 1834, the supply of pine lumber was greatly increased, and the price was much lower." But still timber continued very scarce. The heavy timber required in large buildings was pinned together by mortise and tenon. Needing a considerable quantity of it to put up a factory, Cleaver says he "found it cheaper to purchase ten acres of land, ten or twelve miles up the North Branch from which I cut the necessary logs, hauled them into the village on sleighs, and had them squared on the ground with the broad axe."

The prices of building lumber were much lower as the years elapsed. "Common inch lumber in 1837," he says, "had got to be more plentiful at $18 to $20 a thousand. I put up a building thirty by forty feet, two-story and basement, on the corner of Washington and Jefferson streets. It was the largest building on the West Side south of Lake street, and standing there alone for years it served as a beacon for many a belated traveler over the ten miles of prairie between the village and the Desplaines river. At that time it seemed a long way out of town. There was but one shanty between it and Lake street bridge, and it really seemed quite a walk over the prairie to reach it."

DEPRECIATED CURRENCY

The depreciation of the paper issues of the banks doing business throughout the western states seriously injured the prosperity and deranged the affairs of the business world, especially in the later thirties and indeed for many years thereafter. After the panic of 1837 there was not enough gold and silver in circulation to answer the needs of the people in their monetary transactions, and recourse was had to the bills freely issued by all the banks. There were so many failures constantly occurring among them that there were few but what were under suspicion, and their bills regularly subject to a discount. These precarious issues were popularly called "wild cat currency," "shinplasters," "stumptail," and a variety of other opprobrious epithets was applied to them.

To add to the embarrassments of the people in their business dealings there

appeared numerous counterfeits which found their way into circulation in large quantities. Bankers and merchants were obliged to use "safeguards," and "detectors," that is, books issued periodically giving descriptions of the genuine and spurious bills in circulation. There was published in 1858 a "bank note safeguard," describing ten thousand bank notes issued by the banks of the United States. For example, the one dollar note of the Marine Bank of Chicago is described as showing an American eagle, two mermaids, a steamship, a train of cars, besides barrels, bales, and the figures of the denomination of the bill. It was necessary to examine carefully all currency offered in payments of any kind and compare it with these printed descriptions.

WILES OF THE COUNTERFEITERS

The counterfeiters did not take the trouble to imitate the engraving of the bill in every case, they simply made a set of designs to fill the space on the bill, and easily found opportunities for passing them upon the unsuspecting. They also took genuine bills and "raised" the denominations. In fact the work done on the spurious currency was often superior to that found on the regular issues. "The paper money of the United States," it is said in the introduction to one of the publications referred to, "is of such infinite varieties of design and execution that the artful and accomplished counterfeiter can impose upon and defy the perceptions of the great majority of the people." These frequent and cruel impositions so repeatedly practiced upon honest and credulous persons by the rogues engaged in these criminal activities resulted in heavy losses to the public, but the culprits usually escaped detection and punishment.

But in the general turmoil of failing banks and the vast amount of unredeemable paper currency left by them in the hands of the public there were a few institutions that rigidly made good their obligations and won a high standing in the community. One of these institutions, the Wisconsin Marine & Fire Insurance Co., of Milwaukee, though it was not strictly speaking a bank at all, and was even prohibited under its charter from exercising the functions of a bank, yet established and retained a reputation for square and fair dealings in all its transactions. George Smith was the guiding spirit of this institution and instead of bills it issued "certificates of deposit" which circulated everywhere in the west. The certificates were always redeemed promptly in specie without delay whenever they were presented and they were eagerly sought for by the business community. For nearly a dozen years this company furnished Chicago and vicinity almost the only paper currency which was redeemed in specie when it was required. Smith's integrity in money transactions has become a standard tradition in the history of the city.

In 1853, the Wisconsin Fire & Marine Insurance Co. was legalized under the banking laws of Wisconsin, and eventually completed a long record of honorable public service and became the possessor of a good name on all continents. Mr. Smith had become closely identified with the real estate interests of Chicago soon after his arrival here in 1834. His investments were generally successful and during and after his experience in Milwaukee he established the first legitimately conducted bank in Chicago. William Bross, in a lecture, spoke of Smith's "consummate prudence and great financial ability" which won for him "the re-

spect and confidence of the whole community." A princely fortune rewarded him and his associates as the result of their various transactions, "but," said Bross, "the benefit to the community has been equally great."

PRICES IN THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD

The great expansion of agriculture in the western states was stimulated in a remarkable degree by the high prices prevailing during the period of the Civil War. "There can be little doubt," says the report printed in the Eighth Census, "that the war is destined to make a great change in our agriculture. Farming never was so remunerative as at the present time. Prices have increased to a figure never before reached in this country. Everything that the farmer can raise is in demand at rates which are highly remunerative." A glance at the prices of agricultural products during the war period will convince one that the farmers were easily able to pay off old debts which had accumulated for many years of hard times. In the Report of Agriculture for 1866, it is said: "The agricultural condition of the northern states was never more flourishing. High prices, accessible markets and crops of average abundance have insured good profits, and as a result mortgages have been paid, farm buildings erected, permanent improvements accomplished, farm implements and machinery obtained and in thousands of instances a surplus invested in government funds." But after the war a reaction set in, especially during the seventies. The government's irredeemable paper currency, one of the evil results of the great civil war strain, affected prices, first in showing inflation due to the currency depreciation, and again in declining prices as the currency increased in value and its eventual par value.

A table is given below showing a range of prices on a few leading articles for certain periods from 1861 to 1878, quoted from the "American Almanac" for 1880:

	1861	1864	1867	1871	1874	1878
Mess Beef, per bbl	$ 6.25	$16.00	$28.00	$18.00	$11.50	$13.50
Mess Pork, per bbl	18.00	43.25	24.10	23.00	24.25	13.00
Wheat, per bushel	1.60	2.75	3.40	2.00	1.35	1.31
Flour, per bbl	5.65	11.75	11.30	7.00	7.00	5.50
Corn, per bushel	.74	1.97	1.40	.90	.84	.60
Oats, per bushel	.47	1.02	.94	.70	.53	.45
Wool, per pound	.45	1.10	.37	.63	.48	.33

PRICES AND WAGES

At the end of 1863, after prices had been rising on living necessities almost two years, it was realized by the wage-earning class that while prices had increased from sixty to one hundred per cent, wages on the other hand had lagged far behind in the general advance. "The winter of 1863-4 and the ensuing months," says Professor Fite in his book, "Social and Industrial Conditions During the Civil War," "were accordingly a time of unusual industrial unrest, which increased in severity as the discrepancy between wages and prices continued. A dollar was slowly but surely diminishing in value, and labor engaged in a determined struggle to force wages up, capital to keep them down. The

advantage lay with the employing classes, but labor in 1864 recovered much of the ground that had been lost in the two previous years, and the war closed with wages much nearer prices than a year earlier; it was generally agreed at the time that prices during the entire war period advanced approximately 100 per cent and wages from 50 to 60 per cent."

The author quoted, found, however, that matters were not so serious as seemed to be indicated by the disparity in the general advance shown by these percentages. There were other things, he says, which supplemented low wages, and the severity of the situation so long as the war lasted must not be exaggerated. "The labor world received not only industrial wages but also military wages, soldiers' bounties, and charitable support for soldiers' families," and the actual condition of labor may be studied with these things in view. "On the whole," continues Professor Fite, "the habitual working classes were probably as well off in the height of the war as in normal times, possibly better off. After the war the condition of labor was undoubtedly worse than in 1860, for the reason that the extraordinary payments then ceased." But he goes on to add that the indirect aid, however bounteous, "was no justification for low industrial wages; under any conditions the employer ought to have paid the men directly under him, a fair wage for the service rendered, a wage proportionately increased as prices increased."

Naturally much attention has been directed to this subject during the years following the inauguration of the great war in Europe, which has brought about a repetition of the conditions prevailing in the period of the Civil War. "What seems the common judgment of inquirers," says a writer in the New York Nation, early in 1918, "is that, fast as wages have risen in the last two years, the cost of living has risen faster; but that labor has withstood the resulting hardships surprisingly. . . . The Mayor's Food Committee in Philadelphia lately furnished a year's study of the wages and living costs of over 11,000 representative union workers. It concluded that 'if the increase in prices for the year, from February, 1916, to February, 1917, be compared with wages for the same period, it will be seen that prices rose 31.1 per cent, while wages rose only 16 per cent.' "

However, wage advances have been uneven, and while some lines of industry have shown that wages have kept pace with the advance in prices others have shown quite otherwise. "It is to be wished," says the above quoted writer, "that the process of wage readjustment were more mobile and intelligent." As an example of such a process that of the Onedia Community, Ltd., is cited, which "adopted a plan for adding regularly to wages in accordance with the cost of living. Monthly each employee receiving under $2,000 is given an additional sum, based on Broadstreet's index figure, to adjust his salary to changing costs. . . . If the war continues long, prices and wages must still rise. When it ends, new production, renewed immigration, and so on, will probably make both fall. Employers cannot be too alert in all movements to keep wages a generous measure of the needs of the time."

THE FAMOUS CHICAGO PLAN

For some years a plan to alter the arrangement of streets and transportation systems of the city, with a view of relieving the remarkable congestion existing

in the business district of the South Side has been in progress. At the same time the principal actors in this movement have included extensive building and park improvements calculated to make the city more beautiful and desirable as a place to live and carry on the usual activities of city life. The Chicago Commercial Club, a public-spirited body of men and influential in previous movements for the advantage of the city, proposed a "City Planning Committee," which was provided by the Club. Later the city authorities created a "Chicago Plan Commission" to carry out the purposes of the committee.

The most important of its projects was to improve Twelfth street by widening it to 108 feet, about double its former width, which was duly authorized by the city council. Twelfth street is the south side of a quadrangle planned by the Commission. At the same time the south shore lake front was to be improved, a Lake Shore Drive being planned from Grant to Jackson Park, and an Outer Island Park to be formed by a process of filling in, which will make lagoons along the front of the lake. The work on the south shore is not to be done by the Commission but by the Board of South Park Commissioners, which in 1911 obtained riparian rights from the Illinois Central railroad in order to carry out these plans. East of the right of way of the railroad facing the north on Grant Park the site of the Field Museum of Natural History was chosen, and it is now in course of construction. A new station of the Illinois Central is to be built west of its tracks facing north on Twelfth street.

People of enlightenment and wealth, through travels in foreign lands, learned what others had accomplished, and made the ideas of the older populations their own and put them into use at home. In this way they have come to appreciate the value of public utilities, conservation of health, improvement of homes, means of public recreation, beautification of buildings and streets, and other facilities for the more rational enjoyment of the higher life. The exquisite beauty of the "White City" of 1893 was an object lesson for Chicago which was worth more than the millions paid for it. The public spirited men of Chicago began to dream of a more beautiful metropolis, of which the White City and the older cities of Europe were the models.

GUIDING SPIRITS OF THE PLAN

One of the guiding spirits in the new movement was Daniel H. Burnham, a distinguished architect who had to his credit his masterly work as chief architect and director of works in the construction of the great Columbian Exposition. He was given charge of designing the new arrangement of the streets and buildings in the plans of the "Chicago Plan Commission." Mr. Charles H. Wacker was chosen chairman of this work, one of the most fortunate selections that could have been made. Mr. Burnham died in 1912, but his work will endure to the end. Mr. Wacker still directs the work of the Commission and has won golden plaudits for the things he has accomplished and the prosperous condition of the enterprise to the present time. It is a work which it will take many years to carry through but the people have faith in its ultimate accomplishment and leadership.

One of the fortunate circumstances that favors the colossal improvements planned is that the center of the city's population is in process of change so

that it is now near the corner of Halsted and West Congress streets on the West Side. The park system of the city is now nearly perfect and it will require but little readjustment, other than the improvement of Grant Park on the lake front, to form a harmonious plan. Nor will the boulevard system require modifications other than extensions and putting in of links between parkways already nearly perfect in their adjustments to the general plan. It is the work of a generation but already we see great progress in the plans of the Commission and we are sure to see some wonderful developments in the near future.

Of course a work of this magnitude must be done in many separate parts. Widening streets like Twelfth, Halsted, and Chicago avenue, will be undertaken in installments of effort, and the cost must constantly be considered. It is not the intention to burden the citizens with heavy taxation in carrying on the improvements. Heretofore public funds have been laid out with little regard to a system, one piece of permanent work having little or no relation to another. In the future all work will be carried on with the ultimate end in view of a "Beautiful Chicago." In an article setting forth the aims and purposes of the Commission, Mr. Wacker said as follows:

"In the working out of the plan a great network of roads was found surrounding the city, encircling and radiating from it and connecting it with the smaller towns, and the latter with each other. In fact these roads already in existence, though partly disconnected, constitute more than nine-tenths of the proposed system of roadways. The roads radiating from the city to the smaller towns are extensions of the diagonal streets within the city, which later exist in great numbers. It is proposed to extend these diagonal thoroughfares toward the center or heart of the city, to develop their usefulness to the utmost, and by their extension and combination with existing rectangular streets, to create circuits around the heart of the city, the two elemental principles of street circulation being those of radial and circuit arteries. As a foundation to the system of arteries schemed, it is proposed to develop two basic lines or axial thoroughfares.

STREET PLAN OUTLINED

"In regard to the streets, the intention has been, first, to connect in a systematic manner the heart of the city with the surrounding districts, business and residential; and the basis for this is found in the diagonal streets already mentioned, radiating from the city center. Secondly, to free the center of the city from congestion. It is proposed, therefore, first of all to widen and develop existing rectangular streets, enclosing the center, and secondly to cut diagonal streets to facilitate still more the movement of traffic. The circuit of first importance for immediate relief of the congestion in the heart of the city, and one that will be typical of all others to be executed as the city's growth demands, comprises Michigan avenue, Twelfth street, Halsted street and Chicago avenue.

"Michigan avenue may be called the base line of traffic of the city. A great development of this avenue is proposed. Twelfth street it is proposed to develop simultaneously with the Michigan avenue extension (or by way of some other

north and south connecting boulevard), in order to bring the West Side people down to the shore of Lake Michigan and to Grant Park. This artery would be supplied with surface car lines, and on it might be established sub-stations on all the trunk railroad lines coming into the city from this direction. These sub-stations would serve as a nucleus for the development of the great stations which it is proposed to establish, eventually, along this line.

"Halsted street, an important business thoroughfare, is so situated that its usefulness, already great, might be very much increased. It must inevitably carry an enormous traffic, and is selected as the north and south axial line of circulation. Chicago avenue, already one hundred feet wide, will, if well maintained, serve for a long time the traffic which it will be made to carry. Connecting as it does with the proposed north and south boulevard at Lincoln Parkway, it will form the fourth side of the rectangle, constituting the first circuit of improvement.

ADAPTATION OF THE PARK SYSTEM

"A great park system was found to exist, encircling the city on three sides, and along parts of the lake shore. This system it is proposed to extend and complete by the addition of park lands and parkways on all sides, including a complete development of the shore line, in order to provide adequately for the needs of the growing population. Numerous small parks are also proposed. While the smaller parks require to be artificially created, the larger forest areas proposed already exist and need only to be acquired and connected with the city to become at once a part of its life. On the north and west they run along the banks of rivers and through lovely meadows, and on the southwest through beautiful and undulating forest lands.

"The shore of Lake Michigan is regarded as of first importance and has been studied in detail. Already the north shore is being developed in order to secure a complete line of public occupancy of the shore in the near future. Similar steps will be taken by the south side, as the great need of the population of the city demands that the ownership of, and access to, the shore of the lake be restored to it.

EXTENSION OF TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES

"While the two great elements of city planning—streets and parks—were first considered, it was found on approaching the center of the city, that the great problem of transportation facilities had to be considered in connection with them. The location of existing passenger stations and freight yards and their possible distribution, has had great influence on the adjustment of the plan, the aim being to develop railroads and streets simultaneously in such a manner that they may both operate perfectly without interference one with the other. This necessitates the alignment of the stations, now irregularly placed throughout the center, and the construction of a complete subway traction system, knitting together all the lines into a perfect working whole. At the same time it is designed to facilitate, as much as possible, the removal of the freight yards from the center of the city, and to eliminate the needless and expensive

rehandling of freight in the congested districts. The 'Plan' proposes to locate great freight-clearing yards in the southwest part of the city, to be connected with the existing tunnel system under the central section of the city, and to construct a freight harbor at the mouth of the Calumet river, the whole to be connected by subway lines.

THE PROPOSED CIVIC CENTER

"In addition to this general scheme, the 'Plan' contemplates the creation of a center of administrative buildings, or 'Civic Center,' on the west side of the city at Halsted and West Congress streets, and in conjunction therewith to develop in particular that portion of the park system fronting on the central business district, Grant Park, which has recently been filled in along the shore of Lake Michigan. In order to create a new and splendid thoroughfare to the West Side, connecting this part of the city with the Civic Center and Grant Park, the widening and development of Congress street is proposed. This street already exists in a broken form, and the cost of developing it would be less than that of widening any other street so near the center. Congress would then become the east and west axial line, or the Grand Axis, on which line is also the dome of the Civic Center and Grant Park. It is at the intersection of this axis with Halsted street that it is designed to create the Civic Center."

It is further added that Grant Park has been considered with a view to making it the center of popular culture. It is intended that here shall be located noble groups of buildings including the great Field Museum of Natural History now in course of construction, all of which together will make it a splendid landscape garden, framing the view of the lake, and to develop the shore in such a manner that it will become an important and glorious feature of the city's life.

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